MODERN WORLD
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(1814 - 1871) Battle of waterloo
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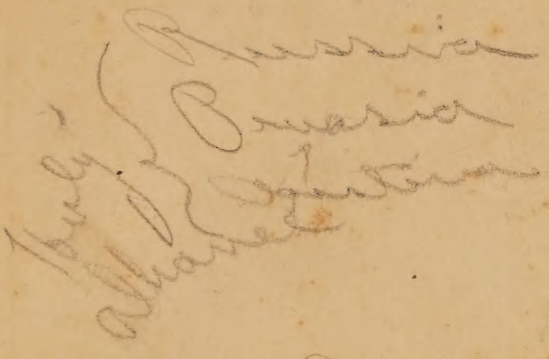

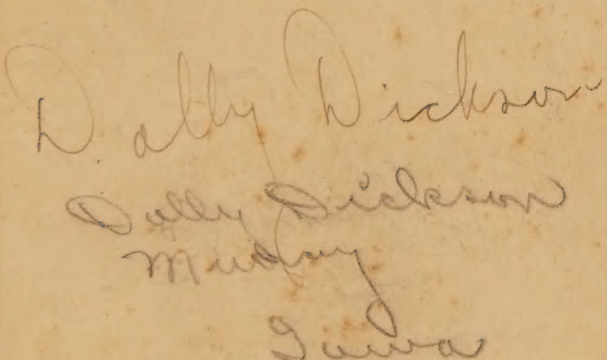

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ALLYN AND BACON'S SERIES OF SCHOOL HISTORIES

THE MODERN WORLD

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE PRESENT TIME

WITH A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF ANCIENT PROGRESS

REVISED EDITION

BY

WILLIS MASON WEST

SOMETIME PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, AND HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT, IN UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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A SHORT HISTORY OF MODERN PEOPLES

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FOREWORD

EACH new text in modern history *must* give increased space to recent history. To do that, it must cut down somewhere else. This volume abbreviates particularly the older customary treatment of the "religious wars" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the "balance-of-power wars" of the eighteenth. At the same time, this pressure for space has not been permitted to curtail the presentation of industrial and scientific progress in those centuries. Indeed those topics receive extended treatment.

Throughout the early period especially, much attention is given to the development of English institutions, because of the special value of that history in fitting American youth to understand our own institutions. In dealing with the closing centuries of our era, new emphasis has been given to the scientific advance and to the growth of "trade imperialism," as well as to the development of Spanish America, China, and Japan — lands which now touch shoulders with us.

The first eighty pages provide an "Introductory Survey." This may be omitted from class work, at the discretion of the teacher. Even then, it will probably be found convenient for reference. It includes a brief explanation of all those events of earlier ages that are mentioned in the body of the book.

In every high school course American history is sure to be given more extended treatment by itself than could possibly be given to it here. It is touched upon in this volume, therefore, only when events demand its introduction, and then it is treated from the view-point of world-development rather than from a restricted American position. The colonization of the seventeenth century is presented as an expansion of Europe, and

especially of England, into New Worlds; the "Intercolonial Wars" of the eighteenth century are seen as part of the hundred-year struggle between France and England for world-empire and exclusive markets; American industrial invention in the nineteenth century appears as part of the general Industrial Revolution; the recent advance of America into world-politics is presented as part of the new international relations and new trade relations that followed the partition of Africa and the opening of the Orient in the closing decades of the nineteenth century; while the dominant attention given to America's part in the World War, both in Europe and at home, corresponds merely to the new significance of our country in world development.

During the past few years, research by many trained scholars has thrown much new light upon the causes of the World War — though more still is to be expected when the publication of English archives is completed and when the French documents are at last thrown open to investigators. The actual course of European development during these recent years, too, has made it more possible to estimate aright the results of the war and the true trend of current events. So far as any conclusions on these difficult matters seem definitely established, the author has incorporated them in this volume.

High school study of history should arouse in the student a robust interest in the vital problems of to-day: the world-wide struggle between democracy and reaction, the "war upon poverty," the new influence of women upon government and society, the movements for lasting world peace. The history course cannot fail to give American youth a virile patriotism. But, *on that secure basis*, it ought also to give a sense of wider human brotherhood. It should make our youth first American minded and then world minded, so that they may help better to bring in the day of peace on earth, good-will to men.

WILLIS MASON WEST

OCTOBER 15, 1927.

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MODERN WORLD

THE MODERN WORLD

The chief interest in history lies in the fact that it is not yet finished.
—ASHLEY.

INTRODUCTION

A SUMMARY OF EARLIER PROGRESS[1]

FIRST PERIOD

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ROMAN EMPIRE

1. Men have lived on this earth some 100,000 years, but we know their story for only the last 7000 years. We do know,

SOME STAGES IN FIRE-MAKING. —From Tylor.

however, a few disconnected facts about the vast dim stretch of time preceding real history.

[1] This summary of ancient progress is condensed from the author's summaries of successive periods in his *Ancient World*, the preceding volume of this historical series. Concrete illustrations of general statements made here, and definitions of terms, may be found in that volume. Classes that have used the *Ancient World* may prefer to omit this Introduction.

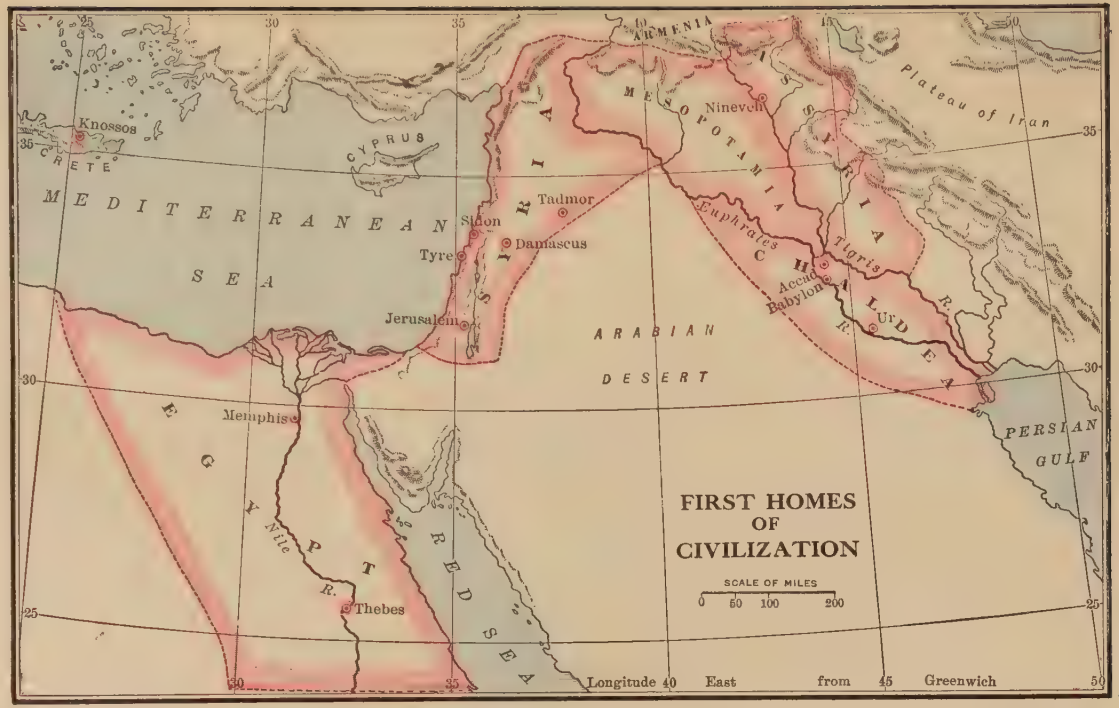
The first men were more helpless than the lowest savages in the world to-day. They had not even fire or knife or bow and arrows. Thousands on thousands of years passed uncounted while our forefathers were learning to take the first stumbling steps up from this savagery toward civilized life.

By slow degrees they learned to live together in families and tribes. They invented simple weapons of wood and of stone,

Publishers' Photo Service.

SPHINX AND PYRAMIDS. — The human head of the Sphinx, with the magnified features of one of the Pharaohs, is set upon the body of a lion, as a symbol of power. Recently the feet of the Sphinx were uncovered for the first time in many years.

and, long afterward, of bronze and iron. They found out how to spin thread and weave cloth, and how to bake clay pots in which to cook food. Five gains, in particular, during those slow ages were beyond price: *the use of fire; the beginning of languages; the taming of the dog, cow, sheep, and other of our familiar barn-yard assistants; the discovery and cultivation of wheat, barley, rice, and most of our other Old-World food-plants; and the invention of picture writing and the rebus stage of writing.*


ARMENIA
Plateau of Iran
Nineveh
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
Knossos
CRETE
CYPRUS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SYRIA
Tadmor
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
Euphrates R.
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CHALDEA
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Jerusalem
Lurd
ARABIAN DESERT
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Nile R.
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PERSIAN GULF
FIRST HOMES OF CIVILIZATION
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
Longitude 40 East from 45 Greenwich
25
30
35
40
45
50

After this last invention, *history*, which is the *record* of man's life, could begin.

2. The earliest men of whom we have records lived in the valleys of the *Nile* and *Euphrates* about *seven thousand years ago*. These **Egyptians** and **Babylonians** practised many arts and crafts with a skill of hand that has never been surpassed. They built great cities, with pleasant homes for the wealthy and with splendid palaces for their princes. They built, too, roads and canals. With ships and caravans, they sought out the treasures of distant regions; and the wealth they heaped up was spent by their rulers in gorgeous pomp and splendor. They learned the need of law, to regulate their relations with one another. Their thinkers found in their own consciences some of the highest moral truths, and taught the duty of truthfulness, justice, and mercy.

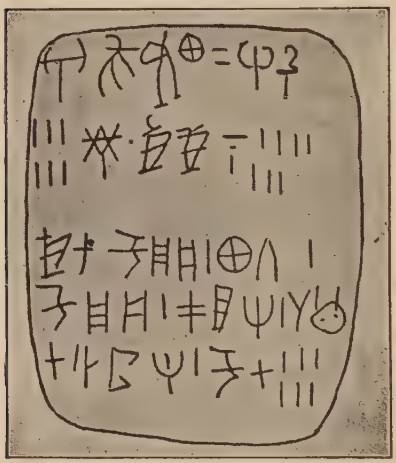
COOKING UTENSILS found in one Cretan tomb 4400 years old.

They also wrote books on agriculture, and made beginnings in some sciences, especially in astronomy and mathematics. Our "year," of 365 days and a quarter, with the divisions into months, comes to us from the Egyptians through the Romans. Through the Hebrews, the Babylonians gave us the week, with its "seventh day of rest for the soul," and the subdivisions of the day into hours and minutes.

The Babylonians, indeed, invented our sundial and water-clock, and an excellent system of weights, and measures based on the length of the hand and foot. They used a duodecimal system of counting. The face of a watch to-day, with its divisions by twelve and by sixties, recalls their work, — as do also the curious figures on our star maps; the signs of the zodiac in our almanacs; the symbols of our "apothecaries'

table," still used by physicians; some of our fairy stories, like that of Cinderella; many of our carpenters' tools; and much of our common kitchen ware.

War and trade spread this culture slowly around the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean ; and, before 1500 B.C., **Cretan and Phoenician merchants scattered its seeds widely in more distant regions.** The commerce of these peoples, too, made it needful for them to keep complicated accounts, and to communicate with agents in distant places. And so, out of the crude earlier systems of writing, both *Cretans and Phoenicians developed real alphabets.*



CRETAN WRITING OF 2400 B.C. Some of these characters are numerals. Others have a strong likeness to certain Greek letters. This tablet was found in a royal treasury, and probably it was an account of payments. Our scholars have not yet learned to read Cretan script.

About 630 B.C. all these precious beginnings of civilization were imperiled by hordes of savages that poured forth from the frozen plains of Scythia in the North. **Persia** repulsed the ravagers, and *saved the slow gains of the ages.* And at the same time, she *conquered all the civilized East,* and *united it* under an effective system of government.

When Persia was at the height of her power (about 525 B.C.), the Oriental peoples had possessed a complex civilization for more than 4000 years. This was a much longer period than has passed since. To appreciate the work of these pioneers of civilization, we must remember that for another thousand years our own ancestors were wandering savages, clad in skins, among the swamps and forests of northern Europe.

3. Oriental culture, however, was marred by serious faults. *Its benefits were for a few only.*

Government was despotic, and the people worshiped the monarch with slavish submission.

Colossal Man-beast in Alabaster. — From an Assyrian palace; now in the Louvre.

Art was unnatural. Sculpture delighted in placing a man's head on the body of a beast, mingling the monstrous and grotesque with the human. Architecture sought to rouse admiration by colossal size rather than by beauty and proportion.

Men followed slavishly the customs and traditions of their fathers. The mysterious forces of nature filled them with fear. There was little learning, except among the priests; and theirs was mingled with gross superstitions.

Toward the close of the period, it is true, there had grown up among the **Hebrews** a pure worship, whose truth and grandeur were to influence profoundly the later world. But, for centuries more, this religion was the possession of one small people.

There was little variety in the civilizations of the Orient. *They lacked rivalry to stimulate them to continued progress.* Each civilization reached its best stage early, and then threatened to become stagnant.

4. Now, happily, appeared the Greeks, — new actors on a new stage. About 600 B.C., the center of interest shifted westward from Asia to southeastern Europe. For two thousand years a European culture had been rising slowly along the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean. It had drawn from the East in many ways, especially in matters of handicraft; but it had moral and intellectual traits of its own. The difference in character was due, in large part, to differences between European and Oriental geography.[1]

Oriental states had begun in supremely fertile districts where food was almost the free bounty of nature, and where the tropical climate disinclined most men to unnecessary exertion. The few with spirit and energy easily made slaves of the multitude. But *the sterile soil of Greece* demanded more work from all the people; and its *temperate climate* encouraged more general enterprise. *Men lived more on a level with one another than in the East.*

When an Oriental state had grown by conquest into an empire, it spread over vast plains and was bounded by terrible immensities of desolate deserts. *Greece was a land of intermingled sea and mountain, with everything on a moderate scale.* There were no deserts. No mountains were so astounding as to awe man. There were no destructive earthquakes, no tremendous storms, no overwhelming floods. Oriental man had bowed in dread and superstition before the mysteries of nature; but in Greece, nature was not terrible. There men began early to

[1] A discussion of these differences is given in the *Ancient World*, §§ 82–86.

search into her secrets. *In thought, the Greeks replaced Oriental submission to tradition by fearless originality. In government, they replaced Oriental despotism by democracy.*

Greece was broken up into many small districts. Each division was protected from conquest by its sea moats and mountain walls; and each, therefore, became the home of a distinct political state. Some of these were busied in agriculture; others, mainly, in trade. Some were monarchic in government; others, democratic. This variety of societies, side by side, reacted wholesomely upon one another. *Oriental uniformity gave way to European diversity.*

THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES. Praxiteles was the pupil of Phidias, the architect of the Parthenon, and he ranks, with his master, among the greatest of sculptors. The arms and legs of this Hermes are sadly mutilated.

No doubt, too, the moderation and variety and wondrous beauty of hill and dale and sun-lit sea had something to do with the many-sided genius of the Greek people, and with their lively but well-controlled imagination. Above all peoples, before or since, *the Greeks developed a love for harmony and proportion.*

5. **These qualities found expression in sculpture, architecture, drama, oratory, poetry, and philosophy,** in all of which the Greeks rank still among the world's masters. The *Oriental contributions* to the future *had been mainly material: the Greek contributions were intellectual and spiritual.* This makes it harder to count and name them in a brief summary.

Says a great English thinker (Henry Sumner Maine), — "Except the blind forces of nature, there is nothing that *moves* in the world to-day that is not Greek in origin." One supreme thing must be named: *the Greeks gave us the ideal of freedom regulated by self-control*, — freedom in politics, in religion, and in thought.

6. Moreover, this Greek civilization is essentially one with our own. The remains of Egyptian or Babylonian sculpture and architecture arouse our interest as curiosities; but they are

RUINS OF THE PARTHENON (*Temple of Athenê*) AT ATHENS; THE WEST FRONT.

foreign to us. With a Greek temple or a Greek poem we feel at home. It might have been built or written by an American. Many of our most beautiful buildings use the Greek columns and capitals. Some, in spite of our different climate, are copied almost wholly from Greek models. Our children still delight in the stories that the blind Greek Homer chanted; and older students find his poems a necessary part of our literary culture. The historian still goes to the Greek Thucydides or Herodotus ("the father of history") for his model.

BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Sea of Aral
R. Jaxartes
THRACE
BITHYNIA
PHRYGIA
MISIA
GREECE
Sardis
LYDIA
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
Halys R.
Oxus R.
SOGDIANA
Marcanda
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CILICIA
CARIA
PARTHIA
BACTRIA
Bactra
SYRIA
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
MEDIA
Ecbatana
GANDARIA
INDIA
LIBYA
Damascus
SAGARTIA
Babylon
R. Susa
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile R.
Persepolis
PERSIS
PARICANIA
Indus
Thebes
Karnak
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIA
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
PERSIAN EMPIRE AND GREECE
490 B.C.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400
Persian Empire
Greece
Royal Road
L. L. POATES CO., N.Y.

7. Four weak points remained in this dazzling Greek civilization. (1) *It rested on slavery,* — a slavery less extensive and less hateful than that of the Oriental world, but still involving large classes of people. (2) *It was for males only.* At best, the wife was only a higher domestic servant. (3) *The moral side fell far below the intellectual side.* Religion had little to do with conduct toward men. Some Greek philosophers taught lofty morality, and a few individual lives towered to sublime heights; but, on the whole, while no other society ever produced so large a proportion of great men, many societies have produced more good men. (4) Brilliant as was the Greek mind, *it did not discover the modern method of finding out the secrets of nature* ***by experiment.*** Consequently it did little to increase man's power over natural forces.

8. About 500 B.C., the rising Greek culture was threatened with conquest by Persia. **The little Greek states heroically repelled the huge Asiatic empire,** and saved Western civilization. Then, two centuries later, through the genius of *Alexander the Great,* they **welded East and West into a Graeco-Oriental world.**

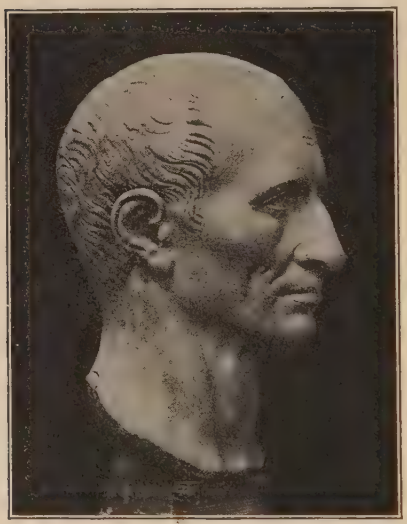
But in the end the vast, sluggish East would have absorbed the small Greek creative element, had not the latter found reinforcement from another European land. *Now the historical "center of gravity" shifts westward once more.*

9. Rome was the central city of Italy, the central Mediterranean land. It began as a village of shepherds and farmers. Partly through geographical advantages, more through genius in war, most of all through a marvelous power of organization, it had grown step by step into the headship of Italy, and was ready now to march on to the lordship of the world. First, it gave a Latin civilization to the *western* Mediterranean coasts; and then, a century before the birth of Christ, it **unified New West and Old East into a Graeco-Roman world.**

As Greece stands for art and intellectual culture, so *Rome stands for law and government.* The Greeks, aside from their own contributions to civilization, had *collected* the arts and

sciences of the older peoples of the Orient. Rome *preserved* this common treasure of mankind, and (as we shall see in the next chapter) she herself *added* legal and political institutions that have influenced all later time.

10. Still, with all her genius for government, Rome did not hit upon our modern plan of *representative* government. Until this plan was discovered, government had to be exercised, at best, by those who could meet at one spot. A large state, then, could not remain a free state. While Rome was uniting Italy, she was a free city-republic. She succeeded in expanding this form of government so that it met fairly well the needs of united Italy; but it broke down before the needs of a subject world. For a century the government of the ruling city became merely the agent of a selfish moneyed aristocracy which looted the dependent provinces. Then **Julius Caesar**, and his successors, **swept away the outgrown "Republic," and introduced the "Empire,"** with the emperor as the despotic but beneficent father of the whole Graeco-Roman world.



JULIUS CAESAR, the British Museum bust.

The Roman Empire is so immediately the basis of the modern world that it demands a somewhat more extended survey.

THE COURT (§ 27) OF A ROMAN HOUSE, an imaginative painting by Boulanger, based upon a study of ancient remains.

SECOND PERIOD

THE ROMAN WORLD

I. TWO CENTURIES OF PROSPERITY

11. "**The Roman Empire,**" says the famous English historian, Freeman, "*is the central lake in which all the streams of ancient history lose themselves, and which all the streams of modern history flow out of.*" Its territory, about as large as the United States, embraced the Mediterranean fringe of the three Old-World continents, — a broad belt stretching from the Euphrates to Britain, between southern deserts and the northern waters of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Black Sea.

In language, and somewhat in culture, *the West remained Latin, and the East,*[1] *Greek;* but trade, travel, and the mild and just Roman law **made the world one in feeling.** Briton, African, Asiatic, knew one another only as Romans. An

[1] The Adriatic may be taken as a convenient line of division.

Egyptian Greek of the period expressed this world-wide patriotism in a noble ode, closing, —

> 'Though we tread Rhone's or Orontes'[1] shore,
> Yet are we all one nation evermore."

12. A population of perhaps 75,000,000 people was gathered in myriads of cities, great and small, each throbbing with varied

AQUEDUCT NEAR NÎMES, FRANCE, built about 150 A.D. by the Emperor Antoninus Pius to supply the city with water from distant mountain springs; *present condition* of the long gray structure, where it crosses a deep valley. The water pipes were carried across streams and valleys on arches like these, and through hills by tunnels. Some of these Roman aqueducts remained in use till very recent days.

industry and with intellectual life. Everywhere rude stockaded villages had changed into stately marts of trade, huts into palaces, footpaths into paved roads. Roman irrigation made part of the African desert the garden of the world — where, from drifting sands, desolate ruins mock the traveler of today. The regular symbol of Africa in art was a stately virgin

[1] A river of Syria, in Asia.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE
At its Greatest Extent
With some Roman Roads
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
SCALE OF ROMAN MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
EXPLANATION
The Roman Empire at the Death of Caesar, 44 B.C.
Additions up to the Death of Augustus, 14 A.D.
Additions up to the Death of Trajan, 117 A.D.
Roman Roads
L.L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.
Longitude West 0 5 10 Longitude 15 East 20
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
HIBERNIA
BRITAIN
WALL OF HADRIAN
Eboracum
Londinium
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Teutoberg Forest
Colonia Agrippina
Colonia
BELGICA
Moguntiacum
Augusta Treverorum
Marcomanni
Bas
CELTICA
Bituricos
Augustodunum
RETIA
Vindobona
NORICUM
PANNONIA
Lugdunum
GAUL
AQUITANIA
Aquileia
Iazyges
Aginnum
Mediolanum
Tolosa
NARBONENSIS
Arelate
Pola
Ravenna
Iadera
Salona
Narbo
Massilia
CORSICA
Fidenae
ROME
Ostia
Tarraco
BALEARES
SARDINIA
Naples
Puteoli
Herculaneum
Pompeii
Dyrrhachium
Pydna
Gades
BOETICA
New Carthage
Pharsalus
Utica
Carthage
SICILY
Syracuse
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA
AFRICA
Cyren
CYR

Volga
Sarmatians
Chersonesus
BLACK SEA
Byzantium
Nicomedia
Sinope
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
GALATIA
Pergamos
ASIA
Ephesus
PISIDIA
LYCONIA
LYCIA
Xanthus
RHODES
CYPRUS
CAPPADOCIA
CILICIA
Edessa
Issus
Antiochia
Emesa
SYRIA
Palmyra
Caesarea
JUDAEA
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Petra
Memphis
Nile
RED SEA
Mecca
Greenwich
COLCHIS
ALBANIA
CASPIAN SEA
Artaxata
ARMENIA
PARTHIA
ASSYRIA
Tigris
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
Ktesiphon
Seleucia
Babylon
BABYLONIA
KINGDOM
ARABIA

with arms filled with sheaves of golden grain. Gaul (France) was Romanized late; but in the third century A.D. that province had 116 flourishing cities, with baths, temples, amphitheaters, works of art, roads, aqueducts, and schools of eloquence and rhetoric.

13. These towns were called *municipia.* They had once managed most of their own affairs; and, under the Empire, **"municipal institutions," for local self-government, survived in hundreds of them.** True, the local government of Rome itself, along with that of Alexandria and other large cities with dangerous street mobs, was placed in the hands of officers appointed by the emperors. But long after such places had ceased to have popular assemblies and elected officers, the cities of Gaul and of Dacia[1] continued to elect each year their consuls (a sort of twin mayors), aediles to oversee the police and public works, and quaestors, to care for the city finances. Election placards, painted on the walls of the houses in Pompeii, show that the contests for office were very real and quite modern in method.

Pompeii, on the bay of Naples, was buried by an eruption of ashes from Mt. Vesuvius in 80 A.D. When it was excavated, in recent times, some 1500 political posters were found painted on the walls along its streets. Probably these posters all concerned some election just about to take place when the city was overtaken by destruction; for when their purpose was served, the space would be whitewashed over, and used for new notices.

These notices are painted in red letters from two to ten inches high, on a white background. Each man, apparently, could use his own wall to recommend his favorite candidates; but hired and zealous "bill-posters" blazoned their placards upon private buildings and even upon funeral monuments. A baker is nominated for quaestor (city treasurer) on the ground that he sells "good bread"; and, near by, a leading aristocrat is supported as one of whom it is known that "he will guard the treasury." Trade unions make some of these nominations, and even women take part in them, — though of course not in the voting. One "wide-open"

[1] If the student has not studied Ancient history, he should note all these geographical names carefully on the maps after pp. 12 and 24.

candidate for "police commissioner" is attacked by an ironical wag in several posters — as in one that reads, "All the late-drinkers ask your support for Valia for the aedileship."

In each town of this sort, the ex-magistrates made up a town council (senate), which voted local taxes, expended them for town purposes, and looked after town matters in general. The council's ordinances were submitted, in some towns, to an Assembly of citizens for ratification.

14. Most towns were places of 20,000 people or less; but there were also a few great centers of trade, — Rome, with perhaps two million people; Alexandria (in Egypt) and Antioch (in Asia) with half a million each; and Corinth, Carthage, Ephesus, and Lyons, with some 250,000 apiece.

These commercial cities were **likewise centers of manufactures.** The Emperor Hadrian visited Alexandria (about 125 A.D.) and wrote in a letter: "No one is idle; some work glass; some make paper (papyrus); some weave linen. Money is the only god." The looms of Sidon and the other old Phoenician cities turned forth ceaselessly their precious purple cloths. Miletus, Rhodes, and other Greek cities of the Asiatic coast were famous for their woolen manufactures. Syrian factories poured silks, costly tapestries, and fine leather into western Europe. The silversmiths of Ephesus were numerous enough, as we learn from the *Acts of the Apostles* (xix, 23–41), to stir up a formidable riot.

SHOEMAKER in his shop in Roman times. — From Parmentier.

15. The roads were safe. Piracy ceased from the seas, and trade flourished as it was not to flourish again until the days of Columbus. The ports were crowded with shipping, and the Mediterranean was spread with happy sails. One Roman writer exclaims that there are as many men upon the waves as upon land.

From end to end of the empire, *travel was safe and rapid.* The grand military roads ran in trunk-lines — a thousand miles at a stretch — from every frontier toward the central heart of the empire, with a dense network of branches in every province. Guidebooks described routes and distances. Inns abounded. The imperial couriers that hurried along the great

Lyons in Roman Times.

highways passed a hundred and fifty milestones a day. Private travel, from the Thames to the Euphrates, was swifter, safer, and more comfortable than ever again until the days of railroads in the nineteenth century.

The products of one region of the empire were known in every other part. Jewelry made in Asia Minor was worn by women in the Swiss mountains; and Italian wines were drunk in Britain and Cilicia. The gravestones of ancient Syrian traders are found to-day scattered from Roumania to France, and in Asia the monuments of Gallic merchants witness to this ancient intercourse. One merchant of Phrygia (a district in Asia Minor) asserts on his gravestone that he had sailed "around Greece to Italy *seventy-two times!*"

16. There was also a vast commerce with regions *beyond* the boundaries of the empire. As English and Dutch traders, three hundred years ago, journeyed far into the savage interior of America for better bargains in furs, so the indomitable Roman traders pressed on into regions where the Roman legions never camped. They visited Ireland; and from the

Baltic shores they brought back amber, furs, and flaxen German hair with which the dark Roman ladies liked to adorn their heads. Such goods the trader paid for in toys and trinkets and wine, and sometimes in Roman arms, such as have been found on the Jutland coast. In the East, the trader ventured even more distant voyages. A Latin poet of

THE APPIAN WAY, the first "Roman road." — From a photograph. (The cut shows the original pavement. For the method of making these roads, see *Ancient World*, § 395.)

the time speaks of "many merchants" who reaped "immense riches" by daring voyages over the Indian Ocean "to the mouth of the Ganges." India, Ceylon, and Malasia sent to Europe indigo, spices, pearls, sapphires, drawing away, in return, vast sums of Roman gold and silver coin. And from shadowy realms beyond India came the silk yarn that kept the Syrian looms busy. Chinese annals tell of Roman traders bringing to Canton glass and metal wares, amber, and drugs.

17. And men traveled for pleasure as well as for business.

There was a keen desire in each great quarter of the empire to see the other regions which Rome had molded into one world. It seems to have been at least as common a thing for the gentleman of Gaul or Britain to visit the wonders of Rome and of the Nile as for the modern American to spend a summer in England or France. One language answered all needs from London to Babylon. Families took these pleasure trips in a body; and, quite in modern fashion, they sometimes defaced priceless monuments of the past with their scrawls. One of

THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS. As "restored" by Lambert.

the most famous statues in Egypt still bears a scratched inscription that it has been visited by a certain Roman gentleman, "Gemullus," with "his dear wife, Rufilla," and their children.

18. Literature and learning flourished. It is impossible here even to mention the great numbers of poets, historians, essayists, philosophers, and other writers, who made the age glorious. **The three great centers of learning** were Rome, Alexandria, and Athens. In these cities there were **universities**, as we would call them now, with vast libraries (of *manuscripts*, of

course, since printing was not yet invented) and numerous professorships. These institutions were endowed by the government. The professors had the rank of Roman nobles, with good salaries, and assured pensions after twenty years of service. Language, rhetoric, philosophy, made up a group of *literary* studies called the *trivium*. Besides these, all schools taught also four *sciences* (the *quadrivium*), — music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. In some universities, other special studies flourished. Law was a specialty at Rome, and medicine at Alexandria.

AUGUSTUS, a statue now in the Vatican. Augustus was a nephew and adopted son of Julius Caesar. His rule (31 B.C.–14 A.D.) is usually taken to mark the beginning of the Empire.

Below the universities, in all large provincial towns, there were "*grammar schools.*" These were endowed by the emperors, and corresponded in some measure to our small colleges.

Those in Gaul and Spain were especially famous; in particular, the ones at Massilia, Autun, Narbonne, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse. The reputation of the instructors in the best schools drew students from all the empire. The walls of the classrooms were painted with

maps, dates, and lists of facts. The masters were appointed by local magistrates, with life tenure and good pay. Like the professors in the universities, they were exempt from taxation and had many privileges.

In the small towns were many *schools of a lower grade*. But all this education was for the upper and middle classes, and for occasional bright boys from the lower classes who found some wealthy patron. Little was done toward dispelling the dense ignorance of the masses. Rich men and women, however, sometimes bequeathed money to schools in their home

A Roman Chariot Race, a modern imaginative painting.

cities for the education of poor children. And the poet Horace tells us a charming story of how his father, a poor peasant farmer, managed to give him an education which enabled him to become the companion and friend of emperors.

19. The morals of the empire are sometimes supposed to make a black picture. Records give prominence to the court and the capital; and there the truth is dark enough. During some reigns, the atmosphere of the court was rank with hideous debauchery. At all times, many of the great nobles were sunk in coarse orgies; and the rabble of Rome, made up of the offscourings of all nations, was ignorant, cruel, and wicked.

Particular evil customs shock the modern reader. To avoid the cost and trouble of rearing children, the lower classes, with

horrible frequency and indifference, exposed their infants to die. Satirists, as in our own day, railed at the growth of divorce among the rich. Slavery threw its shadow across the Roman world. At the gladiatorial sports, delicate ladies thronged the benches of the amphitheater, without shrinking at the agonies of the dying.

But there is danger of exaggeration in such a picture. The good made less noise, as always, than the evil; but the great middle class all over the empire remained wholesome in morals. The *Letters* of the author Pliny reveal even in the court circle a society high-minded, refined, and virtuous. Pliny himself is a type of the finest gentleman of to-day in delicacy of feeling, sensitive honor, and genial courtesy. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius shows like qualities on the throne. The slave-philosopher Epictetus shows them in the lowest class of society. And all these people were surrounded by friends whom they thought good and happy. Thousands of tombstones testify to the tenderest family affection. Thus on the memorial tablet of a little girl there is inscribed: —

Marcus Aurelius.

"She rests here in the soft cradle of the Earth . . . comely, charming, keen of mind, gay in her talk and play. If there be aught of compassion in the gods, bear her aloft to the stars and the light."

20. Against each evil, we can set a moral gain. *Woman secured more freedom and more intellectual culture* than she was to find again until the nineteenth century. The profession of

The "Way of Tombs" at Pompeii (§ 13). — Each Roman city buried its dead outside one of its gates along the highway, which therefore was lined for a great distance with marble monuments or the simpler raised headstones that are also shown in this picture. The disorders of later centuries destroyed most of these monuments in Italy, though we do still have many interesting inscriptions from them. At Pompeii the volcanic covering preserved them almost intact. A husband inscribes upon his wife's monument: "Only once did she cause me sorrow; and that was by her death." Another praises in his wife "purity, loyalty, affection, a sense of duty, a gentle nature, and whatever other qualities God would wish to give woman." The tombstone of a poor physician declares that "to all the needy he gave his services without charge."

As we read these tributes, it is easier for us to understand how the Emperor Marcus Aurelius should jot down in his book of *Thoughts* the reminder, — "When thou wishest to delight thyself, think of the virtues of those who live with thee."

Remains of a Roman Villa near Tivoli. — The library (above) and the baths (below). New finds (not often so perfect) are revealed in Europe from time to time by chance excavations.

medicine was open to her. She became the equal of man before the law, and his companion, not his servant, in the home. Beautiful pictures of domestic happiness abound.

There was a vast amount of private and public charity, with homes for orphans and hospitals for the poor.

Kindness to animals became a mark of the times. Apparently they were treated better than they are in southern Europe to-day. The historian Plutarch could not bring himself to sell an ox in its old age. Severe punishments restricted cruelty.

Baths at Bath, England, on the site of ancient Roman baths. The buildings in the background are modern.

Slavery grew milder than under the "Republic."

Sympathies broadened. The unity of the vast Roman world prepared the way for the thought that all men are brothers. Writers were fond of dwelling on that idea. Said Marcus Aurelius, "As emperor I am a Roman; but as a man my city is the world." Even the rabble in the Roman theater was wont to applaud the line of the poet Terence: "I am a man: no event that can affect men is without meaning to me."

The age prided itself, justly, upon its progress and its humanity, much as our own does. The Emperor Trajan instructed a provincial governor not to act upon anonymous accusations, because such conduct "*does not belong to our age.*"

21. This broad humanity was reflected in imperial law. The harsh law of the Republic became humane. Women and

children shared its protection. Torture was limited. The rights of the accused were better recognized. From this time dates the maxim, "Better to let the guilty escape than to punish the innocent." "All men by the law of nature are equal" became a law maxim, through the great jurist Ulpian. Slavery, he argued, had been created only by the lower law, enacted not by nature but by man. Therefore, if one man claimed another as his slave, the benefit of any possible doubt was to be given to the one so claimed.[1]

22. This wide-spread, happy society rested in "the good Roman peace" for more than two hundred years, — from the reign of Augustus Caesar through that of Marcus Aurelius, or from 31 B.C. to 192 A.D. No other part of the world so large has ever known such unbroken prosperity and such freedom from the waste and horror of war for so long a time. *Few troops were seen within the empire*, and "the distant clash of arms [with barbarians] on the Euphrates or the Danube scarcely disturbed the tranquillity of the Mediterranean lands." Toward the close of the period, one of the Christian fathers (Tertullian) wrote: —

"Each day the world becomes more beautiful, more wealthy, more splendid. No corner remains inaccessible. . . . Recent deserts bloom. . . . Forests give way to tilled acres. . . . Everywhere are houses, people, cities. Everywhere there is life."

A few of the emperors at Rome, like Nero and Caligula, even in this "golden age of the empire," were weak or wicked; but their follies and vices concerned only the nobles of the capital city. The government of the empire as a whole went on with little change during their short reigns. To the vast body of the people of the Roman world, the crimes of an occasional tyrant were unknown. To them he seemed (like the good emperors) merely the symbol of the peace and prosperity which enfolded them.

[1] It is curious to remember that the rule was just the other way in nearly all Christian countries through the Middle Ages, and in the United States under the Fugitive Slave laws from 1793 to the Civil War.

II. TWO CENTURIES OF DECLINE

23. The third century began a period of swift decline. For a time despotism had served as a medicine for anarchy (§ 10), but now its poison began to show. Weak or vicious rulers followed one another in ruinous succession. The throne became the sport of the soldiery. *Ninety-two years* (193–284 A.D.) *saw twenty-seven "barrack" emperors* set up by the army. All but four of these were slain in some revolt; and two of the four fell in battle against the barbarians, who, in those dismal years, began to break through the frontiers.

Population ceased to advance, and even fell away. A series of terrible Asiatic plagues swept off vast numbers; but *the causes of permanent decay were within Roman society.* The main cause, probably, was the widespread slave system. The wealthy classes of society do not have large families. Our population to-day grows mainly from the families of the working class. But in the Roman empire the place of free workingmen was taken mainly by slaves. Slaves rarely had families. If they had children at all, the master commonly "exposed" them to die, since it was easier and cheaper to buy a new slave, from captive barbarians, than to rear one. Besides, the competition of slave labor ground into the dust what free labor there was; so that working people could not afford to raise large families, but were driven also to the cruel practice of exposing their infants, — a custom which ancient morality permitted. Year after year, "the human harvest was bad."

24. *The only measure that helped fill up the gaps in population* **was the introduction of barbarians from without.** This took place *peacefully* on a large scale; but, to the Empire politically, it was a source of weakness rather than of strength.

The Roman army had long been mostly made up of Germans; and whole provinces were settled by them, *before* their kinsmen from without, in the fifth century, began in earnest to break over the Rhine. Conquered barbarians had been settled, hundreds of thousands at a time, in frontier provinces; and

friendly tribes had been admitted, to make their homes in depopulated districts. As slaves, soldiers, colonists, subjects, the German world had been filtering into the Roman world, until a large part of the empire was Germanized. *The barrier between the empire and its assailants was melting away.*

25. Toward the close of the third century, however, there arose a great ruler to save the empire for two hundred years more. The stern soldier, *Diocletian* (284–305), the grandson of an Illyrian slave, was the greatest and last of the "barrack" emperors. He made such emperors impossible thereafter. Seizing the scepter with a firm hand, he first restored peace on all frontiers, and then gave his energies to reshaping the government. *The Roman imperial system, as it affected the after-world, was mainly his creation.*

THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN TO-DAY. Parts of the extensive ruins form the walls of modern buildings.

Diocletian divided the empire into its two great parts, *East* and *West*, with the Adriatic for the dividing line (§ 11). Each part contained two *prefectures*. The four prefectures comprised in all some thirteen *dioceses*, made up of numerous *provinces*.

[1] The following table and map show these divisions.

	Prefectures	*Dioceses*	*Provinces*	
THE EAST	East	East (15); Egypt (6)	21	Countless *municipalities*
		Asia (11); Pontus (11)	22	
		Thrace	6	
	Illyricum	Macedonia and Greece	6	
		Dacia	5	
THE WEST	Italy	Italy (17); Africa (6)	23	
		Illyria	7	
	Gaul	Spain (7); The Gauls (17)	24	
		Britain	5	

Every division, large or small, was placed under a special officer. Thus Diocletian created a series of officials *in regular grades*, as in an army. Each was placed under the immediate direction of the one just above him, and the lines all converged from below to the emperor. Each official sifted all business that came to him from his subordinates, and sent on to his superior the more important matters. This arrangement fixed responsibility precisely, and distributed duties in a workable way.

The earlier, loosely organized despotism had become a vast centralized despotism,[1] a highly complex machine. **For a time, its new strength warded off invasion; but its own weight pressed crushingly upon society. The century that followed the changes by Diocletian was marked by a fair degree of *outward* prosperity. But early in the next century (the fifth) the empire began to crumble before the barbarians. Those barbarian attacks were no more formidable than many which had been rebuffed in earlier centuries. To understand why the empire now fell before them, we must note more fully its inner weakness, and the secret forces that were sapping its strength (§§ 26 ff.).**

26. The classes of society *were becoming fixed.* At the top was the emperor. At the bottom were peasantry and artisans to produce food and wealth wherewith to pay taxes. Between were two aristocracies, — a small imperial nobility, and a local aristocracy in each city.

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[1] It is desirable for students to discuss in class more fully some of these forms of government of which the text treats. Absolutism refers to the *source of supreme power:* in a system of absolutism, supreme power is in the hands of one person. "Centralization" refers to the *kind of administration*. A centralized administration is one carried on by a body of officials of many grades, all *appointed from above*. *Absolutism and centralization do not necessarily go together.* A government may come from the people, and yet rule through a centralized administration, as in France to-day. It may be absolute, and yet allow much freedom to local agencies, as in Turkey, or in Russia in past centuries. But absolutism is likely to develop centralized agencies, as Russia has been doing rapidly of late.

Under a great genius, like Napoleon the First, a centralized government may for a time produce rapid benefits. But the system always decays. *It does nothing to educate the people politically.* Local self-government is often provokingly slow and faulty, but it is *surer in the long run.*

27. The imperial nobility were great landed proprietors. They had many special privileges. Through their influence upon the government, they escaped most of the burden of taxation — which they were better able to meet than any other class.

The homes of the nobles, and of the wealthy men of the middle class, were places of comfort and luxury. The rooms were usually built around one or more "courts" open to the sky. The court admitted light and air. In its center, ornamental fountains played, surrounded by flowering shrubs, with marble statues gleaming through the foliage. Fashionable houses had bathrooms and libraries. The pavement of the courts and the floors of the principal rooms were ornamented with artistic mosaic. Walls were hung with costly, brilliantly colored tapestries; and ceilings were richly gilded. Sideboards held beautiful vases, with gold and silver plate; and in various recesses stood glorious statues.

BREADMAKING BY SERFS.

Besides his town house, each wealthy citizen had one or more country houses, with all the comforts of the city, — baths, museums, libraries, — and also with extensive, park-like grounds containing fishponds, vineyards, and orchards. Such establishments were called *villas*. *Commonly, indeed, a villa was the center of a large farm.* The troops of slaves that tilled the soil had their huts leaning against the wall of the villa grounds; and the more skilled artisans — carpenters, smiths, bakers, and so on — lived near them in somewhat better quarters, while

troops of household slaves slept on the floors of the large halls or in the open courts of the central mansion. For most purposes a villa was self-sufficient. It raised its own food and prepared it for the table, and carried on most of the other industries necessary for the ordinary life of its inhabitants.

28. The local nobility (*curials*) were the families of the senate class in their respective cities. They, too, had some special privileges. They could not be drafted into the army or subjected to bodily punishment. They were compelled, however, to undergo great expenses in connection with the offices they had to fill. And, in particular, they were made responsible, personally, for the collection of the imperial taxes in their districts.

This burden finally became so crushing that many curials tried desperately to evade it, — even by sinking into a lower class, or by flight to the barbarians. Then, to secure the revenue, law made them a hereditary class. They were forbidden to become clergy, soldiers, or lawyers; they were not allowed to move from one city to another, or even to travel without permission.

Between these local nobles and the artisan class, there had been, in the day of the early empire, a much larger middle class of small landowners, merchants, bankers, and professional men. **This class had now almost disappeared.** Some were compelled by law to take up the duties of the vanishing curials. More, in the financial ruin of the period, sank into the working class.

29. The artisans had long been grouped in gilds. A gild was an association of all the skilled workmen of one sort in a given place. All the bakers in a city belonged to the bakers' gild; all the masons to the masons' gild; and so on. A gild regulated methods of work and had great control over its members.

Each artisan was now bound to his gild, **by law,** *as the curial was bound to his office.* The condition of artisans had become desperate. An edict of Diocletian's regarding prices and wages shows that a workman received not more than one-tenth the

wages of an American workman of like grade, while food and clothing cost at least one-third as much as now. His family rarely knew the taste of eggs or fresh meat.

30. The peasantry had become *serfs*. That is, they were bound to their labor on the soil, and changed masters with the land they tilled.

When the Empire began, free small-farmers were growing fewer, over much of the realm, while great estates, managed by stewards and tilled by slaves, were growing more numerous. Grain culture decreased, and large areas of land ceased to be tilled. To help remedy this state of affairs, the emperors introduced a new system. After successful wars, they *gave* large numbers of barbarian captives to great landlords, — thousands in a batch, — not as slaves, but as *coloni*, or serfs. The purpose was to secure *a hereditary class of farm laborers*, and so keep up the food supply. The coloni were really given *not to the landlord, but to the land.*

SERFS IN ROMAN GAUL. — From Lacroix, after an old manuscript.

They were not personal property, as slaves were. *They were part of the real estate.* They, and their children after them, were attached to the soil, and could not be sold off it. They had some rights which slaves did not have. They could contract a legal marriage, and each had his own plot of ground, of which he could not be dispossessed so long as he paid to the landlord a fixed rent in labor and in produce.

This growth of serfdom made it still more difficult for the free small-farmer to hold his place. That class, more and more, sank into serfs. On the other hand, many slaves rose into serfdom, until the great majority of laborers on the soil were of this order.

31. Lack of money was one of the great evils. The empire did not have sufficient supplies of precious metals for the

demands of business; and what money there was was steadily drained away to India and the distant Orient (§ 16). By the fourth century this movement had carried away hundreds of millions of dollars of coined money. Even the imperial officers were forced to take part of their salaries in produce, — robes, horses, grain. Trade began to go back to the primitive form of barter; and it became harder and harder to collect taxes.

But the empire demanded more and more taxes. It was "a great tax-gathering and barbarian-fighting machine." It collected taxes *in order* to fight barbarians. *But the time came when the provincials began to dread the tax-collector more than they feared the barbarians.* This was partly because of the decrease in ability to pay, and partly because the complex organization of government cost more and more. Says one historian: "The earth swarmed with the consuming hierarchy of extortion, so that it was said that they who received taxes were more than they who paid them."

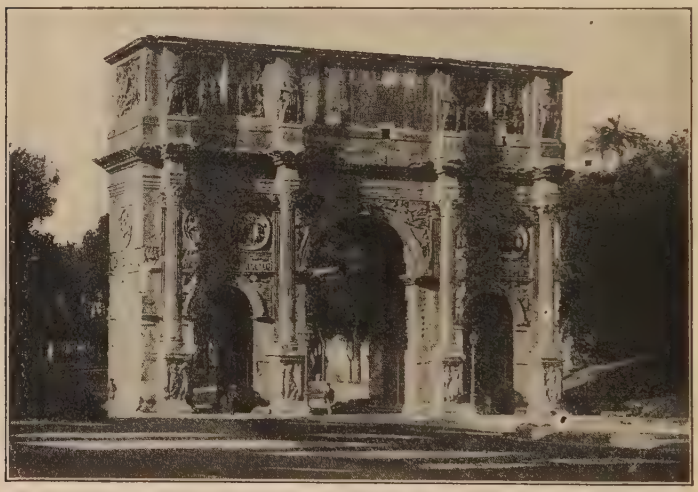
32. Summary. — There were no more great poets or men of letters in the third and fourth centuries. Learning and patriotism both declined. Society began to fall into rigid castes, — the serf bound to his spot of land, the artisan to his gild, the curial to his office. Freedom of movement was lost. Above all, *there was dearth of money and dearth of men. The empire had become a shell.*

For five hundred years, outside barbarians had been tossing wildly about the great natural walls of the civilized world. Commonly they had shrunk in dread from any conflict with the mighty Roman legions, always on sleepless ward at the weaker gaps — along the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates. Sometimes, it is true, the barbarians had broken through for a moment, but always to be destroyed promptly by some Roman Marius, or Caesar, or Julian. Now they broke in to stay — at first, seemingly, to overwhelm civilization, but eventually to revive it and to add to it priceless elements of their own.

III. CHRISTIANITY AND THE EMPIRE

33. Meanwhile, Christianity had come into the world, and had already become the greatest force for good within it. Before we turn to the barbarian conquerors of the empire, we must notice one supreme service of that empire in its last century. It had helped to foster this chief force in human progress.

Christianity appeared almost at the beginning of the empire. For three centuries its followers were despised and



THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, commemorating victories that made him master of the Roman world.

sometimes persecuted, but still the unity of the Roman world made it far easier for the new moral and spiritual teachings to spread than if the world had been broken up into a multitude of petty, disconnected, hostile states, with little communication and with unintelligible dialects. Finally the new religion grew so strong that candidates for the throne began to bid for its support. *Early in the fourth century* (313 A.D.), under the Emperor Constantine, *Christianity became a tolerated and even*

a favored religion; and shortly before the close of that century *it became the state religion* of the empire.

Its victory just at this time enabled it to conquer also the barbarians who were soon to conquer the empire. If they had not been converted before they became conquerors, it would have been almost impossible to convert them at all. They would have despised the religion of a people whom they had conquered. Therefore the historian Freeman calls the conversion of the Roman empire at that moment "the leading fact in all history," because then "*where Rome led, all must follow.*"

34. The church modeled its marvelously efficient government,

A Photograph of Jerusalem To-day.

in some respects, **upon the territorial divisions and the political organization of the empire.**

As the first missionaries spread out beyond Judea and came to a new province, they naturally went first to the chief city there. Thus the capital of the province became the seat of the first church in the district. From this mother society, churches spread to the other cities of the province, and from each city there sprouted outlying parishes.

At the head of each *parish* was a *priest*, assisted usually by deacons and subdeacons to care for the poor. The head of a *city church* was a *bishop* (overseer), with supervision over the rural churches of the neighborhood. The bishop of the *mother church in the capital city* exercised great authority over the other bishops of the province. He became known as *archbishop* or *metropolitan;* and it became customary for him to summon the other bishops to a central council.

Commonly, one of these metropolitans in a civil diocese (§ 25 and note) came to have leadership over the others. This lot fell usually to the metropolitan of the chief city of the diocese, who became known as a *patriarch.*

The process toward a centralized government was soon carried farther. The patriarchs of a few great centers were exalted above the others. Finally *all the East became divided among the four patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople, while all the West came under the authority of the bishop of Rome.*

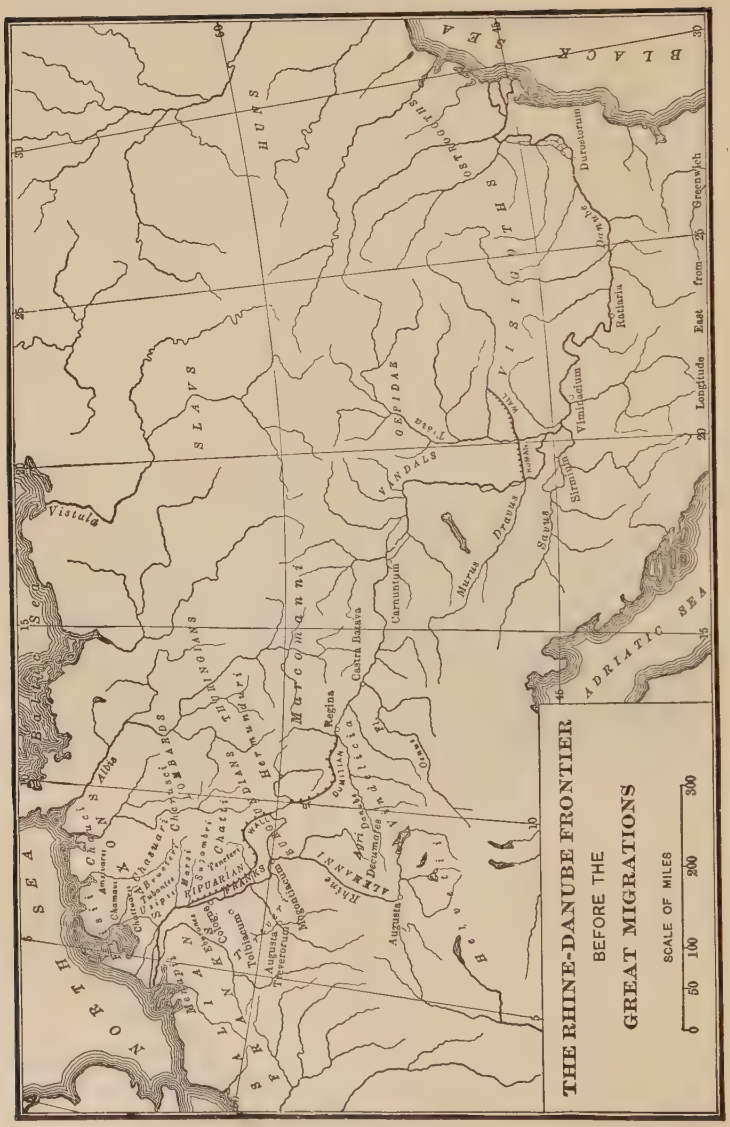
35. The Nicene Creed. — By degrees the church came to contain the educated classes, trained in the schools of Greek philosophy. These scholars brought with them into the church their philosophical thought; and they expanded the simple teachings of Christ into an elaborate system of theology. When they tried to state just what they believed about difficult points, some violent disputes arose. In such cases the views of the majority finally prevailed as the *orthodox doctrine*, and the views of the minority became *heresy.*

Most of the early heresies arose from different opinions about the exact nature of Christ. Thus Arius, a priest of Alexandria, taught that, while Christ was the divine Son of God, He was not equal to the Father. Athanasius, of the same city, asserted that Christ was not only divine and the Son of God, but that He and the Father were absolutely equal in all respects, — "of the same substance" and "co-eternal." The struggle waxed fierce and divided Christendom into opposing camps.

But the Emperor Constantine desired union in the church. If it split into hostile fragments, his political reasons for favoring it would be gone. Accordingly, in 325, he summoned all the principal clergy of the empire to the first great council of the whole church, at Nicaea, in Asia Minor, and ordered them to come to agreement. Arius and Athanasius in person led the fierce debate. In the end the majority sided with Athanasius. His doctrine, summed up in the *Nicene Creed*, became the orthodox creed of Christendom. Arianism was condemned as a heresy, and Arius and his followers were excluded from the church and persecuted.

It was the fugitives from this persecution who converted most of the Teutonic barbarians to Christianity (§ 37).

THE COLISEUM TO-DAY. This vast stone *amphi*theater (*two* theaters, face to face) was used for gladiatorial games and shows at Rome. It covers six acres, and the walls are 150 feet high. It is said to have seated 45,000 spectators. For centuries, in the Middle Ages, its ruins were a quarry for the palaces of Roman nobles, but its huge size prevented complete destruction. The traveler always feels that the Coliseum symbolizes the undying power of Rome.


THE RHINE-DANUBE FRONTIER
BEFORE THE
GREAT MIGRATIONS
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
NORTH SEA
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
Baltic Sea
Vistula
SLAVS
HUNS
OSTROGOTHS
VISIGOTHS
GEPIDAE
VANDALS
Durostorum
Danube
Ratiaria
Viminacium
Sirmium
Savus
Murus
Dravus
Carnuntum
Castra Batava
Regina
Marcomanni
Hermunduri
THURINGIANS
LOMBARDS
Albis
Chauci
Chasuari
Chattuari
Tubantes
Usipis
Marsi
Chatti
Tencteri
RIPUARIAN FRANKS
Mogontiacum
Augusta
Treverorum
Tolbiacum
Cologne
Menapii
SALIAN FRANKS
Helvetii
Augusta
Decumates
Agri
Vindelicia
Osnus
Fl.
Danube
Longitude East from Greenwich

THIRD PERIOD

THE TEUTONIC CONQUEST

(Fifth and Sixth Centuries)

36. East of the Rhine there had long roamed many "forest peoples," whom the Romans called Germans, or *Teutons.* The important groups in the fifth century were the Goths, Burgundians, Vandals, Alemanni, Lombards, Franks, and Saxons. All these barbarians were tall, huge of limb, white-skinned, flaxen-haired, with fierce, blue eyes. To the short, dark-skinned races of Roman Europe, their tawny forms seemed those of terrible giants. Skins or rude cloths formed their clothing; but the nobler warriors wore chain mail, and helmets crested with plumes or dragons.

Frankish Chieftain.

The tribes nearest the Empire had taken on a little civilization, and had begun to form large combinations under the rule of kings. The more distant tribes were still savage and unorganized. In general, *they were not far above the level of the better North American Indians* in our colonial period. Their only trade was barter; and what little agriculture they practised was carried on by women and slaves.

The usual marks of savagery were found among them. They were fierce, quarrelsome, hospitable. Their cold, damp forests helped to make them drunkards and gluttonous eaters. They

were desperate gamblers, too, and when other wealth was lost, they would stake even their liberty on the throw of the dice.

At the same time they possessed some noble traits not common in savage races. *They revered women.* The Roman historian Tacitus dwells upon the affection and purity of their family life. *They reverenced truth and fidelity to the pledged word.* Their *grim joy in battle* rose sometimes to fierce delight or even to a "Baersark" rage that made a warrior throw off armor and fight "bare," in his shirt, insensible to wounds. Above all, they possessed a proud spirit of individual liberty, "a high, stern sense of manhood and the worth of man."

37. The old German religion was a rude polytheism. *Woden*, the war god, held the first place in their worship. From him the noble families all claimed descent. *Thor*, or *Donner*, whose hurling hammer caused the thunder, was the god of storms and of the air. *Freya* was the deity of joy and fruitfulness.

The Franks and Saxons when they broke into the Empire were still heathen. All the other tribes that settled in the Empire in the fifth century had just become converts to *Arian* Christianity (§ 35).

38. Government. — A tribe lived in villages scattered in the forest. *The village and the tribe each had its Assembly* and its hereditary chief. *The tribal chief*, or king, *was surrounded by his council of village chiefs.* To quote Tacitus: —

"*In the election of kings* they have regard to birth; in that of generals to valor. Their kings have not an absolute or unlimited power; and their generals command less through the force of authority than of example.

"On affairs of smaller moment, the chiefs consult; on those of greater importance, the whole community. . . . They assemble, unless upon some sudden emergency, on stated days, either at the new or full moon. When they all think fit, they sit down armed. . . . Then the king, or chief, and such others as are conspicuous for age, birth, military renown, or eloquence, are heard, and gain attention rather from *their ability to persuade than their authority to command.* If a proposal displease, the assembly reject it by an inarticulate murmur. If it prove agreeable, they clash their javelins; for the most honorable expression of assent among them is the sound of arms."

39. Every great chief was surrounded by a band of "*companions*," who lived in his household, ate at his table, and fought at his side. To them the chief gave food, weapons, and plunder. For the safety of their "lord" they were ready to give their lives. To survive his death, leaving his body to a victorious foe, was life-long disgrace. This "*personal loyalty*" among the Teutons corresponded to the Roman loyalty to the state.

40. Story of the West Goths. — The first step in the Teutonic Conquest seemed at the moment only a continuation of an old and successful policy of the Empire. For five hundred years, the Roman legions, invincible in their magnificent discipline, had proven themselves over and over again superior to the terrible Teutonic warriors. And during this period, especially toward the close, many Teutonic tribes had been admitted within the boundaries peaceably (§ 24), as "allies" of Rome. Hitherto, such tribes had always proven faithful defenders of the frontiers against their kinsmen without. But in 376 A.D., such a measure was repeated on a larger scale than ever before, — and with different results.

The whole people of the West Goths (*Visigoths*) appeared on the Danube, with their flocks and herds, and with their goods and women and children in long lines of wooden carts. They were fleeing from the more terrible Huns, — wild, nomadic horsemen from Tartary, — and they begged to be allowed to cross the Danube into the protection of the Empire. The Emperor Valens granted the prayers of the fugitive nation, and gave them lands south of the river.

They were to surrender their arms, while Roman agents were to supply them food until the harvest. These agents embezzled the funds and furnished only vile and insufficient food, while, for bribes, they allowed the barbarians to keep their arms, — in much the same way that corrupt American "Indian agents" have provoked many Indian wars. The Goths rose and marched on Constantinople, which was now the capital of the Empire. Valens met them, with hastily gath-

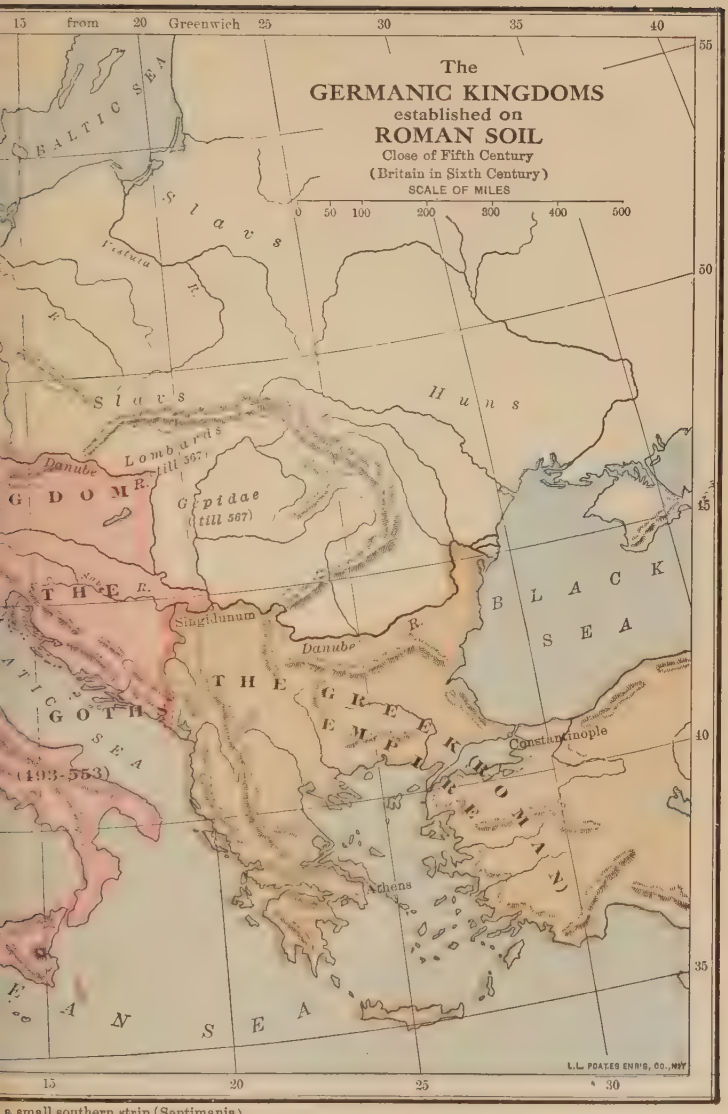
ered forces, at *Adrianople*, but was defeated and slain (378 A.D.). *This battle marks the beginning of the Teutonic conquest.*

The Goths established themselves in fertile provinces, rising now and then to ravage neighboring districts. In 410, under their young king *Alaric*, they sacked Rome itself, which for centuries had stood unassailable in men's minds as "the Eternal City." Soon afterward, a new king led them into *Spain*. There they found the Vandals, who had entered by a shorter route across the Rhine. Driving the Vandals into Africa, the West Goths set up in Spain a firm Teutonic kingdom, which lasted three centuries, until overwhelmed by the resistless flood of Mohammedan conquest (§ 60). Indeed the fragments of the Gothic state afterward grew together again into the Spain of to-day.

41. Meanwhile, other Teutons began to swarm across the Rhine. Finally, after unspeakable disorder and frightful destruction, the East Goths established themselves in Italy; the Burgundians, in the valley of the Rhone; the Angles and Saxons, in Britain; the Franks, in northern Gaul. This "wandering of the peoples" filled the fifth century and part of the sixth. In all cases (except in Britain, which will be treated later) the invaders settled down as rulers among a much larger native Roman population.

42. A New Force in History. — *These two terrible centuries brought on the stage* not only the Teutons, but also another new race, — *the Slavs;* and the opening of the following century brought another new force, *Mohammedanism.* But of these three forces, *we are concerned almost alone with the Teutons.* Mohammedanism, as we shall see, seized swiftly upon all the old historic ground in Asia and Africa; *but these countries have had little touch since with our Western civilization.* South of the Danube, Slavic tribes — Bulgars and Serbs — settled up almost to the walls of Constantinople, where the Roman Empire still maintained itself. *Southeastern Europe became Slavic-Greek*, just as Western Europe had become Teutonic-Roman. But, until very recently, Southeastern Europe, in its

After 507 the Kingdom of the West Goths in G



a small southern strip (Septimania)

later history, has had little bearing upon the Western World. *The two halves of Europe fell apart*, with the Adriatic for the dividing line, — along the old cleavage between Latin and Greek civilizations (§ 11).

The Teutons, however, rank, alongside the Greeks and Romans, as one of the three great historic peoples. Since their invasions, no other element in any degree so important has been added to the world's development. In all the centuries since, human progress has come almost wholly from this Western Teutonic-Romano Europe — and from its recent offshoots in other continents. Says an American historian (George Burton Adams): —

"The settlement of the Teutonic tribes was not merely the introduction of a new set of ideas and institutions, . . . it was also the introduction of fresh blood and youthful mind — the muscle and brain which in the future were to do the larger share of the world's work."

43. Conditions after the Year 600. — The invasions brought overwhelming destruction upon the Roman world, — the most complete catastrophe that ever befell a great civilized society. Civilization, it is true, had been declining before they began (§§ 23–32); but *they tremendously accelerated the movement, and prevented a revival of the Roman world in the West.*

When the invaders had entered into possession, and so ceased to destroy, two new causes of decline appeared: —

The new ruling classes were densely ignorant. They cared nothing for the survivals of the old literature and science. Few of them could read, or write even their names. Much of the old civilization was allowed to decay because they could not understand its use.

The language of everyday speech was growing away from the literary language in which all the remains of the old knowledge were preserved. Until the coming of the Teutons, a man who spoke the common language in Gaul or Spain could also understand the Latin when he heard it. But the barbarian conquerors widened the gap between the spoken and the written languages. They disregarded inflections, when

they spoke the speech of their subjects. They also corrupted words, by mispronunciation, and added a mass of new Teutonic words. The language of learning became "dead." It was known only to the clergy, and to most of them at this period very imperfectly.

Thus for two hundred years after the invasions themselves ceased, Europe remained a dreary scene of violence, lawlessness, and ignorance. The old Roman schools disappeared, and classical literature seemed to be extinct. There was no tranquil leisure, and therefore no study. There was little security, and therefore little work. The Franks and Goths were learning the rudiments of civilized life; but the Latins were losing all but the rudiments — and they seemed to lose faster than the Teutons gained.

44. But after all, the invasions did not uproot civilization *The conquests were made by small numbers*, and, outside Britain, they did not greatly change the character of the population. The conquerors settled among ten or fifty times their own numbers. At first they were the rulers, and almost the only large landowners. In the *country* districts they remained long the only class that seemed to count. But *the towns*, so far as they survived, *remained Roman*. Almost unnoticed by the ruling classes, they preserved some parts of the old culture and the old handicrafts. They kept, too, in the south of Europe, *the municipal institutions* of the old Empire. *The old population, too, for a long time furnished all the clergy.* From this class — the sole possessors of the art of writing and keeping records — the Teutonic lords had to draw secretaries and confidential officers; and by these advisers they were gradually persuaded to adopt many customs of the old civilization.

Most important of all, *the church itself lived on much in the old way.* Necessarily it suffered somewhat in the general degradation of the age; but, on the whole, it protected the weak, and stood for peace, industry, and right living. In the darkest of those dark centuries there were great numbers of

priests, monks, and bishops, inspired with zeal for righteousness and with love for men. The church, too, had its separate system of government, with which the new rulers of the land did not much interfere. Therefore *it kept up the old forms and principles of the Roman law more than any other part of society.* It was the chief force that made life *tolerable* for myriads of men and women in that dark age; it was also the one means of saving civilization for the future.

Through these different agencies, much of the old civilization which at the time seemed ruined, was sooner or later to be recovered by the Teutons, — so that "nearly every achievement of the Greeks and the Romans in thought, science, law, and the practical arts, is now a part of our civilization."

For Further Reading. — Tacitus in his *Germania* treats the Teutons at length. Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 121, gives a four-page extract. A like extract is found in Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 2. The most valuable modern accounts likely to be found in a high-school library are the opening pages of Green's *English People*, of Taine's *English Literature*, and of Henderson's *Short History of Germany*.

FOURTH PERIOD

FUSION OF TEUTON AND ROMAN

(Seventh and Eighth Centuries with Part of the Sixth)

Roughly speaking, the two centuries from 400 to 600 brought the Teuton into the Roman world, and the next two centuries, from 600 to 800, fused the Teutonic and Roman elements, so as to prepare for new advance. In strict accuracy, the two periods overlapped somewhat.

The story of the fusion of the two groups of forces is the subject of this and the next two chapters. The present chapter treats a few important but *disconnected* events, as an introduction to the more connected story of the two following.

45. Codification of the Roman Law. — We have said that the Roman empire continued in part of eastern Europe and in Asia, with its capital at Constantinople (the "city of Constantine"). Separated now from the Latin part of Europe, the Empire became more and more Greek and Oriental. It still called itself Roman; but we usually speak of it, after the fifth century, as "the Greek empire."

In the sixth century, after long decline, this Empire fell for a time to a capable ruler, *Justinian the Great* (527–565). We remember him chiefly because he brought about *a codification of the Roman law.* In the course of centuries, that law had become an intolerable maze. Now a commission of able lawyers put the whole mass into a new form, marvelously compact, clear, and orderly.

Silver Coin of Justinian.

Justinian also *reconquered Italy* for the Empire *and established the code in that land.* Thence, later on, *it spread over the West*

EUROPE
at the death of
JUSTINIAN
565 A.D.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400
EXPLANATION
Roman Empire
Teutonic Kingdoms
Longitude East from Greenwich
FRANKISH KINGDOM
WEST GOTHIC KINGDOM
Eoforwic (York)
Winchester
London
Frisians
Saxons
Kolo
Mainz
Trier
Metz
Paris
Orleans
Bordeaux
Lyons
Geneva
Milan
Pavia
Toulouse
Arelate
Massilia
Barcelona
Cordova
Gades
Tangier
New Carthage
Carthage
Fiesole
Ravenna
Rome
Naples
Syracuse
Corinth
Thessalonica
Constantinople
Nicaea
Cherson
Nisibis
Antioch
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Slavs
Goths
Lombards
GEPIDEA
ILLYRICUM
THRACE
PONTUS
ASIA
PERSIAN KINGDOM
AFRICA
EGYPT

to become the basis of nearly all modern European legal codes, and (through France) the basis even of the legal system of the American state, Louisiana. Roman law, says Woodrow Wilson (*The State*, 158), "has furnished Europe with many, if not most, of her principles of private right." It was the chief means by which Rome has influenced the modern world.

CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, built by Justinian upon the site of an earlier church of the same name by Constantine. The whole interior is lined with costly, many-colored marbles. This view shows only a part of the vast dome, with eighteen of the forty windows which run about its circumference of some 340 feet. In 1453 the building became a Mohammedan mosque (§ 320).

46. The Break-up of Italy.— Justinian's generals had destroyed a promising kingdom of the East Goths in Italy. Then (568), immediately after the great emperor's death, a new German people, *the Lombards*, swarmed into the peninsula, and soon conquered much of it. Their chief kingdom was in the Po valley, which we still call Lombardy; but various Lombard "dukedoms" were scattered also in other parts. The Empire kept (1) the "Exarchate of Ravenna" on the Adriatic;

(2) Rome, with a little neighboring territory; and (3) the extreme south.

Thus Italy, the middle land for which Roman and Teuton had struggled for centuries, was at last divided between them, and shattered into fragments in the process. No other country suffered so terribly in the centuries of invasion as this lovely peninsula which had so long been mistress of the world. *Italy was not again united until 1870.*

47. Men continued to think of the Roman Empire as the one legitimate *universal* government in the world, supreme over all local governments. The survival of the imperial power in parts of Italy, for several centuries more, helped to maintain this idea in the rest of the West. We can see now that, except for these slight survivals, the Empire had ceased in the West before the year 500. *But men of that day did not see it.* They could not believe that the dominion of the "Eternal City" was dead, — and therefore it did not altogether die. For three hundred years it lived on, *in the minds of men,* until Charlemagne made it again external fact (§ 83).

"Teutonic kings ruled in the West, but nowhere (except in England) had they become national sovereigns in the eyes of the people of the land. They were simply the chiefs of their own peoples (Goths or Franks), reigning in the midst of a Roman population *who looked to the Caesar of New Rome* [Constantinople] as their lawful sovereign." — Condensed from FREEMAN.

48. When the barbarians came into the Empire, *their law was only unwritten custom.* Much of it remained so, especially in Britain. **But, under Roman influence, the conquerors soon put *parts* of their law into written codes.**[1] Two common features of these codes throw interesting sidelights on the times.

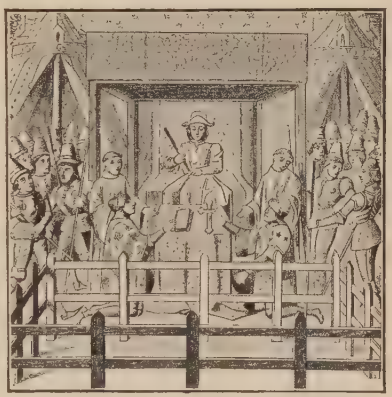
a. Offenses were atoned for by money-payments, varying from a small amount for cutting off the first joint of the little finger, to the **wergeld** (man-money), or payment for taking a man's life. The wergeld varied, too, with the rank of the injured.

b. In a trial, when a man wished to prove himself innocent,

[1] Davis' *Readings,* II, 337 ff., gives extracts from one of them.

or another man guilty, he did not try to bring evidence, as we do. *Proof consisted in an appeal to God to show the right.* Three kinds of appeal were in use: —

The accuser and accused swore solemnly to their statements. Each was backed by *compurgators*, — not witnesses, but persons who swore they believed their man was telling the truth. To swear falsely was to invite the divine vengeance;[1] and stories are told of men who fell dead with the judicial lie on their lips. This form of trial was **compurgation.** The value of a compurgator *depended upon his rank.* A noble was worth several common freemen.



Religious Preliminary to a Judicial Combat: Each party is making oath, on Bible and cross, to the justice of his cause. — From a fifteenth century manuscript.

A second kind of trial was by **ordeal.** The accused tried to clear himself by being thrown bound into water. If he sank, he was innocent: the pure element, it was believed, would not receive a criminal. Or he plunged his arm into boiling water, or carried red-hot iron a certain distance, or walked over burning plowshares; and if his flesh was uninjured, when examined some days later, he was declared innocent. All these ordeals were under the charge of the clergy, and were preceded by sacred exercises.[2]

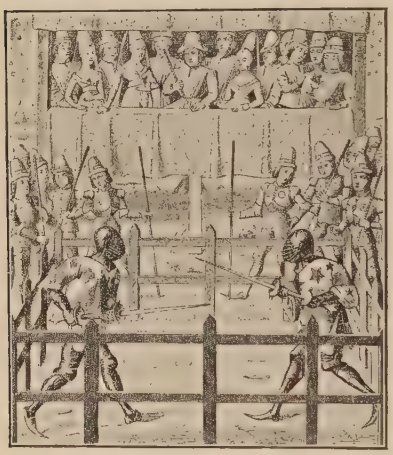
Such tests were sometimes made by deputy; hence our phrase, "to go through fire and water" for a friend. The byword, "he is in hot water," comes also from these trials; and so, too, the later test of witchcraft by throwing suspected old women into a pond, to sink or float.

[1] The idea, and probably the practice, survives in the boy's incantation to support his word, "Cross my heart and hope to die."

[2] Davis' *Readings*, II, 355 ff., gives these forms of the ordeal in detail.

Among the nobles, the favorite trial came to be the **trial by combat,** — a judicial duel which was prefaced by religious ceremonies, and in which God was expected to "show the right."

It must be remembered that the Teutons introduced once more a system of *growing* law. Codification preserved the Roman law, but crystallized it. Teutonic law, despite its codes, remained for a long time crude and unsystematic; but it contained possibilities of further growth. The importance of this fact has been felt mainly in the English "Common Law," which is the basis of our American legal system.



THE TRIAL BY COMBAT. A companion piece to the foregoing illustration.

49. The conquest modified the political institutions of the conquerors in many ways. *Three changes* call for attention.

a. The Teutonic kings became more absolute. At first they were little more than especially honored military chiefs, at the head of rude democracies. In the conquests, they secured large shares of confiscated land, so that they could reward their supporters and build up a strong personal following. Their authority grew by custom, since, in the confusion of the times, all sorts of matters were necessarily left to their decision. The Roman idea of absolute power in the head of the state had its influence.[1] Thus the former war chiefs became real sovereigns.

At his accession, each king was still lifted upon a shield, just as in the old Teutonic ceremony; and a spear in his hand

[1] With all its excellencies, the Roman law was imbued with the principle of despotism. A favorite maxim was, — "*What the prince wills has the force of law.*"

remained the symbol of royal power. But he also adopted many Roman forms. Coins represent the kings in the Roman toga and with the imperial diadem.

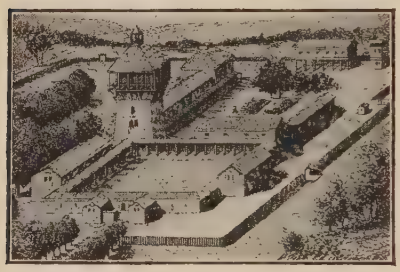
b. A new nobility of service appeared. The king rewarded his most faithful and trusted followers with grants of lands, and gave them important powers of government, as rulers (counts and dukes).

c. The Assemblies of freemen decreased in importance, after the conquest, as the powers of the kings and nobles grew. In the German forests the most important element in the government of a tribe had been these assemblies. They survived in form, in England as occasional "Folkmoots," and in the Frankish kingdom as "Mayfields"; but they shrank into gatherings of nobles and officials assembled to hear the king's will.

At the same time, while these assemblies *of the whole nation* died out or lost their democratic elements, they kept much of their old character for various *local* units, as in the counties of the Teutonic kingdoms of England. Thus the Teutons did carry into the Roman world a new chance for democracy. It is not correct to say that they gave us representative government; but *they did give the world another chance to develop it.* The earlier peoples had lost their chances; but in England, as we shall see (§ 185), representative institutions grew out of these local assemblies.

50. Everyday Life in the Seventh Century. — The Teutonic conquerors disliked the close streets of a Roman town; but the villa, the residence of a Roman country gentleman, was the Roman institution which they could most nearly appreciate. *The new Teutonic kings lived* not in town palaces, but *on extensive farmsteads in the midst of forests.* The new nobility, too, and other important men, were great landlords and lived in the open country, much as their kings did. Their "villas" were built of wood, not of brick and marble like the old Roman villas; but, like those, each Teutonic villa (or farmstead) contained, besides the central establishment of the master and his family, many other buildings, — storehouses, stables, cowsheds, and rough lodgings for slaves and serfs.

These quarters, and sometimes a garden, were inclosed within a moat, if possible, and were protected by a wall of stakes driven into the ground (palisades). At suitable points, the wall was strengthened, perhaps, by towers. Each "villa" raised its own food, and manufactured nearly all its clothing, furniture, and tools. (Cf. § 27.)



SEVENTH CENTURY VILLA IN NORTHERN GAUL. — A "restoration," from Parmentier.

All the noble class were busied in looking after their farms. Their other leading occupations were war and hunting and practice in the use of arms. They were desperately fond of gaming with dice, and spent much time in such sports as tennis, and still more in hard drinking after meals.

Population had shrunken terribly, since the times of the early Roman Empire. In the north, during the invasions and the following disorder, most towns had been destroyed. If they were rebuilt at all, it was upon a smaller scale, and from wood or from the ruins of the old dwellings. The occupations of town-dwellers had mostly vanished. The town, surrounded by a rude palisade, was valued chiefly for a refuge, and for its convenient nearness to the church or cathedral which made its center.

In the south, it is true, the old cities lived on, with a considerable degree of the old Roman city life. They kept up, too, some commerce with the East; and sometimes colonies of Greek merchants dwelt in them. In the south, also, the old Romano-Gallic landlords remained in power, with only slight sprinklings of Teutonic nobles. They made more use of towns than did the Teutonic lords of the North; but they too lived mainly on their villas in the country. Their estates were much finer and better cultivated than those of the north; and

the life of the owners was marked by more refinement, with some survivals of literature.

Everywhere, the great majority of the people were the poor folk who tilled the land for neighboring masters. Most of these toilers lived in mud hovels, or in cabins of rough boards, without floors and with roofs covered with reeds or straw. At the best, little more of their produce remained to them than barely sufficient to support life; and they were constantly subject to the arbitrary will of masters who were practically beyond the check of law and who were often brutal and greedy. At frequent intervals, too, they suffered terribly from pestilence and famine.

This picture of ordinary seventh-century life prepares us to understand another sort of life which became exceedingly popular in that day (§ 51).

51. Monasticism. — In the old East, holiness was believed to be related to withdrawal from the world, to contempt for human pleasures, and to disregard for natural instincts, even love for mother, wife, and child. This unnatural, ascetic tendency invaded Eastern Christianity. Thus there arose a class of *hermits*, who strove each to save his own soul by tormenting his body.[1] The persecutions of the third century augmented the numbers of these fugitives from society, and the oases of the Egyptian and Syrian deserts swarmed with tens of thousands of them. In some cases they united into small bodies with common rules of life.

In the latter part of the fourth century this idea of *religious communities* was transplanted to the West, and the long anarchy following the invasions made such a life peculiarly inviting. Thus arose *monasticism*, one of the most powerful medieval[2]

[1] Davis' *Readings in Ancient History*, II, 136, has an account of an extreme and famous instance.

[2] The in-pouring of the Teutons between 378 and 476 is sometimes said to close Ancient history. Those who speak in this way divide history into Ancient, Medieval, and Modern, and give the name Medieval to the period from about 400 to about 1500 A.D. This book follows a different classification. We call all history *Ancient* down to the fusion of Roman and Teuton (about

institutions. The fundamental causes were: (1) the longing for a life of quiet religious devotion, and (2) the conditions which made quiet living impossible except through some such withdrawal from society.

European monasticism, however, differed widely from its model in the East. The monks of the West, within their quiet walls, wisely sought escape from temptation, not in idleness but in active and incessant work. Their motto was, "To work is to pray."

Abbey of Citeaux. — From a miniature in a twelfth century manuscript.

The growth of many a rich monastery was a romantic story of humble and heroic beginnings and of noble service to men. A body of devoted enthusiasts, uniting themselves for mutual religious aid, would raise a few rude buildings in a pestilential swamp or in a wilderness. Gradually their numbers grew. By their toil, the marsh was drained, or the desert became a garden. The first simple structures gave way to massive and stately towers. Lords gave lands; fugitive serfs tilled them; villages, and perhaps wealthy towns, sprang up upon them under the rule of the abbot.[1] Similar institutions for women offered a much-needed refuge for that sex in that rough age. During the seventh century, the majority of cultivated and refined men and women in Western Europe lived within monastic walls. More than one king

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800 A.D.), and we use the term *Modern* for all history since 800 A.D. But we sometimes use the expressions *Medieval* and *Middle Age*, as descriptive terms, for the period to which they are commonly applied.

[1] A *large* monastery was an *abbey*, and its elected head was an *abbot* (from a Syrian word, *abba*, meaning *father*). An ordinary monastery called its head a *prior*, — "the *first* in place."

voluntarily laid aside his crown to seek peace there from the horrible confusion of the world.

At first each monastery was a rule to itself. But in the sixth century, St. Benedict, an Italian monk of noble family, published and preached rules for a monastic life which were widely adopted — and which still control large numbers of Catholic institutions. Two hundred years later, nearly all monks in Western Europe were *Benedictines*, and the brotherhood is said to have counted 40,000 monasteries.

Benedict cautioned his disciples against over-asceticism. They were not to starve themselves by unreasonable fasts, nor to torment the body overmuch with cruel floggings and tortures. Each Benedictine, however, was to spend a considerable part of every day in private prayer and in the public services of the community; and in particular he was to take the three vows of *poverty*, *chastity*, and *obedience*. (1) He renounced all wealth for himself (though the monastery might become wealthy). (2) He renounced marriage. (3) He renounced his own will in all things in favor of that of his superior, the abbot or prior. To all this was added the *obligation of work*.[1]

Monks busy in Field Labor. — From Lacroix, after a thirteenth century manuscript.

During all the Middle Ages, the monks were the most skillful and industrious tillers of the soil. They copied and illustrated manuscripts with loving care; and they themselves produced whatever new literature Europe had for many centuries. They taught gladly

[1] Davis' *Readings*, II, 137, gives extracts from the "Rule of St. Benedict." Munro and Sellery's *Medieval Civilization* gives an excellent treatment (ch. ix) on the "Economic Services of the Monasteries."

all that they themselves knew to any youth of the countryside who would come to their instruction, so equipping many a poor peasant boy to become a powerful churchman, the master of lords and kings. In particular they cared for the poor and suffering. Their lives of quiet industry and devotion, their abstinence and self-sacrifice, seemed more than human to other men during those evil ages of violence and brutality. For centuries the thousands of monasteries that dotted Western Europe were its only almshouses, inns, asylums, hospitals, and schools, and *the sole refuge of learning.*[1]

At first, a monastery was a religious association of *laymen ;* but gradually the monks became the most zealous of missionaries and the most devoted of preachers. As they took up the duties of the clergy, there arose a long struggle between them and the bishops. The bishops desired to exercise authority over them as over other clergy. The monks insisted upon independence under their own abbots, and finally won it by grants from the popes. Because subject to *rule,* the monks became known as *regular* clergy, while the ordinary clergy were styled *secular* ("belonging to the world").

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[1] Special report : the monasteries and learning. See especially Putnam's *Books and their Makers,* ch. i, if available.

FIFTH PERIOD

RISE OF THE FRANKS AND THE PAPACY

I. THE FRANKS TO THE MOHAMMEDAN INVASION

52. **Clovis.** — For a long human lifetime after East Goths, West Goths, Vandals, and Burgundians had built up new kingdoms within the old Empire, the Franks had remained rude pagans, in their native homes along the lower Rhine. Nor were they as yet a nation. They were split into petty tribes without a common king. *This people, however, were to become the leading race among the Teutonic conquerors, and, along with the church, the chief organizing force in Western Europe for many centuries.* We must now survey their story from the days of the invasions.

The founder of Frankish greatness was *Clovis*, a brutal savage with a shrewd intellect. In 481, at the age of fifteen, he became king of a little tribe. Five years later, having collected a few thousand warriors, he attacked the Roman possessions in north Gaul, and through a great victory at *Soissons* added them to his possessions. Ten years later he conquered the Alemanni, a new German people who had invaded Gaul, and made tributary their territory beyond the Rhine (map after page 54).

The decisive victory over the Alemanni was won at the battle of Strassburg. This battle was the occasion for the conversion of Clovis. His wife, *Clothilda*, was a devout Christian. In a crisis in the battle, thinking that his old gods had abandoned him, Clovis vowed to serve the God of Clothilda, if He would grant victory. In consequence, the king and his three thousand warriors were baptized immediately afterward.

Burgundians and Goths had long been Christians; but they had adopted the Arian doctrine (§ 35), which was detested as a heresy by the orthodox Roman world. Clovis adopted the orthodox (Catholic) Christianity. In this he was influenced, no doubt, by keen political insight. In the coming struggles with the Arian Goths and Burgundians, it was to be of immense advantage to have the subject Roman populations on his side, as an orthodox sovereign, against their own hated heretic rulers. This conversion was a chief agency, therefore, in building up the great Frankish state.

The Gothic kingdom in Spain included rich districts in south Gaul, and the Burgundians held southeastern Gaul. Clovis now declared it intolerable that those "Arian dogs" should possess the fairest parts of Gaul, and he at once attacked them both. The Goths he drove across the Pyrenees, and his sons completed his conquest of the Rhone district. During the last of his reign, by a horrible series of bloody treacheries, he got rid of the kings of the other Frankish tribes,[1] and consolidated all that people into one nation under his sole rule. "Thus," says the pious chronicler, Gregory of Tours, "did God daily deliver the enemies of Clovis into his hand because he walked before His face with an upright heart and did what was pleasing in His sight."

The sons of Clovis added Bavaria and Thuringia, as tributaries, to the Frankish state. These districts lay on the German side of the Rhine, *well beyond the borders of the old Roman world.*

53. Empire in the Seventh Century. — In fifty years, mainly through the cool intellect and ferocious energy of one ruthless savage, a little Teutonic tribe had grown into the great Frankish state. That state included nearly the whole of modern France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany almost to the Elbe.

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[1] See one instance in Davis' *Readings*, II, 335–337. Others are given in Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 6 (extract from the "Deeds of Clovis" by Gregory of Tours).

Kingdom of the
MEROVINGIANS
Showing their Conquests
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150
Longitude West
Longitude East
from Greenwich
NORTH SEA
BRITAIN
FRISIANS (680)
SAXONS
THURINGIANS 531
SLAVS
Weser R.
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
(Köln) Cologne
Bonn
AUSTRASIA
Fulda
Trier (Treves)
Mainz
Wurzburg
Meuse
Moselle
Metz
Soissons
PARIS
Seine R.
FRANCIA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
BRITTANY
NEUSTRIA
Orleans
Loire R.
Nantes
Tours
Poitiers
AQUITAINE (507-511)
BAY OF BISCAY
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
VASCONIA (567)
Toulouse
WEST GOTHS
SEPTIMANIA
Rhone R.
PROVENCE (536)
Massilia
Mediterranean Sea
BURGUNDY (534)
ALPS
Strasburg
ALEMANNIA (496)
L. Constance
BAVARIA (555)
Danube R.
Drave R.
Milan
Venice
Ravenna
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA

Such territory to-day would make the greatest power in Europe. In the sixth and seventh centuries its preëminence was even more marked. Gothic Spain was weakened by quarrels between Arian and Catholic; Italy was torn to shreds; Britain was in chaos (§ 105); non-Frankish Germany was filled with savage, unorganized tribes. *The only real rivals of the Frankish state were the Greek Empire and the new Mohammedan power* which was soon to contest Europe with both Greek and Frank.

54. The family of Clovis is known, from his grandfather *Merovig*, as *Merovingian*. It kept the throne for two centuries after Clovis' death, but its story is a dismal record of greed, family hate, treachery, and murder. The empire was divided among the four sons of Clovis, as though it had been a private estate, according to Frankish custom. The fragments were reunited by one of these sons, through methods as horrible as those of Clovis himself. Then it was again divided, and so on for long periods. The Franks themselves spread very little south of the Loire. North and south Gaul remained distinct in blood and character; but Frankish *rule* preserved a sort of *political* unity.

55. The Do-nothing Kings and their Mayors. — The later Merovingian kings earned the name of "*Do-nothings*." They were mere phantom rulers. Real power was exercised by a *mayor of the palace*. Originally this officer was a chief domestic, the head of the royal household; but, one by one, he had withdrawn all the powers of government from the indolent kings. Once a year, the long-haired king himself was carried forth in stately procession on his ox-cart, to be shown to the Assembly of the Mayfield. The rest of the time he lived, on some obscure estate, in indolence and swinish pleasures that brought him to an early grave.

At first the office of mayor was filled by the king's appointment. As it grew more important, the nobles sometimes claimed the right to elect the holder. Finally, the mayors grew strong enough to pass their office on to their sons.

56. Pippin of Heristal. — In the middle of the seventh century, the empire of the Franks seemed ready to dissolve in anarchy and civil war. The northern and more purely Frankish portion was divided into two kingdoms. Austrasia, the kingdom of the East Franks, contained the original home of the race, and had always remained essentially German in character. Neustria, the kingdom of the West Franks, was a state of greater dignity, because it contained the Roman conquests of Clovis and the imperial capital. While the two divisions struggled for supremacy, the other parts of the em-

A Repast in the Hall of a Frankish Noble. — After a tenth century manuscript.

pire almost fell away. Bavaria and Thuringia (purely German) and Aquitaine (an almost purely Roman province in the southwest) did become practically independent under native *dukes*.

Finally, at the battle of *Testry* (687), the Austrasians, under their mayor, Pippin of Heristal, established their supremacy over the West Franks. Testry stands for a second Teutonic conquest of the more Romanized part of the Frankish state and for a new infusion of ruling Teutonic blood. Pippin is the second founder of the empire of the Franks.

57. Pippin's son, Charles, completed his father's work. He brought back to subjection the great dukedoms of Bavaria and

Thuringia, and established firm order among all the unruly chiefs of the German frontier. The crushing blows he dealt his rivals in these contests won him the name, *Charles Martel* ("the Hammer"), — a title he was soon to justify in a more critical conflict.

For the Mohammedans now attacked Europe. Except for Testry and the long pounding by "the Hammer of the Franks," there would have been no Christian power able to withstand their onset — and Englishmen and Americans to-day might be readers of the Mohammedan Koran instead of the Christian Bible. To understand how Martel saved us, we must turn to the story of Mohammedanism.

II. THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIL

58. Arabia before Mohammed. — A century after Clovis built up the empire of the Franks, a better man, out of less promising material, built a mighty power in Arabia. Until that time, Arabia had had little to do with human progress. It was mainly desert, with occasional small oases, and with strips of tillable land near the Red Sea. In this last district, the tribes had gained some mechanical skill and possessed a few small cities. The rest of the Arabs were wandering shepherds, — poor and ignorant, dwelling in black camel's-hair tents and living from their sheep and by robbing their neighbors.

Man by man, they were brave and active in mind and body; but their *tribes* were weak and without union among themselves. They were among the lowest of idolaters, too, — worshiping even certain sticks and stones which they thought possessed magic power; but, possibly from association with Christians and Jews, they had learned also to think dimly of a shadowy higher God (*Allah*) in the heavens. The inspiring force that was to lift them to a higher life, and fuse them into a world-conquering nation, was the fiery enthusiasm of *Mohammed*.

59. Mohammed was born at Mecca, the largest city of Arabia, about 570. He never learned to read; but his speech was

ready and forceful, and his manner pleasing and stately. As a youth, he was modest, serious, and truthful, — so that as a hired camel-driver, he earned the surname "the Faithful." At twenty-five, he became wealthy, by marriage with his employer, the good widow Kadijah; and until forty he lived as a respected merchant.

He had always been given to occasional periods of religious enthusiasm and ecstasy, watching and praying alone in the desert for days at a time, as indeed many Arabs did. In such a lonely vigil, in 611, Allah appeared to him (he said) in a wondrous vision, revealing to him a higher religion and ordering him to preach it to his countrymen. At first, Mohammed seems to have doubted whether this vision were not a subtle temptation by the devil; but Kadijah convinced him that it came truly from heaven, and he entered upon his mighty task. He really drew the best features of his new religion from Jewish and Christian teachings, with which he had become somewhat acquainted in his travels as a merchant. Indeed, he recognized Abraham, Moses, and Jesus as true prophets, but claimed that he was to supersede them with a higher revelation.

60. Scribes collected the teachings of Mohammed into the Koran, the sacred book of Mohammedanism. The two central requirements of the new religion were *faith* and *obedience*. A "true believer" must accept only the one God, *Allah*, and must offer complete submission (*Islam*) to his will as taught in the Koran.

The Koran[1] *taught a higher morality than the Arabs had known*, — not so very unlike that of the Ten Commandments; but it accepted also certain evil customs of the time, such as slavery and polygamy, and it attracted converts by its sensuous appeals to future pleasures or pains. At the "Last Day," all souls would be gathered to judgment. Then all sinful Mohammedans, together with all "Unbelievers" (all Christians and

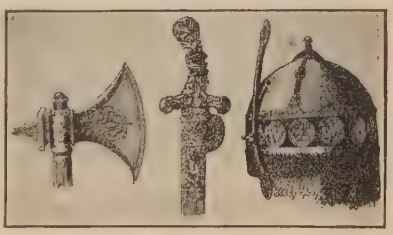
[1] See extracts in Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 13.

the rest of the outside world) would be cast into an everlasting hell of scalding water covered with thick clouds of smoke. True believers, on the other hand, were to enter the joys of an eternal Paradise, to recline, in the midst of lovely gardens, on couches of gold and jewels, where they would be served constantly by beautiful maidens (*houris*) with delicious foods and wines.

61. For twelve years the new faith grew slowly. A few friends accepted Mohammed at once as a prophet; but the bulk of his fellow townsfolk jeered at the claim, and when he continued to order them to put away their stone idols, they drove him from Mecca.

Mohammed barely escaped from his home with his life. This flight is *the Hegira*, the point from which the Mohammedan world still reckons time, as Christendom does from the birth of Christ. The first year of the Mohammedan era corresponds to our year *622 A.D.*

62. Now Mohammed took up the sword. He turned to the tribes of the desert, made converts rapidly, and soon captured Mecca, which became the sacred city of the faith. His fierce warriors proved themselves almost irresistible, conquering many a time against overwhelming odds. They felt sure that to every man there was an appointed time of death, which he could neither delay nor hasten; and this high fatalism conquered fear. Indeed they rejoiced in death in battle, as the surest admission to the joys of Paradise.



Arabian Battle-ax, Sword, and Helmet.

"The sword," said Mohammed, "is the key of heaven. A drop of blood shed in the cause of God is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer. Whoso falls in battle, all his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion and odoriferous as musk."

At the same time, the Mohammedans were comparatively mild in victory. Pagans, it is true, had to choose between the new teaching and death; but Jews and Christians were allowed to keep their faith on payment of tribute.

63. Ninety Years of Conquest. — Mohammed lived only ten years after the Hegira. He became master of Arabia, and, at his death, in 632, he was planning expeditions against the

THE MOSQUE OF OMAR, a famous Mohammedan temple at Jerusalem on the site of Solomon's Temple. — From a photograph.

Greek Empire. Eighty years later, his followers stood victorious upon the Oxus, the Indus, the Black Sea, the Atlantic, — rulers of a realm more extensive than that of Rome at its height. (Most of that wide realm, with much later conquest, belongs still to the Mohammedan religion, which counts at least a seventh of the present population of the globe as its adherents.) Within the span of one human life, the Mohammedans had won all the old Asiatic empire of Alexander the Great, and all North Africa besides; and drawing together the sweeping horns

of their mighty crescent, they were already trying to enter Europe from both east and west, by the narrow straits of Gibraltar and the Hellespont.

64. The preservation of Europe from the first attack lay with the Greek empire. After Justinian (§ 45), that state had fallen again to decay, threatened with annihilation by the Slavs in Europe and the Persians in Asia. The Arabs now conquered Persia, *taking its ancient place as the champion of the Orient* (§ 8). They overran Syria and Asia Minor, also; and, in 672, they besieged Constantinople itself. Their victory at this time (before the battle of Testry) would have left all Europe open to their triumphal march; but the hero *Constantine IV* repulsed them, and saved the Western world.

THE WALLS OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO-DAY. — From a photograph.

Happily, in the twenty years of anarchy that followed this emperor's death, the Saracens made no determined effort. *In 717* they returned to the attack; but a new and vigorous ruler had just seized the throne at Constantinople. This was *Leo the Isaurian*, who was to begin another glorious line of Greek emperors. Leo had only five months in which to restore order and to prepare for the terrific onset of the Mohammedans; but once more the Asiatics were beaten back — after a twelve months' siege. *The most formidable menace to Europe wore itself away on the walls of the City of Constantine.*

Arabian chroniclers themselves say that only thirty thousand survived of a host of one hundred and eighty thousand well-appointed warriors who began the siege. The Greek authorities made the Saracen numbers some three hundred thousand, and "by the time the story reached Western Europe these numbers had grown beyond all recognition."

A chief weapon of the defense was the newly invented Greek fire, — a combustible made, probably, by mixing naphtha, sulphur, and pitch. It could not be extinguished by water, and it was the most terrible weapon of warfare until the invention of gunpowder. It was to be used, later, with terrible effect by the Mohammedans themselves. As late as 1250, Western Europe was still ignorant of its secret, and an old crusader who first saw it in a night battle described it as follows: "Its nature was in this wise, that it rushed forward as large round as a cask of verjuice, and the tail of the fire which issued from it was as big as a large-sized spear. It made such a noise in coming that it seemed as if it were a thunderbolt from heaven, and it looked like a dragon flying through the air. It cast such a brilliant light that in the camp we could see as clearly as if it were noonday."

65. Spain, however, did become Mohammedan. In 711 the Arabs entered that country, and were soon masters of the kingdom, except for a few remote mountain fastnesses. Then, pouring across the Pyrenees, the Mohammedan flood spread over Gaul, even to the Loire. Now, indeed, it "seemed that the crescent was about to round to the full." But the danger completed the reunion of the Frankish state. This brings us back to the story of the Franks and Martel, which we left in § 57.

66. Battle of Tours. — The duke of Aquitaine had long led a revolt against Frankish rule (§ 56). Now, however, he fled to the camp of Charles Martel for aid against the Mohammedan peril; and, in 732, in the plains near *Tours*, the "Hammer of the Franks" with his close array of mailed Austrasian infantry met the Arab host. From dawn to dark, on a Saturday in October, the gallant, turbaned horsemen of the Saracens hurled themselves in vain against the Franks' stern wall of iron. At night the surviving Arabs stole silently from their camp and fled back to the shelter of the Pyrenees.

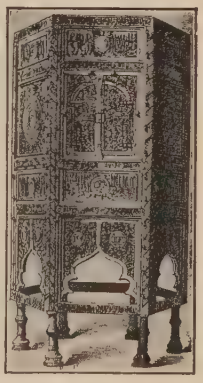
The battle of Tours, just one hundred years after Mohammed's death, is the high-water mark of the Saracen invasion. A few years later, the Mohammedan world, like Christendom, split into rival empires. The Caliph[1] of the East built, for

[1] *Caliph* ("successor") became the title of the successors of Mohammed.

WALLS BUILT ABOUT JERUSALEM BY SARACEN CONQUERORS: THE DAMASCUS GATE TO-DAY.

his capital, the wonderful city of Bagdad on the Tigris. The Caliphate of the West fixed its capital at Cordova in Spain. The two Caliphates were more or less hostile to each other, and the critical danger to Western civilization for the time passed away. *The repulses at Constantinople and at Tours rank with Marathon and Salamis, in the long struggle between Asia and Europe.*

67. Later Mohammedanism will be described at the point (§ 236) when Europe again came into conflict with it, some four centuries after Tours. Here we will note only that the Arabs quickly adopted the Greek culture of the Empire at Constantinople, and, in some ways, extended it, so that for centuries they infinitely surpassed Western Europe in civilization. On the whole, however, the Arabs showed little *original* or *creative* power; and, after a time, political mastery in the Mohammedan world fell to the Turks, who were much less capable of culture than the Arabs.



Arabian Table of Bronze inlaid with Silver.

Moreover, Mohammedanism expressly sanctioned slavery and polygamy. That is, it left no chance for the rise of woman or of the working masses. It accepted Mohammed's teachings as final, and so it crystallized into a changeless system, hostile to all progress. Its civilization took on, more and more, an Oriental character (§ 3). It was despotic, uniform, stagnant, — sure to be outrun finally by the ruder but progressive Western world.

The term *Saracen* is sometimes applied to any Mohammedan power, but strictly it belongs only to the Arabs. In North Africa, the Arabs mixed with the native *Mauritanians*, and the race became known as *Moors*. These were the Mohammedans who were to rule Spain for eight hundred years. The *Turks* came into the Mohammedan world first as invaders from Northern Asia. They were allied to the Tartars.

III. RISE OF THE PAPACY

The Franks had repulsed the Mohammedans from Western Europe. Next they were to form a firm alliance with the Papacy.

68. The Pope's Claim to Headship. — We have seen (§ 34) that, in the fourth and fifth centuries, leadership in the Christian world was divided among the great bishops of Jerusalem,

CHURCH OF ST. JOHN LATERAN AT ROME, upon the site of the first papal church. The popes used the adjoining Lateran Palace (the home of an ancient Roman noble) as their official residence until they removed to the Vatican in 1377.

Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome. The last of these had put forth a vigorous claim to supremacy over all the Christian church.

The claim took this form: Christ had especially intrusted the government of his church to Peter; Peter had founded the church at Rome; hence the bishops of Rome, as successors of Peter, held spiritual sway over Christendom.

The Roman Catholic view, indeed, holds that the headship

of Rome, *in actual practice*, dates from Peter.[1] Early in the fifth century, a Roman emperor[2] had expressly commanded that all the church should recognize the headship of the pope;[3] but in the East this decree was not obeyed. The bishop of Constantinople, especially, claimed an equal place.

69. Rome had many advantages that helped to make good her bishops' claim. (1) *Men inevitably thought of Rome as the world-capital.* (2) *The Latin half of the Empire*, which would most naturally turn to Rome, *had no other church founded by an apostle; nor did it contain any other great city.* The possible rivals of Rome were all east of the Adriatic. (3) *A long line of remarkable popes*, by their moderation and statesmanship, confirmed the place of Rome as the ecclesiastical head of all the West. Several times, indeed, they were accepted as arbitrators in disputes between leading Eastern churches. (4) *The decline of the Empire in the West*, after the barbarian invasions, left the bishops of Rome less liable to imperial interference than were the Eastern churches. (5) *Rome's missionary labors* extended her power. She brought the Arian Teutons finally to the orthodox doctrine; and she converted the pagan Teutons in Britain and Germany. To these converts, in a special sense she was a mother church, to be obeyed implicitly.

70. Gregory the Great, who was pope from 590 to 604, did much to make good the papal claim. His rule came in the period of the decay of the Eastern empire, after Justinian (§ 64). Thus he was really called upon to take up the temporal government of Rome, to save that city from ruin; and

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[1] Scholarly presentations of the Catholic argument, together with collections of some of the historical evidence upon which it is based, are given in Kenrick's *Primacy of the Apostolic See* and in Rivington's *Roman Primacy*. Robinson's *Readings*, I, 62–73, has a good statement with valuable extracts from several of the early Fathers; see especially the argument of Pope Leo.

[2] Valentinian III; *Ancient World*, § 726.

[3] The name pope ("papa") was originally only a term of affectionate respect ("father") applied to any bishop. It did not become the *official* name of the bishops of Rome until 1085. Special reports: Leo the Great and Gregory the Great.

he waged wars and made treaties, like other princes. He corresponded with rulers and great churchmen all over the world. And missionaries sent out by him won the Saxon conquerors of Britain to Christianity.

71. Even in the West, however, until about 700 A.D., most men looked upon the bishop of Rome only as one among five great patriarchs — though the most loved and trusted one. **But the eighth century eliminated the other four patriarchs, so far as Western Christendom was concerned.** In quick succession, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch fell to the Saracens; and, soon afterward, remaining Christendom split into rival Latin and Greek churches, grouped respectively around Rome and Constantinople.

This "Great Schism" followed the ancient lines of partition between the Latin and Greek cultures (§§ 11, 25); but the occasion for actual separation was a dispute over the use of images in worship. This is known as the "iconoclast" (image-breaking) question. A small but influential party in the Greek Empire desired to abolish the use of images, which, they felt, the ignorant were apt to degrade from symbols into idols. The great reforming emperor, *Leo the Isaurian* (§ 64), put himself at the head of the movement, with all his despotic power. Finally, he ordered all images removed from the churches. The West believed in their use as valuable aids to worship; and *the pope forbade obedience to the order of the emperor.* The result was the separation of Christendom into two halves, never since united.

In the East, Leo and his successors were temporarily successful. Before the year 800, however, the image-users regained the throne in the person of the Empress Irene. Meantime the question had divided Christendom. The churches of Greece and Russia and the other Slav states of Southeastern Europe still belong to the Greek communion.

Thus, *Rome was left the unquestioned head of the Latin church.* Other conditions, which we are now to trace, raised this headship into a real monarchy, temporal as well as spiritual, such as

was never attained in the Greek church, where the patriarchs of Constantinople were overshadowed by the imperial will.

72. While the popes were thus extending their spiritual rule over all the West, **they were also growing into temporal**[1] **sovereigns** over a small state in Italy. This latter character appeared plainly with Gregory the Great (§ 70). We will trace the growth a little further.

In the break-up of Italy (§ 46), the imperial governor, with his capital at Ravenna, was cut off from Rome and the neigh-

CLOISTERS IN THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN LATERAN.

boring territory still belonging to the Empire. Bishops *previously* had held considerable civil authority. This new condition left the bishop of Rome the chief lieutenant of the Empire in his isolated district; and the difficulty of communication with Constantinople (and the weakness of the emper-

[1] *Temporal*, in this sense, is used to apply to matters of *this* world, in contrast to the *spiritual* matters of the world *eternal*.

ors) made him, in practice, an independent ruler. At the same time, as spiritual head of Christendom, the pope called, in some matters, for obedience from the emperor himself.

The emperors did not permit this papal independence without a sharp struggle. One pope was dragged from the altar to a dungeon; another died in lonely exile in the Crimea. But the Roman population of Italy rallied round its great bishops against the disliked Greek power. They even discussed plans for setting up a confederation of the many Italian states under papal leadership. Thus, the popes more and more boldly defied the emperors. When Leo the Isaurian tried to collect imperial taxes in Italy, the pope sanctioned resistance. The imperial decree regarding images, we have already noted, met with a like reception. As this last dispute grew bitter, Popes Gregory II and III called church councils which excommunicated[1] the emperor. Leo sent an army to seize the pope and subdue Italy; but a storm wrecked the expedition.

The popes were elected at this early time by the clergy and people of Rome; but, until these events, they always asked or accepted confirmation from the emperor, like other bishops of the day. *Henceforward, however, bishops of Rome assumed office without sanction from Constantinople.* Fifty years later, *Pope Hadrian made the political separation more apparent by ceasing to date events by the reigns of the emperors.* Instead, he called a certain day "December 1, of the year 781 in the reign of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God and Redeemer," — and so introduced our method of counting time.[2]

73. Popes and Lombards. — The popes had made themselves independent of the distant Greek Empire, but they were at

[1] Excommunication was a terrible weapon of the church. If such a decree was obeyed by the community, it put the condemned man absolutely *out of communication* with his fellows and practically made him an outlaw. No one might speak to him, or give him food or shelter, under danger of similar penalty; and his very presence was shunned like a pestilence.

[2] The *Ancient World* (§ 652) explains the error in computing the true date for the birth of Christ. Pope Hadrian should have called this year 785 or possibly 788.

once threatened with conquest by the neighboring Lombards. King Aistulf of Lombardy seized the Exarchate of Ravenna, and prepared to seize Rome. Had he succeeded, Italy would have become a united nation in the eighth century, instead of waiting till late in the nineteenth. The popes appealed to the Franks for aid against Lombard attack. The Frankish mayors needed papal sanction for their own plans just then, and so a bargain was struck (§§ 74, 75).

In the confusion of the sixth and seventh centuries, two organizing forces had appeared in Western Europe, — the papacy and the empire of the Franks. Now they began to work together.

IV. ALLIANCE OF FRANKS AND PAPACY

(From Charles the Hammer to Charles the Great)

74. The Frankish Mayors and the Popes. — Shortly after the victory at Tours, the "Do-nothing" king died. Charles Martel did not venture to take the title of king, *but neither did he place any Merovingian upon the throne.* He continued to rule, as Mayor of the Palace, without any king at all. Before his death he secured the consent of the nobles to the division of his office between his sons Karlmann and *Pippin the Short.*

These young Mayors, less secure at first than their victorious father, crowned a Merovingian prince, in whose name they governed like their predecessors. But soon Karlmann retired to a monastery, — as various other princes, English and Lombard, did in this age, — and Pippin then began to think of taking to himself the name and dignity, as well as the labors, of royalty.

He felt, however, the need of powerful sanction; and in 750, he sent an embassy to the pope to ask whether this was "a good state of things in regard to the kings of the Franks." The pope, who needed Pippin's aid against the Lombards, replied, "It seems better that he who has the power should be king rather than he who is falsely called so."

75. Thereupon Pippin sent the last Merovingian to a monastery and assumed the crown (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 145). When the Lombards again attacked Rome (soon after Pippin's coronation) Pope Stephen set out in person to ask aid at the Frankish court. During this visit, he reconsecrated Pippin as king of the Franks. On his part, Pippin conquered Lombardy, and gave to the pope the territory which the Lombards had recently seized from the Exarchate of Ravenna.

Previous Teutonic kings had held their kingship by the will of their people. Stephen anointed Pippin as the Jewish prophets did the ancient Hebrew kings. This began for European kings the sacred character of "the Lord's anointed."

76. The "Donation of Pippin" created the principality of the *Papal States*, — a strip of territory reaching across Italy from Rome to Ravenna (map after page 60). This temporal kingdom endured until 1870, when its last fragments were united to the new-born kingdom of Italy.

The exact terms of Pippin's grant are not known. Some writers hold that the pope was intended to be wholly sovereign in this territory. Others maintain that Pippin stepped into the place of the Greek emperor, and simply intrusted to his lieutenant, the pope, somewhat larger domains. In practice, the Frankish kings and the popes long remained close friends, and it was not until much later (when disputes arose) that a theory was needed. When that time came, however, the ambiguous character of this grant was to entangle well-meaning men in hopeless quarrels for centuries.

SIXTH PERIOD

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE

77. The Greatest Medieval Man. — In 768 Pippin, King of the Franks, was succeeded by his son Karl. This prince was one of the most remarkable men that ever lived. He stamped himself deeply on his own age, and his masterful mind even cast its shadow forward over many centuries to follow. He is known in history as Charles the Great, or, more commonly, by the French form of that name, *Charlemagne* (from *Carolus Magnus*). We must not think of him, however, as a Frenchman. He was a full-blooded German; and the forerunner of the later German kings rather than of French kings.

SEAL OF CHARLEMAGNE. (This is the nearest approach we have to a likeness of Charlemagne. The so-called "pictures" of Charlemagne in many books are purely imaginative, by artists of later centuries.)

Charlemagne's secretary (and intimate friend), Einhard, has left us a vivid pen-portrait of him.[1] He was "large and robust, and of commanding stature . . . His eyes were large and animated; his nose, somewhat long. He had a fine head of gray hair, and his face was bright and pleasant . . . Whether standing or sitting, he showed great dignity." He dressed simply, ate and drank temperately, and delighted in riding and hunting. "He was ready of speech, and expressed himself with great clearness."

78. Character of Charlemagne's Wars. — The realm of the Franks was still in danger from barbarism on the east and

[1] Quoted from Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* in Davis' *Readings*, II.

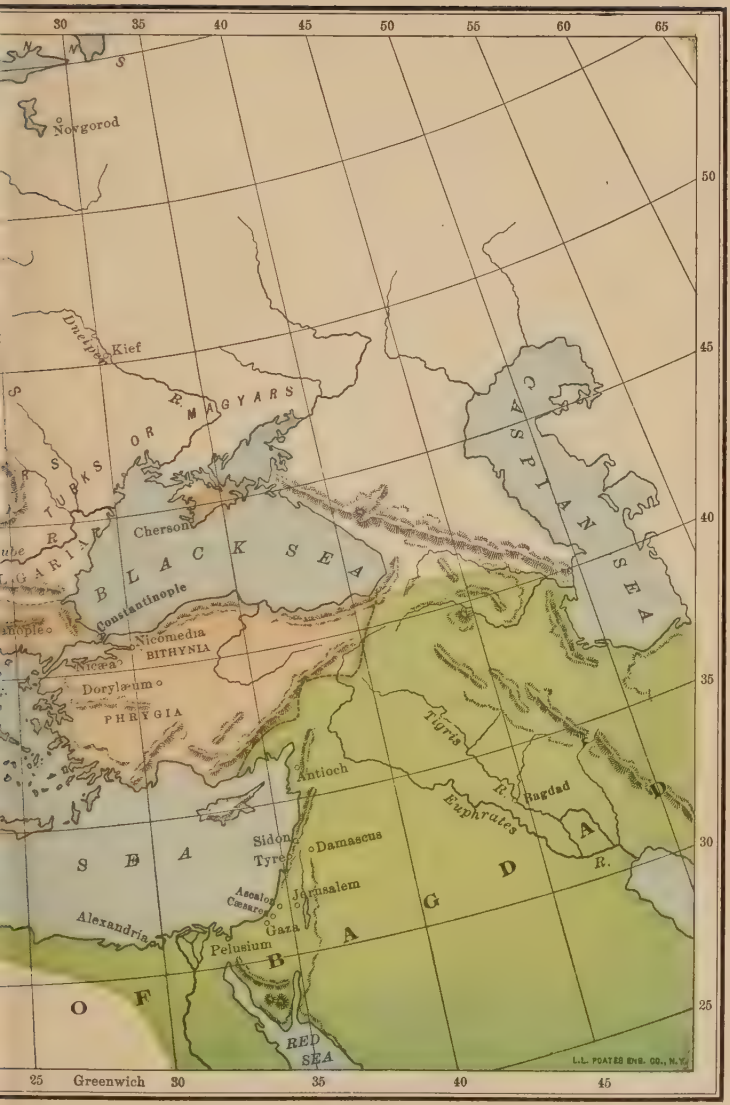
Mohammedanism on the south. Charlemagne took the aggressive and rolled the danger far back on both sides. His reign of nearly fifty years was filled with ceaseless *border* warfare, oftentimes two or three great campaigns to one season.

At first glimpse, therefore, he stands forth a warlike figure, like Alexander or Caesar. Like them, he did *extend by arms the area of civilized life*. But his wars were not romantic or spectacular. They were extremely businesslike. He never had a really great antagonist. A campaign consisted commonly in sending overwhelming forces, under some trusted general, into the enemy's country to beseige its strongholds and waste its fields. Charlemagne did not war for glory or for gain, but to crush threatening perils before they grew too strong. He was not chiefly fighter or general, but statesman and ruler.

79. Expansion to the Elbe. — The most desperate struggle was with the heathen Saxons, who were threatening to treat the Frankish state as small bands of them had treated Britain some three centuries before. The Saxons still held the wilderness between the Rhine and the Elbe, near the North Sea. Protected by their marshes and trackless forests, they kept up the contest against all the power of Charlemagne for more than thirty years. Repeatedly they were vanquished and baptized, — for Charles forced the conquered tribes to accept Christianity on pain of death; but nine times, after such submission, they rebelled, massacring Frankish garrisons and returning to heathen freedom, — to their human sacrifices and the eating of the bodies of witches.

The great king's methods grew stern and cruel. The blackest blot on his fame is the "massacre at Verden," where *forty-five hundred* leaders of rebellion, who had been given up at his demand, were put to death. The embers of revolt still flamed out, however, and finally Charlemagne transported whole Saxon tribes into Gaul, giving their homes to Frankish pioneers and garrisons.

EUROPE
IN THE TIME OF
CHARLES THE GREAT
814
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE WEST
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE EAST
Frankish State before Charlemagne
Charlemagne's Additions
Tributary States
MOHAMMEDANS:
Emirate of Cordova
Caliphate of Bagdad
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude 5 West 0 5 10 Longitude 15 East
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
CALIPHATE
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
FRANCIA
AUSTRIA
NEUSTRIA
AQUITANIA
BURGUNDY
BAVARIA
BOHEMIA
SAXONS
FRISIANS
DANES
NORTHMEN
SWEDES
SCOTS
ENGLISH
BRITONS
NORTHUMBRIA
ORKNEY IS.
THE HEBRIDES
IONA
Lindisfarne
Whitby
York
Humber R.
London
Canterbury
Aachen
(Aix-la-Chapelle)
Cologne
Trier
Paris
Verdun
Metz
Chalons
Frankfort
Tours
St. Gall
Geneva
Milan
Venice
Ravenna
Florence
Rome
Toulouse
Arles
Massilia
GASCONY
CANTABRIA
SPANISH MARCH
Saragossa
Lisbon
Toledo
Cordova
Seville
Cadiz
Granada
Tangier
MOROCCO
Guadalquivir R.
Strait of Gibraltar
BALEARIC IS.
Carthage
SICILY
Tripoli
TRIBUTARY STATES
LOMBARDS



Novgorod
Dneiper
Kief
TURKS OR MAGYARS
Cherson
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Constantinople
Nicomedia
BITHYNIA
Nicæa
Dorylæum
PHRYGIA
Antioch
Tigris
Euphrates
Bagdad
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Cæsarea
Gaza
Alexandria
Pelusium
RED SEA
Greenwich
L.L. POATES ENG. CO., N.Y.

Whatever we think of the methods, these wars were the most fruitful of the century. *The long pounding of thirty years laid the foundation for modern Germany. Civilization and Christianity were extended from the Rhine to the Elbe.* The district was planted with churches and monasteries, and these foundations proved more powerful than any army in holding the Saxon lands to the Frankish state. *The Saxon campaigns of Charlemagne began the armed colonization of the heathen East by the civilized Germans.*

80. Spain, Italy, Bavaria. — Other foes engaged the attention the great king would have preferred to give to reconstruction. (1) The *Saracens* were easily thrust back to the Ebro, so that a strip of north Spain became Frankish.[1] (2) The vassal *Lombard* king, Desiderius, quarreled with the pope. After fruitless negotiation, Charlemagne marched into Italy, *confirmed Pippin's grant to the pope*, sent Desiderius to a monastery, and *crowned himself king of the Lombards*, at Pavia, with the ancient iron crown of Lombardy. (3) *Bavaria*, always uncertain in its allegiance, rebelled. Charlemagne subdued it thoroughly, sending its duke into a monastery.

81. Union of the German Peoples. — Thus, Visigoth, Lombard, Burgund, Frank, Bavarian, Allemand, Saxon,— all the surviving Germanic peoples, except those in the Scandinavian peninsula and in Britain, — *were united into one Christian Romano-Teutonic state.*[2] This seems to have been the aim of Charlemagne. More than this he did not wish. He might easily have seized more of Spain or some of the rich provinces of the Greek empire in southern Italy; but, with rare moderation he re-

[1] The defeat of Charlemagne's rear guard, on the return, by the wild tribesmen of the Pyrenees, in the pass of Roncesvalles, gave rise to the legend of the death of the hero Roland in battle with Saracens there. The details are fable, but the *Song of Roland* was the most famous poem of the early Middle Ages. Students should know Baldwin's *Story of Roland.*

[2] The population was largely Roman still; but, — in Italy and south Gaul, as in Saxon-land, — *the rule*, for the most part, *was in Teutonic hands.*

It is worth noting that the small Teutonic states in Britain and Denmark outside Charlemagne's government, recognized vaguely his overlordship.

turned freely to that empire some of its provinces which had voluntarily submitted to him. To a mere conqueror, such realms would have been more attractive than the bleak Saxon land; but it seems plain that Charlemagne did not choose to take inharmonious elements into his Teutonic state.

82. Wars against the Slavs. — The Germans had now become the chief champions of civilization. Beyond their lands there stretched away the savage Slavs and Avars (map after p. 72), who from time to time hurled themselves against the barriers of civilization, as in old Roman days. In the closing part of his reign, Charlemagne attacked barbarism in these strongholds — as the best way to defend the civilized world. Gradually the first line of peoples beyond the Elbe and Danube were reduced to tributary kingdoms. *Charlemagne made no attempt, however, to incorporate them into his German state*, or to force Christianity upon them. *He meant them merely to serve as buffers against their untamed brethren farther east.*

83. Revival of the "Roman" Empire in the West. — Clovis and Pippin had ruled over many sub-states and diverse peoples, — over an empire[1] rather than a mere kingdom. Charlemagne's conquests had added to this imperial character. Now he strengthened his authority over his wide realms *by reviving the dignity and magic name of the Roman empire.* He knew that a mere "King of the Franks" could never sway the minds of Visigoth, Lombard, Bavarian, Saxon, and especially of the Roman populations they dwelt among, as could an "Emperor of the Romans" ruling from the old world-capital.

There was already a "Roman Emperor," of course, at Constantinople, whose authority, *in theory*, extended over all Christendom. Just at this time, however, Irene, the empress-mother, put out the eyes of her son, Constantine VI, and seized the imperial power. To most minds, East and West, it seemed

[1] An "empire," strictly speaking, is a political state containing many sub-states. A "state," in this sense, does not mean such a unit as Massachusetts or New York, but rather England or the United States. That is, it means a people living in a definite territory, under one government.

monstrous that a woman should pretend to sway the scepter of the world, and Charlemagne decided to restore the throne to its ancient capital in the West. On Christmas Day, 800 A.D., he was at Rome, whither he had been called once more to protect the pope from turbulent Italian enemies. During the Christmas service, while the king knelt in prayer at the altar, Pope Leo III placed upon his head a gold crown and saluted him as *Charles Augustus, Emperor of the Romans.* The act was ratified by the enthusiastic acclaim of the multitude.

84. Character of the Revived Empire. — In theory, Rome had chosen a successor to Constantine VI, just deposed at Constantinople by his mother. In actual fact, however, the deed of Leo and Charlemagne divided the Christian world into two rival empires, each calling itself *the* Roman Empire. After a time men had to recognize this fact, — as they had to recognize that there were two branches of the Christian church; but to the men of the West, *their* empire, like their church, remained the only legitimate one. Two things regarding this restored empire must be borne in mind.

Neither empire was really Roman. As the Eastern grew more and more Oriental, *the Western grew more and more Teutonic.* Charlemagne and his successors had to be *crowned* at Rome. *But the German Rhine, not the Italian Tiber, was the real center of their state; and Aachen, not Rome, was their real capital.* Roman ideas, so far as they remained vital, were worked out by rulers of Teutonic blood.

The new Empire arose out of a union of the papacy and the Frankish power. In later times the union was expressed in the name, The *Holy* Roman Empire. The Empire had its spiritual as well as its temporal head. The limits of authority between the two heads were not well defined, and dissensions were afterward to arise between them.

85. Poverty and Misery. — We must not think that the glory and prosperity of the old Empire had been restored with its name. To accomplish that was to be the work of centuries more. In 800 the West was ignorant and poor. There was

much barbarism in the most civilized society. Roads had fallen into neglect; brigands infested them; and there was little communication between one district and another. Money was little heard of. Trade hardly existed. Almost the only industry was a primitive kind of agriculture.

Perhaps we can see this condition best by looking at the revenues of Charlemagne himself. Great and powerful as he was, he was always pinched for money. *There were no taxes*, as we understand the word, — partly because there was no money to pay them with, and little produce. Payment was made *by service in person*. The common freemen paid by serving in the ranks in war; the nobles paid by serving there, with their followers, and also by serving, without salary, as officers in the government. The treasury received some fines, and it was enriched somewhat by the "gifts" which were expected from the wealthy men of the realm; but its chief support came *from the produce of the royal farms* scattered through the kingdom.

SERVING MAN WITH LAMP: time of Charlemagne.

To make sure of this revenue in the cheapest way, the king and court constantly traveled from farm to farm to consume the produce upon the spot. Charlemagne took the most minute care that his farms should be well tilled, and that each one should pay him every egg and vegetable due. For the management of his estates he drew up regulations, from which we learn much about the conditions of the times. (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 149; or Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 18.)

86. The Government. — The complex and efficient system of government of the *old* Roman Empire had vanished even more completely than the old roads and commerce and taxing system. The new government of Charlemagne's Empire was rude and simple, but suited to the conditions of the age.

Five features deserve attention, — the *counts;* the watching

of the counts by the *missi dominici;* the *king's own marvelous activity;* the *capitularies ;* and *Mayfields.*

Under the Merovingians, large fragments of the kingdom had fallen under the rule of *dukes,* who became almost independent sovereigns and who usually passed on their authority to their sons. Pippin began to replace these *hereditary dukes* with *appointed counts,* more closely dependent upon the royal will. This practice was extended by Charlemagne.

Except on the frontier, no one count was given a large district; so these officers were numerous. On the frontiers, to watch the outside barbarians, the imperial officers were given large territories ("marks"), and were called *margraves.* To counts and margraves the king intrusted all ordinary business of government for their districts. They maintained order, administered justice, levied troops, and in all ways represented the king to the people.

To keep the counts in order, Charlemagne introduced a new set of officers known as *missi dominici* ("king's messengers"). The empire was divided into districts, each containing the governments of several counts, and to each such district each year there was sent a pair of these commissioners, to examine the administration and to act, for the year, as the king's self, — overseeing the work of local counts, correcting injustice, holding popular assemblies, and reporting all to the king.[1]

This simple system worked wonderfully well in Charlemagne's lifetime, largely because of *his own marvelous activity.* Despite the terrible conditions of the roads, and the other hardships of travel in those times, the king was constantly on the move, journeying from end to end of his vast dominions and attending unweariedly to its wants. No commercial traveler of to-day travels more faithfully, and none dreams of meeting such hardships.

With the help of his advisors, the king drew up collections of laws to suit the needs of his people. These collections are known as *capitularies.* (Davis' *Readings,* II, 377 ff., gives extracts.)

[1] See instructions to the *missi,* in Robinson's *Readings,* I, 139–143.

To keep in closer touch with popular feeling in all parts of the kingdom, Charlemagne made use of the old Teutonic assemblies in fall and spring. All freemen *could* attend. Sometimes, especially when war was to be decided upon, this "Mayfield" gathering comprised the bulk of the men of the Frankish nation. At other times it was made up only of the great nobles and churchmen. (Cf. § 49.)

To these assemblies the capitularies were read; but the assembly was not itself a legislature. *Lawmaking was in the hands of the king.* At the most, the assemblies could only bring to bear upon him mildly the force of public opinion.

A modern French historian (Coulanges) pictures a Mayfield thus:

"An immense multitude is gathered in a plain, under tents. It is divided into separate groups. The *chiefs* of these groups assemble about the king, to deliberate with him. Then each of them tells his own group what has been decided, perhaps consults them, but at any rate obtains their consent as easily as the king had obtained his; for these men are dependent on him, just as he is on the king. . . . The king's will decided everything; the nobles only advised."

87. Attempts to revive Learning. — Charlemagne never learned to write. But he spoke and read Latin, as well as his native German, and he understood Greek. For the age, he was an educated man, and he tried earnestly to encourage learning. The difficulties in building up a better education were almost beyond our comprehension. *There seemed no place to begin.* Not only the nobles, but even many of the clergy were densely ignorant. The only tools to work with were poor.

Charlemagne did much. He secured more learned men for the clergy. He brought about the opening of schools in many of the monasteries and at the seats of some of the bishops; and he urged that these schools should not only train the clergy, but that they should teach all children to read, even those of serfs. Some of the schools, established or revived at this time, as at Tours and Orleans, acquired much fame. For teachers, learned men were brought from Italy, where the Roman culture best survived. Charlemagne also established

a famous "School of the Palace" for the nobles of the court; and the scholar *Alcuin* was induced to come from England to direct it. The emperor himself, when time permitted, studied at the tasks of the youths, and delighted in taking part in the discussions of the scholars whom he had gathered about him.

With great zeal, too, he strove to secure a true copying of valuable manuscripts, and especially a correction of errors that had crept into the services of the church through careless copying. "Often," says one capitulary, "men desire to pray to God, but they pray badly because of incorrect books. Do not permit *boys* to corrupt them. If there is need of writing the Gospel . . . , let *men* of mature age do the writing diligently."

Silver Coin of Charlemagne. The obverse side shows the Latin form of his name. Note the rudeness of the engraving compared with that of Justinian's coin on page 42.

88. The Place of Charlemagne in History. — In the early part of the eighth century there were four great forces contending for Western Europe, — the Greek Empire, the Saracens, the Franks, and the Papacy. By the year 800, Charles Martel and Charles the Great had excluded the first two and had fused the other two into the revived Roman Empire.

For centuries more, this Roman Empire was to be one of the most important institutions in Europe. Barbarism and anarchy were again to break in, after the death of the great Charles; but the imperial idea, to which he had given new life, was to be for ages the inspiration of the best minds as they strove against anarchy in behalf of order and progress.

True, Charlemagne was ahead of his age; and, after his death, his great design broke down. Still, his work was to be revived again by other men, as it could never have been except for his temporary success.

True, too, Charlemagne built upon the work of Pippin and Martel; but he towers above them, and above all other men from the fifth century to the fifteenth, — easily the greatest figure of a thousand years.

He stands for five mighty movements. He widened the area of civilization, created one great Romano-Teutonic state, revived the Roman Empire in the West for the outward form of this state, reorganized church and society, and began a revival of learning. He wrought wisely to combine the best elements of Roman and of Teutonic society into a new civilization. In his Empire were fused the various streams of influence which the Ancient World had contributed to our Modern World.

For Further Reading. — Students who have not studied this introductory period (from 400 to 800) in a course in ancient history will find a good brief account in Emerton's *Introduction to the Middle Ages* or in Masterman's *Dawn of Medieval Europe.* Einhard's contemporary *Life of Charlemagne* is published in Harper's Half-Hour series (30 cents), and Hodgkin's *Charles the Great* is a readable and valuable little book. Davis' *Charlemagne* is a good longer account.

Exercises on Part I are not given, because this part of the book is often covered by classes in *Ancient* history, and teachers may wish to pass over it rapidly.

PART I

THE AGE OF FEUDALISM

Real history is that of the manners, the laws, the arts of men, and of the progress of the human spirit. — VOLTAIRE.

CHAPTER I

WHAT MODERN HISTORY BEGAN WITH

89. The world at the close of Ancient history was divided among four great powers, — two Christian "Roman" Empires and two Mohammedan Caliphates (map after page 72). Each Christian state was jealous of the other, and therefore more or less friendly with that Mohammedan power which bordered upon that other, while it was bitterly hostile to its own Mohammedan neighbor.[1]

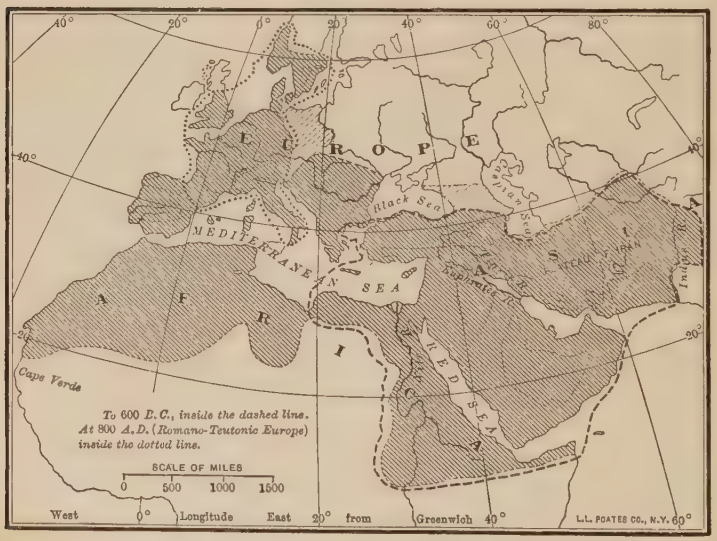
For centuries the Western Empire was the least polished, the least wealthy, and, indeed, the least civilized, of the four states. Mohammedan culture has been briefly referred to (§ 67). To an even greater degree the Greek Empire kept the old civilization. Constantinople was the most splendid city in the world. It possessed beautiful parks and was guarded by an efficient police system. Its streets were paved and lighted. Hospitals and orphan asylums cared for its poor. It was also the greatest center of trade and manufacturing. Its silks, jewelry, glazed pottery, weapons, and mosaics found their way sometimes, as rare possessions, into even the rude West. The population numbered about a million. The people were keen-witted and intellectual, and they looked

[1] The Caliph Haroun al Raschid at Bagdad, who figures in the *Arabian Nights*, was Charlemagne's contemporary. In an exchange of courtesies, the Saracen sent to the Frank a white elephant and a curious waterclock that struck the hours, — objects of infinite amazement to the Frankish court.

with contempt, mingled with some dread, upon the warlike Franks, whom they still styled barbarians.

And yet the rude Western Empire of the Franks, with its fringes in the Teutonic states of England and Scandinavia, *was the only one of the four great powers which was to stand for further progress,* the only one with which Modern history is much concerned.

90. The scene of history had shifted to the West once more (cf. §§ 4, 8), and *this time it had shrunken in size.* Some Teutonic districts outside the old Roman world had been added (§§ 52, 79); but vast areas of the Roman territory itself had



THE FIELD OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TO 800 A.D.

been abandoned. The Euphrates, the Nile, the Eastern Mediterranean, all Asia with Eastern Europe to the Adriatic, and Africa with Western Europe to the Pyrenees, were gone. The Mediterranean — the center of the old Roman world — had become an ill-defended moat between Christian Europe and Mohammedan Africa; and its ancient place as the great

highway of civilization was taken over, as well as might be, by the Rhine and the North Sea.

91. We can now sum up the inheritance with which the Modern World began.

Through Rome the Western peoples were the heirs of Greek mind and Oriental hand, including most of those mechanical arts which had been built up in dim centuries by Egyptian, Babylonian, and Phoenician. Much of this inheritance, both intellectual and material, was forgotten or neglected for hundreds of years; but most of it was to be finally recovered.

Rome herself had contributed (1) a universal language, which was to serve as a common medium of learning and intercourse for all the peoples of Western Europe; (2) Roman law; (3) municipal institutions, in southern Europe; (4) the imperial idea, — the conception of one, lasting, universal, supreme authority, to which the world owed obedience.

The fresh blood of the Teutons reinvigorated the old races, and so provided the men who for centuries were to do the world's work. *The Teutons* contributed, too, certain definite ideas and institutions, — (1) a new sense of personal independence; (2) a bond of personal loyalty between chieftain and follower, in contrast with the old Roman loyalty to the state; (3) a new *chance* for democracy, in the popular assemblies of different grades.

Out of Roman and Teutonic elements there had already developed a new serf organization of labor (§ 30); a new nobility; and a new Romano-Teutonic kingship.

Most important of all, there was Christianity, with its institutions of monasticism and the papacy.

CHAPTER II

DISRUPTION OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

92. Charlemagne died in 814, and his Empire did not long outlive him. His brilliant attempt to bring Western Europe into union and order was followed by **a dismal period of reaction toward ignorance and turmoil.** His son and successor, *Louis the Pious*, was a weak prince, whose reign was filled with quarrels among his sons as to how the realm should be divided among them. In twenty-seven years — from 817 to 843 — *seven different plans of partition were tried*, and most of them were accompanied by bloody civil war.

93. The greatest of these struggles closed with the Treaty of Verdun, in 843. *This treaty began the map of Modern Europe.* **Lothair**, the eldest grandson of Charlemagne, held the title of emperor, and wished to hold the two imperial capitals, Rome and Aachen. Accordingly he was given North Italy and a narrow strip of land from Italy to the North Sea. The rest of the empire was made into two kingdoms — that of the East Franks and that of the West Franks — for Lothair's two brothers.

The eastern kingdom lay beyond the Rhine and was purely German. It was to grow into the kingdom of the Germans. In the western state the Teutonic elements were being absorbed rapidly into the old Gallic population, and its territory corresponded fairly well with the extent of the new French language then rising into use.[1] It was finally to take the

[1] During the war, the two younger brothers allied themselves against Lothair. To confirm this league, they took an oath in the presence of their armies. This famous "Oath of Strassburg" shows the growing difference between the languages spoken in the eastern and western parts of the Empire.

REALMS OF THE CAROLINGIAN KINGS AT THE DIVISION OF VERDUN.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
RUGEN
Frisia
Saxony
Elbe R.
Tribunary
Free Slavs
Oder R.
Sorabians (Sorbes)
Prague
Bohemia
Moravia
Pannonian Mark
Danube R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Croatia
Servia
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Aachen
Meuse R.
Köln (Cologne)
Thuringia
Franconia
Frankfort
Mainz
(East Francia)
Regensburg (Ratisbon)
Danube R.
Bavaria
Inn R.
Carinthia
Lotharingia
KINGDOM OF LOUIS
Rhine R.
Alamannia (Suabia)
Constance
Rouen
Seine R.
Rheims
Paris
Marne R.
Verdun
Neustria
(West Francia)
Orleans
Britanny
Loire R.
Nantes
KINGDOM OF CHARLES
Aquitania
Lyon
Saone R.
Burgundia
Geneva
Rhone R.
Lombardy
Milan
Pavia
Venice
Ravenna
Genoa
Po R.
Tiber R.
Tuscany
Rome
Beneventum
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Gascony
Toulouse
Septimania
Narbonne
Marseilles
Provincia
Asturia
Navarre
Pyrenees
Spanish March
Ebro R.
Moors
Barcelona
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

name of France. Lothair's unwieldly middle kingdom proved the weakest of the three states. It lacked unity both in geography and race. Italy fell away from the rest almost at once. Then the northern district (part French, part German) crumbled into fragments, most of which were finally absorbed by one of the two larger neighbors.

94. On the whole, the Middleland was more German than French, and most of it soon became attached to the eastern kingdom. Some centuries later, France began to seize parts of it, and, ever since, it has been a debatable land. From it came the many "Little Kingdoms" that were to confuse the map and the politics of Europe for centuries. Three of these small states survive, — in modern Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, and others lie at the root of the Alsace-Lorraine trouble of to-day.

95. For a century after Verdun, political history remained a tangle of ferocious and treacherous family quarrels. The founders of the Carolingian[1] line had won such surnames as "the Hammer" and "the Great"; but their descendants were known as "the Bald," "the Simple," "the Fat," "the Stammerer," "the Child," "the Lazy." A series of accidents united all the dominions of Charlemagne once more — for three years (884–887) — under Charles the Fat. Then the nobles deposed that sluggish prince, and the realm fell apart again, along the

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Charles, the king of the West Franks, swore in the language of his brother's German army, and Lewis, king of Bavaria (East Franks), swore in the West Franks' tongue, so that each army might know what was promised by the other party. The double oath begins: —

"Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salva-
"In Godes minna ind in thes christianes folches ind unser bedhero gehalt-
(In God's love and for this Christian people and our common salva-
ment dist di in avant in quant Deus savir," etc.
nissi fon thesemo dage frammordes so fram so mir God gewizci," etc.
tion, from this day forward, so far as God gives me knowledge)

These are the earliest records in the French and German tongues. The French is half way between Latin (Roman) and modern French. This shows why the name *Romance Languages* is given to modern French, — and also to Spanish and Italian, which grew up in a similar way.

[1] The name *Carolingian*, from *Carolus*, the Latin form of Charles, is applied to all the rulers of Charlemagne's line.

lines of the Verdun treaty, *never to be reunited.* The many branches of the degenerate Carolingians died out one by one; and in 911 in Germany, and in 987 in France, the nobles elected native kings from among themselves. These stories will be told when we take up the separate histories of France and Germany.

Exercise. — Draw the Division of Verdun from memory, preferably upon "outline maps," with as much detail as in the map facing page 84.

For Further Reading. — Students may profitably consult Emerton's *Medieval Europe*, 14–35, or Church's *Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, 140–156. Adams' *Civilization*, ch. viii, gives an admirable discussion.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW BARBARIAN ATTACK

"*From the fury of the Northmen, O Lord, deliver us.*" — Prayer in church service of the tenth century.

96. Europe of the ninth and tenth centuries, we have just seen, was distracted by quarrels within. We are now to note that it **was imperiled also by a new danger from without. Once more barbarian invasions threatened the civilized world.** Instead of combining against the invaders, the Carolingian princes strove only to take base advantage of one another's misfortunes. Even within one kingdom, the people of different sections felt no common interest in repelling the attack, but allowed their neighbors to suffer, until the evil reached themselves. Moreover, the roads were so poor that troops could hardly be collected quickly enough to meet the scattered and swift attacks.

Europe seemed at the mercy of the invaders. On the east, hordes of wild *Slavs* and of wilder *Hungarians* broke across the frontiers, ravaged Germany, and penetrated sometimes even to Rome or to Toulouse in southern France. The *Mohammedan Moors* from Africa attacked Italy, Sicily, and southern France, establishing themselves firmly in many districts and turning the Mediterranean into a Mohammedan lake. Fierce *Norse* pirates harried every coast, and, swarming up the rivers, pierced the heart of the land.

The Slavs and Moors had appeared earlier in history (§§ 42, 67), but two of the invaders were fresh forces in European development (§§ 97, 98).

97. The Hungarians were a Tartar people, like the Huns (§ 40) in customs and character. Advancing westward from their old homes in the Ural-Volga country, they reached the

upper Danube in 889, and for the next sixty years they proved the most terrible scourge that Europe had ever known. They were small, active nomads, moving swiftly on scraggy ponies, — slaying, burning, carrying off captives and all movable plunder, and laying waste the land.

98. The Norsemen were a new branch of the Teutons, and the fiercest and wildest of that race.[1] They dwelt in the Scandinavian peninsulas, *and were still heathen.* They had taken no part in the earlier Teutonic invasions; but, in the ninth century, population was becoming too crowded for their bleak lands, and they were driven to seek new homes. Some of them colonized distant Iceland, and set up a free republic there; but the greater number resorted to a life of warfare at the expense of richer countries. The Swedes expanded to the east, conquering the Finns and Slavs, while Danish and Norwegian "Vikings" ("sons of the fiords") set forth upon "the pathway of the swans" to plunder Western Europe, in fleets counting sometimes hundreds of boats, sometimes only two or three.

REMAINS OF VIKING SHIP, found buried in sand at Gökstad, Norway. It is of oak, unpainted; length over all, 79 feet 4 inches, from stem to stern; breadth of beam, 16½ feet; perpendicular depth, 6 feet in the middle, 8½ feet at the extremities.

The Norse ships were long, open boats, seventy-five feet by twelve or fifteen, carrying a single square sail, but driven for the most part by thirty or forty long oars. A boat bore perhaps eighty warriors; and each man was perfectly clad in ring

[1] There is a fine description of the Northmen in Green's *Conquest of England*, 50–59. See also some of the following: Boyesen's *Story of Norway*, Du Chaillu's *Viking Age*, Keary's *Vikings*, Mabie's *Norse Stories Retold*, Jiriczek's *Northern Hero Legends*, or the *Story of the Burnt-Njal.*

mail and steel helmet, and armed with lance, knife, bow, and the terrible Danish axe. Daring, indeed, were the long voyages of the Northmen in these frail craft. They laughed at the fierce storms of the northern seas. "The blast," they sang, "aids our oars; the hurricane is our servant and drives us whither we wish to go."

Charlemagne maintained fleets to prevent pirate attacks; but in the quarrels of his weak successors the Norsemen found their opportunity. Every part of the Empire felt their raids. They drove their light vessels far up a river, into the heart of the land, and then, seizing horses, harried at will. They not only plundered the open country, but they sacked cities like Hamburg, Rouen, Paris, Nantes, Bordeaux, Tours, Cologne. Within one period of a few years, they ravaged *every town* in old Austrasia, and finally stabled their horses in the cathedral of Aachen, about the tomb of Charlemagne. A characteristic sport of the raiders, according to popular stories, was to toss babes upon their spears, from point to point.

Especially did they plunder and burn the churches and monasteries. There they found the most desirable booty, — richly woven and splendidly decorated altar cloths, vessels of gold and silver used in the services, and sometimes deposits of treasure. The boldest outlaws of Christendom trembled at the thought of violating these sacred sanctuaries; but the scornful worshipers of Thor delighted in ravaging the defenseless temples of "the White Christ." When a band was defeated, the enraged people, on their part, flayed captives alive and nailed their skins to the church doors.

99. At last, like the earlier Teutons, the Norsemen ceased to be mere plunderers, and became conquerors. They settled the Orkneys, Shetlands, Hebrides, little patches on the north of Scotland, and the whole west of Ireland, and finally established themselves *in the east of Britain* and *in the north of France*. These two latter colonies were the last important infusions of Teutonic blood into the old Roman world.

100. Rolf and "Normandy." — In 911 Charles the Simple, king of France, stopped the Norse raids in his country by planting some of the invaders on the northern coast to defend it, under their leader Rolf the Dane. Rolf was known also as *the Walker*, because, it was said, he was too gigantic for any horse to bear. He and his followers accepted Christianity as part of the bargain with the French king, and agreed to acknowledge Charles as their overlord for the new *Dukedom of Normandy*, as their district came to be called.

Custom required that Rolf should do homage to Charles for this "grant" of a dukedom by kneeling before the king and kissing his foot. Rolf refused haughtily, but finally commanded one of his followers to perform the humiliating act for him. The disgusted Norse warrior pretended to obey, but, according to the story, in lifting the king's foot to his lips, he raised it so high as to topple the king over on his back!

To understand the Norse invasions of England, and their results, we must know something more of the earlier history of that island. And that story will bring us back to Normandy.

CHAPTER IV

BRITAIN BECOMES ENGLAND

101. The Saxon Conquest. — In 408 the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain to defend Italy against a threatened invasion by the Goths. The imperial government had abandoned the island, and left the dismayed Romanized Britons to defend themselves as best they could against Teutonic ravagers on the coasts and the wild Celts[1] of the Scottish mountains. The Britons called in the Teutons to beat off the other foe, and soon these dangerous protectors began to take the land for their own.

The chief invading Teutons were the Jutes from the Danish peninsula (Jutland) and the *Saxons* and *Angles* (English) from its base. The Jutes made the first permanent settlement, about the middle of the century (449 A.D.), in southeastern Britain. The Saxons occupied the southern shore, and the Angles the eastern, carving out numerous petty states in a long series of cruel campaigns. Gradually these little units were welded into larger kingdoms, until there appeared seven prominent Teutonic states: *Kent*, the kingdom of the Jutes; *Sussex*, *Essex*, and *Wessex* (kingdoms of the South Saxons, East Saxons, and West Saxons); and the English kingdoms of *East Anglia*, *Northumbria*, and *Mercia*.

102. This conquest, unlike that of Gaul and Spain, was very slow. It took the Teutons a century and a half (till about 600) to master the *eastern half* of the island. Causes for this delay are to be found both in the nature of the invasion and in the condition of Britain.

[1] *Celt* is a name applied to the Highland Scots, the Irish, the Gauls of France, and the native Britons of Britain, before the Teutonic conquest.

a. The Saxons at home were living in petty tribes, *under no common government*, and therefore could make no great organized attack. *Coming by sea*, too, they came necessarily in small bands. Moreover, they were still *pagans*, and, unlike the Franks, they were *untouched by Roman civilization*. Therefore they spread ruthless destruction and provoked a more desperate resistance.

b. Britain had been less completely Romanized than the continental provinces were. There was *more of forest and marsh*, and a *less extensive network of Roman roads*. Hence the natives found it easier to make repeated stands.

103. Because the conquest was so slow, it was thorough. On the continent the invaders of the fifth century were soon absorbed by the larger native populations; *but England became strictly a Teutonic land*. In the eastern half of the island, in particular, Roman institutions, the Roman language, Christianity, even names, for the most part, vanished, and the Romanized natives were slain, driven out, or enslaved.

104. About the year 600, Christianity began to win its way among these heathen conquerors. In the north of England, the early missionaries came mainly from the old (Celtic) Christian church which was still surviving in western Britain and in Ireland, though cut off from connection with the rest of Christendom. The south, on the other hand, was converted by missionaries sent out directly by Pope Gregory the Great (§ 70); and the rulers of the north were soon brought to accept this better organized form of Christianity.

105. Political Union.—The Teutonic states farthest east were soon shut off from Celtic territory, and so ceased to grow; but Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria continued to expand at the expense of bordering British tribes. It was plain that leadership must fall to one of these three; and about the middle of the ninth century Egbert,[1] king of the West Saxons, brought all the Teutonic parts of the island under his

[1] Egbert had spent some years at the court of Charlemagne and may have been influenced by the work of that ruler.

authority. Egbert, however, was merely a head-king surrounded by jealous tributary kings who might break away at any moment from a weak ruler.

This was the situation at the beginning of the Danish invasions whose story we left in § 100. These at first shattered the new union, but in the end they helped it to grow more perfect. The story fills a century, and falls into two parts.

St. Martin's Church, near Canterbury. — From a photograph. Parts of the building are very old, and may have belonged to a church of the Roman period. At all events, on this site was the first Christian church in Britain used by Augustine and his fellow missionaries, sent out by Pope Gregory. They secured the right to use it through the favor of Queen Bertha, a Frankish princess, who had married the King of Kent. A tomb, said to be Queen Bertha's, is shown in the church.

106. First Period of Danish Invasions (850–885). — The Danes began their raids in the time of Egbert, and made their first attempt at permanent settlement in 850, when a band wintered on the southeastern coast. From that time their attempts grew more and more eager, until in 871, after a series of great battles, in the last of which the king of Wessex was slain, they became for a time masters of Saxon England.

The power of Wessex soon revived, however, under *Alfred*

the Great (871–901), brother of the slain king. Just after the Danish victory, Alfred had been driven into hiding in moors and fens. But from his secret retreats he made many a daring sally,[1] and finally he succeeded in reorganizing the Saxons and defeating the Danes. The Danes accepted Christianity, and, by the *Treaty of Wedmore* (885), received for their own the territory north of the old Roman road (Watling Street) from London to Chester. (Map on page 95.)

The several kingdoms in the south now allowed themselves to be absorbed in Wessex, which plainly was their chief defense against the invaders, and Alfred's half of the island became one Saxon state. *The first period of Danish warfare closed with this division of the island into a Danish North and a Saxon South.*

107. Alfred's Reforms.—When the young king had won back his land, the difficulties before him were still enormous. The country was burned and wasted; government was at a standstill, with its whole machinery demoralized; schools and learning had vanished. "When I began to reign," wrote Alfred himself later, "I cannot remember one priest south of the Thames who could render his service-book [from the Latin in which it was written] into English." North of the Thames, the king explains, conditions were still worse. In other words, no priest in England understood the church services which he mumbled.

Alfred gave the rest of his life to heal these terrible wounds of his kingdom. To strengthen England against future danger, he reorganized the army, created the first English navy, and reared many a strong fort on commanding heights. But another side of his work was infinitely more important. He rebuilt the wasted towns, restored churches and abbeys, codified the laws, reformed the government, and ardently encouraged the revival of learning, eagerly seeking out teachers at home and abroad. In the absence of proper text-books in

[1] Special report: anecdotes of Alfred during this period of his life.

ENGLAND
AND
THE DANELAGH
about 900
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80
English
Danish
Watling Street
SCOT
KINGDOM
Alcluyd
Edinburgh
STRATHCLYDE
BERNICIA
Jedburgh
Cumberland
MAN
Northumbria
YORK
DANELAGH
Manchester
Thelwall
Peakland
Lindesey
Chester
Nottingham
Repton
Watling
Shrewsbury
Tamworth
Medeshampsted
Crowland
Northfolk
East
Anglia
Southfolk
Bridgenorth
MERCIA
WESSEX
Bedford
Ouse
Breckno
Worcester
Street
Essex
Dyfed
Gwent
Cirencester
AND ITS
Middlesex
LONDON
Morganwg
Wallingford
Bristol
Wedmore
Reading
Surrey
CANTERBURY
Kent
DEPENDENCIES
WESSEX
Andredeswald
Glastonbury
Salisbury
WINCHESTER
Sussex
EXETER
WEST WALES
L.L. POATES, N.Y.

English for his new schools, he himself laboriously translated four standard Latin works into English, with much comment of his own, — so adding to his other titles the well-deserved one of "the father of English prose." [1] His own day knew him by the honorable name of "Alfred the Truthteller." Later generations looked back at him as "England's Darling"; and few kings have so well earned his title of "the Great."

Alfred's activity was many-sided. A great historian has written of him, —

"To the scholars he gathered round him he seemed the very type of a scholar, snatching every hour he could find to read or listen to books. The singers of the court found in him a brother singer, gathering the old songs of his people to teach them to his children . . . and solacing himself, in hours of depression, with the music of the Psalms. He passed from court and study to plan buildings and instruct craftsmen in gold-work, or even to teach falconers and dog-keepers their business. . . . Each hour of the day had its appointed task. . . . Scholar and soldier, artist and man of business, poet and saint, his character kept that perfect balance which charms us in no other Englishman save Shakspere. 'So long as I have lived,' said he as life was closing, 'I have striven to live worthily': and again, 'I desire to leave to men who come after me a remembrance of me in good works.'" [2]

108. Second Period of Danish Warfare. — According to the treaty with Alfred, the Danish king in the north of Britain was supposed to pay some vague obedience to the Saxon king; but, in fact, the *Danelaw* (land of the Danes' law) was an independent state. A second period of warfare (900–950) went to the reconquest of this Danelaw by the great successors of Alfred, — Edward the Unconquered, Athelstane the Glorious, and Edmund the Doer of Deeds. These heroes of the house

[1] There were a few ballads and one long poem (Song of Beowulf) in the English tongue, but no prose literature until these translations by Alfred.

[2] An admirable brief account of Alfred's work is in Green's *History of the English People*, I, 74–80 (from one passage of which the last paragraph in the text above is condensed), and much the same one in Green's *Short History*, 47–52. One of these works should be accessible. Many students will enjoy also one of the longer *Lives* of Alfred, by Hughes, York-Powell, Bowker, or Plummer. Hughes' is the shortest and most entertaining.

of Alfred completed that great king's work, and under Edgar the Peaceful (957–975), his great-grandson, the island rested in union and prosperity. Even the kings of the Celtic tribes in the far west and north came to Edgar's court to acknowledge his overlordship.

We can now see the significance of the barbarian invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries, whose story we began in § 96. Unlike the invasions of the fifth century, they did not create a new society. But (1) they brought in new Teutonic stock to invigorate northern France and eastern England; (2) they helped along the political union of England; (3) they helped to break up the Empire of Charlemagne; and (4) *they forced Europe to take on a new military organization for defense.* This organization we call *feudalism*, and we shall study it in the next chapter.

Special Reports. — 1. Ruric and the Norse kingdom in Russia. 2. The Varangians at Constantinople. 3. The Norse in Ireland. 4. Norse voyages to "Vinland the Good" in America. 5. Alfred the Great's life and work. Material will be found in the footnote references to §§ 97, 107. Students should search for other material.

CONWAY CASTLE. — From *Old England.*

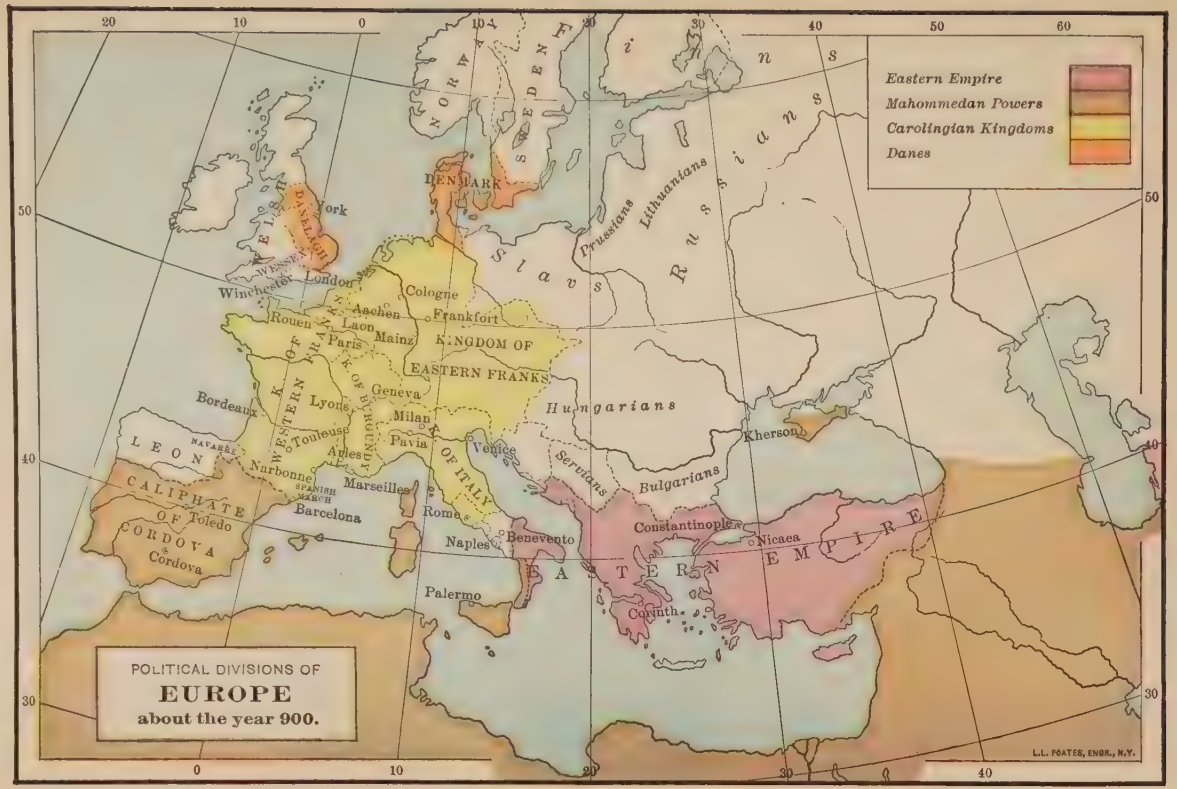
CHAPTER V

FEUDALISM

A protest of barbarism against barbarism. — HEGEL.

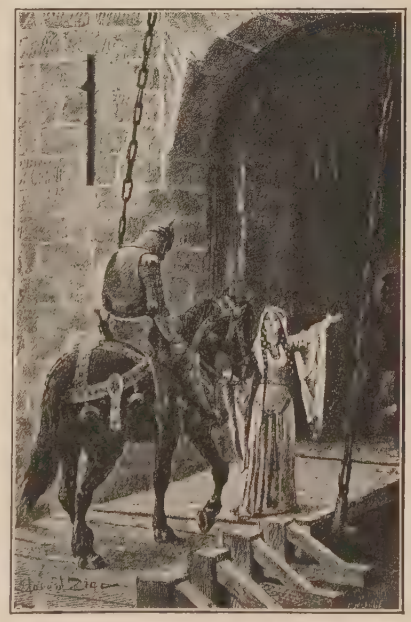
109. The Successor of the Empire of Charlemagne. — The ninth century, as we have noticed, saw the *territorial* beginnings of Germany, France, and Italy, and (outside the old realm of Charlemagne) of England, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. *But the* ***nations*** *to occupy these territories were not yet made, and the new* ***governments*** *proved, as yet, unequal to the needs of the age.* Everywhere, so far as maintaining political order was concerned, *the immediate successor of the Empire of Charlemagne was the* ***feudal organization.*** This new form of government dominated Europe for four hundred years, and played a leading part in many countries up to the nineteenth century. Indeed, it has left important traces in Europe to-day.

110. The Product of Anarchy. — After Charlemagne, through the renewal of barbarian invasions from without and the collapse of government within, the ninth century became an age of indescribable horror. The strong robbed the weak; and brigands swept over the land, to kill, torture, and plunder.


POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF
EUROPE
about the year 900.
Eastern Empire
Mahommedan Powers
Carolingian Kingdoms
Danes
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Finns
Russians
Slavs
Prussians
Lithuanians
DENMARK
WELSH
DANELAGH
York
WESSEX
Winchester
London
Cologne
Aachen
Frankfort
Rouen
Laon
Mainz
Paris
KINGDOM OF
EASTERN FRANKS
K. OF WESTERN FRANKS
K. OF BURGUNDY
Geneva
Lyons
Milan
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Pavia
Venice
Hungarians
Kherson
Arles
Narbonne
Marseilles
Servians
Bulgarians
LEON
NAVARRE
SPANISH MARCH
Barcelona
Rome
Constantinople
Nicaea
CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA
Toledo
Cordova
Naples
Benevento
EASTERN EMPIRE
Palermo
Corinth
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

But *man must seek some government that can protect life and property; and out of this anarchy there emerged a new social order resting on force.* Here and there, and finally in greater and greater numbers, some petty chief planted himself strongly on a small domain. Perhaps he was a retired bandit or a rude huntsman; perhaps he was one of the old nobles and had held his domain formerly as an officer of the king. In any case, he kept it henceforth for himself, warding off all attack.

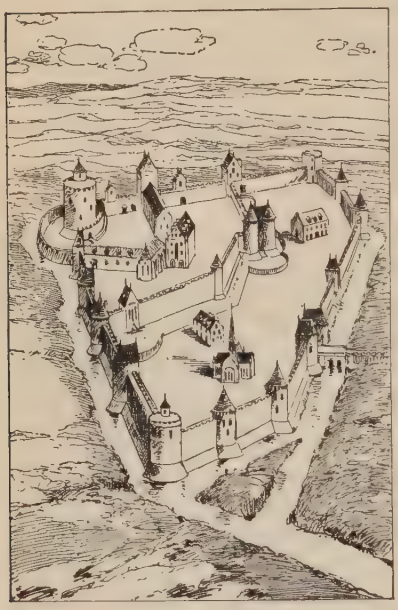
By so doing, he became a protector of others. The benefactor in that age was the man who could fight, and who could gather a troop of fighters under him. He was the noble, the soldier (*miles*). He laid anew the foundation for modern society, and became the ancestor of the later European aristocracy.[1] "In those days," says an old chronicle, kings, nobles, and knights, to be always ready, kept their horses in the rooms in which they slept with their wives." Finally, each district was provided with its settled body of soldiers and with its circle of frowning castles; and then the invasions ceased. The whole nature of feudalism was typified in these two military features, the castle and the mailed horseman.



DRAWBRIDGE AND PORTCULLIS. — From Gautier's *La Chevalerie.*

[1] Taine, *Ancient Régime*, 6. Taine's fine passage, pp. 5–8, is largely quoted or adapted in this and the following section.

111. Castles rose at every ford and above each mountain pass and on every hill commanding a fertile plain. At first they were merely wooden blockhouses, surrounded by palisades and ditches; but they grew into enormous buildings of massive stone, crowned by frowning battlements whence boiling pitch and masses of rock could be hurled down upon assailants. Usually the approach was across a *moat* (a ditch filled with water), by a narrow *drawbridge*, to a massive iron gate with a *portcullis* (a heavy iron grating) which could be dropped from above. Usually, too, the bridge was protected by flanking towers, from whose slit-like windows bowmen could command the road. Sometimes the walls inclosed several acres, with a variety of buildings and with room to gather cattle and supplies, and to shelter the neighboring villagers during an enemy's raid; but there was always an inner *keep* (an especially strong tower), with its own series of fortifications, and, if possible, with its own well. The keep was the especial residence of the lord's family,[1] and the stronghold where the last stand was made if the foe captured the outer defenses of the castle. Its walls were often enormously thick,

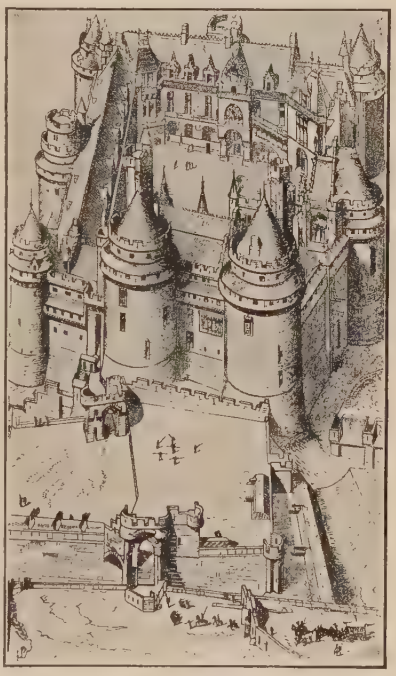


Medieval Castle of the larger sort, with moat and drawbridge. — A "restoration," from Gautier's *La Chevalerie*.

[1] Some two centuries later, the noble families began to escape from these damp and gloomy quarters by building a new "hall" for residence in time of peace.

so that a man crawling out of a window would have to creep three times his length. The secret winding stairway to the upper floors was sometimes concealed within these walls; and near the keep there was usually a small "postern" gate in the outer walls for the private use of the lord and his family.

Until the days of gunpowder, feudal castles were virtually impregnable to ordinary attack. They could be captured only by surprise, by treachery, or by famine. Upon such walls the Norse invaders spent their force in vain. In later times, secure of such retreat, a petty lord could sometimes defy even his own sovereign with impunity; and too often the castles became themselves the seats of robber-barons who oppressed the country around them. To-day their gray ruins all over Europe give a peculiar picturesqueness to the landscape, mocking, even in decay, the slighter structures of modern times.



THE CASTLE OF PIERREFONDS in the fourteenth century. — A "restoration" by Viollet le Duc.

112. "Men-at-Arms." — The castles afforded a *refuge* for man and treasure. But during the invasions, the problem in *the field* had been to bring to bay the swiftly moving assailants, — the light horsemen of the Hungarians, or the Danes with their swift boats for refuge. The Frankish infantry had proved too slow.

Feudalism met this need also. Each castle was always ready to pour forth its band of trained and faithful men-at-arms (*horsemen in mail*) under the command of the knight, either to gather quickly with other bands into an army under a higher lord, or by themselves to cut off stragglers and hold the fords and passes. The raider's day was over; but meantime the old Teutonic foot militia, in which every freeman had held a place, had given way to an iron-clad cavalry, — the resistless weapon of the new feudal aristocracy.

A German Knight of the twelfth century. — From a contemporary manuscript.

113. Armor. — In the early feudal period, down to 1100, *the defensive armor* was an iron cap and a leather garment for the body, covered with iron scales.[1] Then came in coats of "chain-mail," reaching from neck to feet, with a hood of like material for the head. About 1300 appeared the heavy "plate armor," and the helmet with visor, which we usually associate with feudal warfare. A suit of this armor weighed fifty pounds or more; and in battle the warrior bore also a weighty shield, besides his long two-handled sword and his lance.[2]

Knight in Plate Armor, visor up. — From Lacroix, *Vie Militaire*.

[1] The warriors in the illustration on pp. 147, 154 wear this kind of armor.

[2] The student will enjoy "Mark Twain's" humorous conceit in *A Yankee at King Arthur's Court* as to the discomforts of medieval armor, and the difficulty of getting at a handkerchief!

Necessarily the war horse that carried a heavy man so equipped was a powerful animal; and he too had parts of his body protected by iron plates.

The supremacy of the noble over common men during the middle ages (before the invention of gunpowder) **lay mainly in this equipment.** He could ride down a mob of unarmed footmen at will. The peasants and serfs who sometimes followed the feudal army to the field, to slay the wounded and plunder the dead, wore no armor and wielded only pikes or clubs and pitchforks. Naturally they came to be called *infantry;* that is, *boys* ("enfants").

114. Origin of Feudal Classes. — While the disorders of the ninth century were at their worst, any man of courage who could get together an armed force and fortify a dwelling found the neighborhood ready to turn to him as its master. Other weaker landlords gladly surrendered to him their lands,[1] to receive them back as "fiefs," while they themselves became his *vassals*, acknowledging him as their *lord* (or *suzerain*) and fighting under his banner.

This soldiery afforded protection to other classes. The peasants saw that they were no longer to be slain or driven captive by chance marauders. They ventured to plow and sow. In case of danger they found asylum in the circle of palisades at the foot of the castle. In return they cultivated the lord's crop, acknowledged him as their landlord, and paid him dues for house, for cattle, and for each sale or inheritance. The *village* became his village; the inhabitants, his *villeins.*

Besides these resident laborers, who had some claim to consideration, fugitive wretches gathered on the lord's lands, to receive such measure of mercy as he might choose to grant. These sank into the class of "*serfs*," [2] of whom already there were many on all large estates (§ 30).

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[1] This practice was known as "*commendation.*" It went on until practically all the land of Western Europe was held by its possessor from some higher lord.

[2] The terms "serf" and "villein" are explained in § 129.

115. Origin of Feudal Privileges. — Both villeins and serfs were largely at the lord's mercy; but one master, however tyrannical, could not be so great an evil as constant anarchy. In return for the protection he gave, the lord assumed many privileges. In later times, these came to be unspeakably obnoxious, but in their origin they were usually connected with some benefit conferred by the lord.

The lord's services did not stop with defense against robbers. He slew the wild beast, and so came finally to have the *sole right to hunt.* He was also the sole organizer of labor. He forced the villeins to build the mill, the oven, the ferry, the bridge, the highway. Then he *took toll for the use of all these conveniences ;* and later he demolished the mill that the villeins would have built for themselves.

"Later the masters of these castles were the terror of the country, but they saved it first. *Power always establishes itself through service, and perishes through abuse.*" — Duruy, *Middle Ages*, 201.

"Disastrous as were most of the effects of the system, it at least justified its existence by saving Christendom from the foe without. . . . Any ransom was worth paying, if thereby Rome was saved from the Saracen, Mainz from the Magyar [Hungarian], Paris from the heathen of the North." — Oman, *Dark Ages*, 512.

116. Each petty district became practically independent of every other district. The king had been expected to protect every corner of his realm, and as a fact he had protected none; but each little chieftain proved able to care for his own small corner when he was left to himself. *Feudalism meant the replacing one ineffective central authority in each country by countless disconnected but effective local authorities.* The noble took even the courts of his district under his care. His territory became a little state of itself. The great nobles coined money, and made war and treaties, like very kings. Out of some 70,000 feudal lords in France in the tenth century, two hundred or more held these sovereign powers of coinage and of war and peace.

117. Feudalism seems to us a bad system, but it **had a good side.** The fief, large or small, became an object of love and

devotion to its inhabitants. The lord was admired and almost worshiped by his people; and in return, however harsh himself, he permitted no one else to injure or insult one of his dependents. An honorable noble, indeed, lived always under a stern sense of obligation to all the people subject to him. A rough paternalism ruled in society. Perhaps the system was more rough than paternal; but it was better than anarchy, and it nourished some virtues peculiar to its own day.

A passage from Joinville's *Memoir of St. Louis* illustrates this better side of the feudal relation. Joinville was a great French noble of the thirteenth century, about to set out on a crusade. At Eastertide he summoned his vassals to his castle for a week of feasting and dancing in honor of his approaching departure. "And on the Friday I said to them: 'Sirs, I am going beyond sea and know not whether I shall ever return; so draw near to me. If I have ever done you any wrong, I will redress it to one after another, as is my practice with all who have anything to ask of me.' And I made amends to them, *according to the decisions of those dwelling on my lands;* and, *that I might not influence them*, I withdrew from their deliberations and carried out without dispute whatever they decided."

118. So far, we have been looking at feudalism as the product of military necessity. **Many of its features, however, were the result of economic[1] necessity,** — of the lack of money and of roads. Economically, as well as politically, each locality had been thrown upon its own resources and had been compelled to provide for its own needs. The rich man's wealth was in land; but he could make land pay only by renting it for services or for produce. He rented part of it to smaller "nobles," who paid him by fighting for him, and part to workers, who raised and harvested his crops, and gave him part of their own. The man who had no land was glad to exchange his services for the use of land in one way or the other.

119. There were three elements of feudalism. The first was the *personal relation* between lord and vassal. This is summed up in the word *vassalage*. It seems to have been due in large measure to the

[1] *Economics* refers to wealth, as *politics* does to government.

peculiar personal relation between chieftain and "companion" among the old Teutonic barbarians (§ 39). Vassalage will be explained in detail in § 122 ff.

The second element *concerned landholding.* Each vassal held a fief from his liege lord, in return for "honorable" service. This practice was copied from a common usage among the Romans.

The third element was the *jurisdiction* (right of government) which each master of a fief held over the dwellers and subvassals upon it. This connection of political authority with landholding dates in some degree from the early Teutonic conquests.

The union of these three things, in the period of disorder that followed Charlemagne, produced European feudalism.

120. Feudal Theory and Practice. — Rising out of anarchy, feudalism kept some anarchic traits. At first the relations of lord, vassal, and villein differed widely in different localities, and each district fixed its own customs and law. To a great degree this remained true as long as feudalism lived at all; but gradually the kings' lawyers built up a theory of beautiful simplicity, to which facts, in some measure, came to conform.

In this feudal theory, *the holder of any piece of land was only a tenant of some higher landlord;* and, besides the clergy, there were *two main classes of society*, — the fighters, who were "noble," and the workers, who were ignoble.

The king belonged to the fighting class and was the *supreme landlord.* He let out most of the land of the kingdom, on terms of military service, to great vassals who swore fealty to him. Each of these parceled out most of what he received, on like terms, to smaller vassals; and so on, perhaps through six or seven steps, *until the smallest division was reached that could support a mailed horseman for the noble's life of fighting.*

In practice there was no such regularity. The various grades were interlocked in the most confusing way. Many of the smallest vassals held their land directly of the king or of the greatest lords, — not of a lord just above them in importance, — and the holdings and obligations differed in all conceivable ways. Often great lords held part of their lands from smaller

ones, and even kings were vassals for part of their kingdoms, — perhaps to vassals of their own.

Thus the Count of Champagne in the thirteenth century was lord of twenty-six castles, scattered over north-central France, each the center of a separate fief. Most of these he held from the King of France, but others of them he held from seven other suzerains, — among them the Emperor and the Duke of Burgundy. Some of these lords of the count were now and then at war with one another. The count had sublet his land among 2000 vassals, but many of these held lands also from other suzerains, — sometimes from suzerains of the count.

121. Suzerain and Vassal. — Except for the smallest knights, all landlords of the fighting class were "suzerains" (liege lords); and, except perhaps the king, all were vassals. There was no great social distinction between the lord and his vassals. They lived on terms of familiarity and mutual respect. The "vassal" was always a "noble," and his service was always "honorable." It must never be confounded with the "ignoble" service paid by serfs and villeins.

At first, fiefs were granted only for the lifetimes of the vassals; but, in the ninth century, *they became hereditary*. For three hundred years more, a man from the lower ranks sometimes received a fief as a reward for special service, and so became a noble; but in the twelfth century nobility itself became strictly hereditary.

In order the more easily to secure the services due them, the lords objected to a vassal's dividing a fief among his sons, and thus established the practice of "primogeniture" (inheritance of landed property by the eldest son only). On the continent all the sons of a noble kept their *nobility*, even if they were *landless;* and (unless they entered the clergy) it became their aim to win lands, by serving some great lord who might have fiefs to bestow.

In England the term "noble" had a much narrower meaning: it applied only to the greatest lords, and to their *eldest* sons after them. That is, the principle of primogeniture was applied to nobility as well as to property. *The whole "gentry" class in England would have been nobles on the continent.*

122. The receiving of a fief was accompanied by the solemn ceremony of *homage*. This had somewhat the character of a "bargain" for mutual advantage between lord and vassal. The

future vassal, with head uncovered and sword ungirt, knelt before the lord, placed his folded hands between the lord's hands, and swore to be the lord's "man" (Latin, *homo*). He took also an oath of *fealty*, promising to perform many specific obligations. The lord raised the vassal from his knees, gave him the "kiss of peace," *invested* him with the fief, — usually by presenting him with a sword or a clod of earth as a symbol, — and promised to *defend* him in it.

AN ACT OF HOMAGE. — From a twelfth century manuscript.

The important duties of the vassals may be classed under three heads, — military service, court service, and financial payments.

123. The vassal was to present himself, at the call of his lord,[1] **to serve in war,** — perhaps alone, or perhaps followed by an army of knights and men-at-arms, according to the size of his fief. He could be compelled to serve only a fixed time each year, commonly forty days, but for that time he was to maintain himself and his men.

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[1] *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 3, gives forms of summons.

The short term of service made the feudal army of little use for distant expeditions; and indeed vassals were sometimes not under obligation to follow their lord out of the realm. The jealousies between the vassals, and the absence of organization, and of all discipline except that of a lord over his immediate followers, made the feudal array an unwieldy instrument for offensive warfare.

124. The vassal was bound to serve also in the lord's "court," usually at three periods each year. The court had two distinct functions. (1) As a judicial body, it gave judgment in legal disputes between vassals; and (2) as a council, it advised the lord in all important matters.

A Baron's Court. — From a sixteenth century woodcut.

A vassal, accused even by his lord, could be condemned only by this judgment of his peers (*pares*), or equals. The lord was only the presiding officer, not the judge. The second office of the court was even more important: the lord could not count upon support in any serious undertaking unless he first secured the approval of his council. In feudal language, the council "advised and consented." This expression, through English practice, has come down into our constitution: our President is empowered to do certain things "with the advice and consent" of the Senate.

125. The vassal did not pay the lord "taxes," in the usual sense of that word, but on certain special occasions he **did have to make four kinds of financial contributions.** (1) Upon receiving a fief, either as a gift or as an inheritance, he paid the lord a sum of money.[1] It was called a *relief*, and commonly it amounted to a year's revenue. (2) If the vassal wished to sell

[1] The payment of this sum by the son of a deceased vassal was a recognition of the fact that in theory the fief had been granted only for the life of the previous holder and that it had reverted to the higher lord. Cf. § 121.

his fief, or to sublet part of it, he was obliged to pay for the lord's consent. (3) Upon other occasions he made payments known as *aids*. The three most common purposes were *to ransom the lord*, if a prisoner, and to help meet the expense of *knighting the lord's eldest son* and of *the marriage of his eldest daughter*. (4) Similar to such payments, but more oppressive, was the obligation *to entertain the lord and all his following* upon a visit.

The lord had other claims upon the fief, which under certain circumstances might produce revenue. (1) He assumed the *guardianship of a minor heir*, and took to himself the revenues of the fief at such times, on the ground that there was no holder to render the service for which it had been granted. (2) He claimed the right *to dispose of a female ward in marriage*, — so as to secure for her a husband who should be a satisfactory vassal, — and then commonly he sold to the woman the right to marry without interference. Sometimes to extort a huge sum he presented a hateful suitor. Thus the English royal accounts contain various entries similar to the following one: "Hawissa, who was wife to William Fitz-Roberts, renders [to the king] 130 marks and 4 palfreys, that she may have peace from Peter of Borough, to whom the king has given permission to marry her, and that she may not be compelled to marry." (3) In the absence of heirs, the fief returned (*escheated*) to the lord; and (4) if the vassal's duties were not performed, it might come back to him by *forfeiture*, through a decision of his court.

126. The lord was bound to defend his vassal against attack, to treat him justly, and to see that he obtained justice from his co-vassals. The lord could not withdraw a fief, so long as the vassal was true to his bargain; and the vassal could hold the lord to the performance of *his* duties, or at least could try to do so, by appealing to the court of the lord's lord.

Now we can understand why feudalism is called a *decentralized* system of government. Every citizen of the United States owes allegiance *directly* to the central government. Such had been the case, too, in the old Roman Empire. But there was nothing of this sort under feudalism. A vassal, C, owes obedience directly only to his lord, to B, and will follow him to war against B's lord, A, or even against the king. C owes obedience to A only *through* B, and the obligation to A, if thought of at all, is infinitely weaker than that which binds him to B.

127. Feudalism came to dominate all the relations of man with man. Other things than land were given and held as hereditary fiefs, — the great offices of the kingdom, the right to fish in a stream, or to cut wood in a forest. A monastery or a cathedral drew its *revenues* largely from its serfs and villeins and from the church lands cultivated by them; and it provided for its *defense* by giving other lands to nobles on terms of military service. Thus bishops and abbots became suzerains, and they were also vassals, for their lands, to some other lord.

So, too, the towns, when they grew up in the twelfth century. A town was sometimes a vassal of a lord or of another town, and perhaps at the same time a suzerain of smaller towns. Both towns and church were fundamentally hostile to the feudal spirit; but for a time they had to accept the feudal form.

128. Private Wars and the Truce of God. — Feudal *theory* paid elaborate regard to *rights*, but feudal *practice* was mainly a matter of *force*. There was no adequate machinery for obtaining justice; it was not easy to enforce the decisions of the crude courts against an offender who chose to resist. The whole noble class, too, thought war the most honorable and perhaps the most religious way to settle disputes. Like the trial by combat (§ 48), it was considered an appeal to the judgment of God.

For the slightest causes, great or petty lords went to war with each other; and these "*private wars*" became a chief evil of the age. They hindered the growth of industry, and commonly they hurt neutral parties quite as much as they hurt participants. There was little actual suffering by the warring nobles, and very little heroism. Indeed, there was little actual fighting. The weaker party usually shut itself up in its castle. The stronger side ravaged the villages in the neighborhood, driving off the cattle and perhaps torturing the peasants for their small hidden treasures.

In the eleventh century the church, unable to stop such strife, tried to regulate it by proclaiming the "Truce of God,"

forbidding private war between Wednesday evening and the following Monday morning of each week and during the church festivals.[1] It was long, however, before this truce was generally observed.

129. Workers in the Feudal Age.[2] — The "upper classes" comprised the clergy and the nobles, — the "praying class" and the "fighting class." *These made up feudal society proper; but they were fed and clothed by an immensely larger number of "ignoble" workers.* The workers, whether legally free or servile, did not count in politics and not much in war, and they are hardly referred to in the records of the time except as cattle might be mentioned. They had few rights and many duties. Labor was almost wholly agricultural, and was performed, mainly, by serfs and villeins.

As in the last Roman days (§ 30), *the serf* was bound to the soil by law: he could not leave it, but neither could he be sold apart from it. He had his own bit of ground to cultivate, at such times as the lord's bailiff did not call him to labor on the lord's land. Usually the bailiff summoned the serfs in turn, each for two or for three days each week; but in harvest or haying he might keep them all busy, to the ruin of their own little crops. Then, if the serf had a crop, he had to pay a large part of it for the the use of his land, and he was compelled to pay a multitude of other dues and fines. Sometimes he paid money, but almost always, especially in the early period of feudalism, he paid "in kind," — eggs, a goose, a cock, a calf, a portion of grain at the mill where the rest had to be ground. So, too, he paid part of his bread baked at the lord's oven and part of his cider made at the lord's press.

In theory, *all* that the serf had was his lord's, and most of the class were left only a bare living. Still some masters allowed their better serfs to accumulate a little property —

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[1] See *Pennsylvania Reprints*, I, No. 2, for such a proclamation, by the Archbishop of Cologne in 1083.

[2] Cf. § 30, note. The best short treatments are Emerton's *Medieval Europe*, 509–520, and Adams' *Growth of the French Nation*, 64–68.

just as some slaves in the United States before the Civil War were permitted to possess property.

A step above the serf was the villein.[1] The villein was free in person. That is, he could leave his land and go from one lord to another. Such changes were not very common; and in any case the villein must have *some* lord. *The landless and masterless man was an outlaw, at the mercy of any lord.*

VILLEINS RECEIVING DIRECTIONS. — From a miniature in a fifteenth century manuscript.

Practically, the most important distinction between villein and serf was that the villein's land was subject only to *fixed and certain* charges, not to arbitrary exactions. These charges, however, were usually so fixed as to leave the villein only the bare necessities of life.[2] The way in which the higher classes thought of the villein is shown by the fact that his name became a term of reproach ("villain").

130. Cautions for the Student. — To avoid common misconceptions regarding feudalism, it is well to fix in mind the following points: —

(1) The kings kept their old authority *in theory*, and therefore were always something more than great feudal lords, though the difference was vague.

(2) "Vassal" never means serf: a vassal was free and noble, though he was, by bargain, the "man" of some "lord."

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[1] Serfdom and villeinage ran into each other in a most confusing manner, so that the two are often referred to under either name.

[2] Cf. § 114. There is an excellent account in Emerton's *Medieval Europe*, 517–518, and a longer one in Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History*, 39–44.

(3) Strictly speaking, feudal society contained *only* suzerains and vassals, though these classes made up but a small part of the population.

(4) Serfs and villeins were not part of the feudal system. That is, their relations to their masters were not *feudal* relations, in strict language. But some such classes were necessary to the existence of the feudal classes above them.

(5) Feudalism did not create serfs, to begin with, but it did thrust down into the position of serfs and villeins many men who had formerly been free.

(6) In feudal times, society was always more complex and less symmetrical than would seem from any single account.

Further Reading on this chapter, apart from the footnote references, is best suggested at the close of the following one, pp. 129, 130.

JUGGLERS. — From a thirteenth century manuscript.

CHAPTER VI

LIFE IN THE FEUDAL AGE

131. **There were few towns in Western Europe until the twelfth century, and the new town life of that period will be discussed in its place (§§ 259 ff.). From 900 to 1200 society was mainly rural. It is the work and the home life of this rural society with which this chapter deals.**

132. **The Manor.** — Besides the land he let out to military vassals (§ 120), each noble had to keep some of his land for the support of his own household and for other revenue. This was "domain" land. It was cultivated by the lord's serfs and villeins, under direction of a bailiff, or steward. The peasant workers did not live in scattered farmhouses, each on its own field: they were grouped in little villages of twenty or fifty dwellings, as in Europe to-day. *Each such village, with its adjoining "fields," was a "manor."* Great lords held many manors, usually widely scattered throughout the kingdom, and the smallest noble necessarily held at least one.

Each village or manor had its church, usually at a little distance, with grounds about it, part of which were used for the graveyard. Usually the village had also its manor house. This might be the lord's castle, on a hill above the other dwellings, or it might be a house only a trifle better than the homes of the villeins, to be used by the lord's steward. At one end of the village street stood the lord's smithy; and near by, on some convenient stream, was the lord's mill. The smith and

ANCIENT MANOR HOUSE, Melichope, England; in its present condition. — From Wright's *Homes of Other Days*.

miller were usually serfs or villeins, and spent most of their labor on the land, but they were somewhat better housed and more favored than the rest of their class.

133. Peasant Homes.[1] — The other dwellings were low, filthy, one-room hovels of rough wood or sticks, plastered together with mud. They had no chimney or floor, and usually no opening (no window) except the door, and they were thatched with straw. These homes straggled along either side of an irregular lane, where poultry, pigs, and children played in the dirt. Behind each house was its weedy garden patch and its low stable and barn. These last were often under the same roof as the living room of the family, — as is still true sometimes in parts of Germany.

INTERIOR VIEW OF THE UPPER WINDOW SHOWN IN MELICHOPE MANOR HOUSE. This view shows the depth of the wall, — into which, indeed, the stairway is cut.

The house, small as it was, was not cluttered with furniture. A handmill for grinding meal, or at least a stone mortar in which to crush grain, a pot and kettle, possibly a feather bed, one or two rude

[1] The most graphic treatments of peasant life are in Jessopp's *Friars*, 87–112; Jenks' *Edward Plantagenet*, 46–52; and in Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History*, 31–52. Of the last, read especially 31–40 and 50–52. There is also a good treatment in Ashley's *Economic History*, I, 10–43.

benches, and a few tools for the peasant's work, made up the contents of even the well-to-do homes.

134. Farming. — The plowland was divided into three great "fields" or three groups of fields. These were unfenced, and lay about the village at any convenient spots. One field was sown to wheat (in the fall); one to rye or barley (in the spring); and the third lay fallow, to recuperate. The next year this third field would be the wheat land, while the old wheat field would raise the barley, and so on. This primitive "rotation of crops" kept a third of the land idle.

Every "field" was divided into a great number of narrow strips, each as nearly as possible a "furrow-long,"[1] and one, two, or four rods wide, so that each contained from a quarter of an acre to an acre. Usually the strips were separated by "balks," or ridges of turf. A peasant's holding was about thirty acres, ten acres in each "field"; and his share in each lay not in one piece, but in fifteen or thirty scattered strips. The lord's land, probably half the whole, lay in strips like the rest, and was managed by his steward.

Of course this kind of holding compelled a "common" cultivation. That is, each man must sow what his neighbor sowed; and as a rule, each could sow, till, and harvest only when his neighbors did. Agriculture was extremely crude. Serfs were not intelligent or willing workers, and even the lord's stewards did not know how to get good returns from the land. They expected only six or eight bushels of wheat or rye from an acre. Walter of Henley, a thirteenth century writer on agriculture, says that threefold the seed was an average harvest, and that often a man was lucky to get back his seed grain and as much again.

The breed of all farm animals, too, was small. The wooden plow required eight oxen, and then it did hardly more than scratch the surface of the ground. Carts were few and cumbrous. The distance to the outlying parts of the fields added to the labor of the villagers. There was little or no cultivation

[1] This expression is the origin of our "furlong."

A Sixteenth Century Map of the Open Fields of the Manor of Lower Heyford, Oxfordshire.

of root foods. Potatoes, of course, were unknown. Sometimes a few turnips and cabbages and carrots, rather uneatable varieties probably, were grown in garden plots behind the houses. The wheat and rye in the "fields" were raised for breadstuffs, and the barley for brewing beer. Sometimes a few peas and beans were grown for fodder.

The most important crop was the wild hay, upon which the cattle had to be fed during the winter. Meadowland was

A Reaper's Cart going Uphill. — After Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life*; from a fourteenth century manuscript. The force of men and horses indicates the nature of the roads. The steepness of the hill is, of course, exaggerated, so as to fit the picture to the space in the manuscript.

twice as valuable as plowland. The meadow was fenced for the hay harvest, but was afterward thrown open for pasture. Usually there were other extensive pasture and wood lands, where lord and villagers fattened their cattle and swine.

It was difficult to carry enough animals through the winter for the necessary farm work and breeding; so those to be used for food were killed in the fall and salted down. The large use of salt meat and the little variety in food caused loathsome diseases among the people. The chief luxury among the poor was honey, and well-to-do peasants often had a hive of bees in their garden plot. Honey took the place of sugar, and the wax was made into the candles which lighted the churches and were kept burning before the shrines of saints.

135. Each village was a world by itself. Even the different villages of the same lord had little intercourse with one another. The lord's bailiff secured from some distant market the three outside products needed, — salt, millstones, and iron for the plowshares and for other tools. Except for this, a village was hardly touched by the great outside world — unless a war desolated it, or a royal procession chanced to pass through it. Commonly in the ninth century it had not even a shop. The women of each household wove rough cloth for the single garment that covered them; and the men prepared leather for their own heavier clothing.

PEASANTS' MAY DANCE. — From a miniature in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.

This shut-in life was stupefying and degrading. Measured by our standards, it was often indescribably ferocious, indecent, and cheerless. Pictures in manuscripts of the time, however, show that it had occasional festivities; and it was a great step up from the slavery of laborers in earlier times.

136. One feature of this manorial life had promise in it. This **was the court of the manor**, composed of all heads of families and meeting every three or four weeks. The lord's steward presided, and exercised very great power; but all took part, and the older men had an important voice in declaring "the custom of the manor" — a thing which differed in every

two manors and which took the place of town legislation among us.

The assembly settled disputes between villagers, imposed penalties upon any who had broken "the customs of the manor," and, from time to time, redistributed the strips of plow land among the village families. In England such gatherings sent their presiding officer and their "four best men" to the larger local assemblies (§ 161), and so kept alive a chance for representative government to grow up.

137. Life in the Castle. — The noble classes dwelt in gloomy fortresses over dark dungeons where prisoners rotted. They had fighting for business, and hunting with hound and hawk, and playing at fighting, for pleasures. The ladies busied themselves over tapestries and embroideries, in the chambers. Gay pages flitted through the halls, or played at chess in the deep windows. And in the courtyard lounged gruff men-at-arms, ready with blind obedience to follow the lord of the castle on any foray or even in an attack upon their king.

JUGGLERS IN THE SWORD DANCE. — From a thirteenth century manuscript.

138. The favorite sport of this fighting age was a sort of mock battle called a tournament. Kings and great lords gave such entertainments, to win popular applause, on all joyous occasions, — the marriage of a daughter, the knighting of a son, the celebration of a victory. The tournament during the middle ages took the place of gladiatorial games among the Romans.

Every student should know the splendid story of the combats in "the lists at Ashby" in Scott's *Ivanhoe*, and any mere description is tame in comparison. As there portrayed, the news of the coming event was carried far and near for weeks in advance. Knights began to journey to the appointed place, perhaps from all parts of a kingdom, in groups that

grew ever larger as the roads converged. Some came to win fame; some to repair their fortunes, — since the knight who overthrew an opponent possessed his horse and armor and the ransom of his person, as in real war. The knightly cavalcade might be joined or followed by a motley throng journeying to the same destination; among them, jugglers to win small coins by amusing the crowds, and traveling merchants with their wares on the backs of donkeys. There were few inns, but the mixed group of travelers found ready welcome for meals and lodging at any castle or manor house.

A Victor in a Tournament. — After a drawing by Dürer.

The contests took place in a space (the "lists") shut off from interference by palisades. The balconies above, gay with streamers and floating scarfs, were crowded with ladies and nobles and perhaps with rich townsmen. Below, a mass of peasants and other common men jostled one another for the better chances to see the contestants. Sometimes two or more days were given to the combats. Part of the time, one group of knights "held the lists" against all comers, affording a series of single combats on horseback and on foot. Again, two mimic armies met in the mêlée. Perhaps even the yeomen were allowed to show their skill with bow and in wrestling.

139. Chase and Falconry. — The population was thinly scattered, and large districts everywhere were waste or forest. This gave admirable opportunity for hunting to the inhabitants of every castle. Hunting was the second most important sport of the nobles, and it was a monopoly possessed by that

class, protected by cruel and bloody custom. For a common man to be found with a haunch of venison, or even with a hare, meant the loss of eyes or hands.

Indeed, hunting was more than sport. The table of every castle depended in large measure upon a steady supply of game. The larger wild animals, — bear, deer, wild boars, — were brought to bay with dogs, and slain by the hunter with

FALCONRY. — From a medieval manuscript reproduced by Lacroix.

spear or short sword. (This was the "chase.") Smaller game, — herons, wild ducks, rabbits, — were hunted with trained hawks. (This was "falconry.") Each castle counted among its most trusted servants a falconer, who saw to the capture of young hawks (falcons) and trained them to fly at game and to bring it back to the master. *Falconry* was the peculiar medieval form of hunting, and lords and ladies were madly devoted to the sport. Many a noble lady, even on a long journey of many days, rode, falcon on wrist, ready at any moment, to "cast off" if a game bird rose beside the road, — somewhat as

the backwoodsman carries his rifle on a journey, always ready for a stray deer.

140. Feasting filled a large part of the noble's life. Meals were served in the great hall of the castle, and were the social hours of the day. Tables were set out on movable trestles, and the household, visitors, and dependants gathered about them on seats and benches, with nice respect for precedence in rank, — the master and his noblest guests at the head, and the

STOKE CASTLE. A modest manor house of the thirteenth century, called a castle because of its tower.

lowest servants toward the bottom of the long line. A profusion of food in many courses, especially at the midday "dinner," was carried in from the kitchen across the open courtyard. Peacocks, swans, whole boars, or at least boar heads, were among the favorite roasts; and huge venison "pies" were a common dish. Mother Goose's "four and twenty blackbirds" had real models in many a medieval pasty, which, when opened, let live birds escape, to be hunted down among the rafters of the hall by falcons.

At each guest's place was a knife, to cut slices from the roasts within his reach, and a spoon for broths, but no fork or napkin or plate. Each one dipped his hand into the pasties,

carrying the dripping food directly to his mouth. Loaves of bread were crumbed up and rolled between the hands to wipe off the surplus gravy, and then thrown to the dogs under the tables; and between courses, servants passed basins of water and towels. The food was washed down with huge draughts of wine, usually diluted with water. A prudent steward of King Louis IX of France (Joinville, § 143) tells us how he "caused the wine of the varlets (at the bottom of the tables) to be well watered, but less water to be put in the wine of the squires, and before each knight [he] caused to be placed a huge goblet of wine and a goblet of water," — a judicious hint which it is to be hoped some knights accepted.

The Hall of Stoke Castle.

During the midday and evening meals, there was much opportunity for conversation, especially with strange guests, who repaid the hospitality by the news of the districts from which they came. Intervals between courses, too, were sometimes filled with story-telling and song, and with rude jokes by the lord's "jester" or "fool."

141. Chivalry.[1] — This grim life had its romantic and gentle side, indicated to us by the name *chivalry*. The term at first meant the nobles on horseback (from the French *cheval*, horse), but it came to stand for the whole institution of "knighthood."

[1] There is a good treatment in Henderson's *Short History of Germany*, 112–121. Longer accounts may be found in Cutts' *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, or in the *histories* of chivalry by James or by Cornish.

Chivalry grew up slowly between 1000 and 1200 A.D. We will look at it in its fully developed form. There were two stages in the training of a young noble for knighthood.

a. At about the age of seven he was sent from his own home into the household of his father's suzerain, or of some other noble friend, to become a *page*. Here, for seven or eight years, with other boys, he waited on the lord and lady of the castle, serving them at table and running their errands. As soon as he was strong enough, he was trained daily, by some old man-at-arms, in riding and in the use of light arms. But his attendance was paid chiefly to some lady of the castle, and by her, in return, he was taught obedience, courtesy, and a knight's duty to religion and to ladies.

A Court Fool. — After a medieval miniature in brilliant colors. Many great lords kept such jesters.

b. At fourteen or fifteen the page became a *squire* to the lord. Now he oversaw the care of his lord's horse and the cleaning of his shining armor; he went with his lord to the hunt, armed him for battle, carried his shield, and accompanied him in the field, with special care for his safety.

After five or six years of such service, at the age of twenty or twenty-one, the squire's education was completed. He was now ready to become a knight. Admission to the order of knighthood was a matter of imposing ceremonial. The youth bathed (a symbol of purification), fasted, confessed his sins to a holy priest, and then spent the night in the chapel in prayer, "watching" his arms. The next morning came solemn church services and a sermon upon the duties of a blameless knight. Then the household gathered in the castle yard, along with many visiting knights and ladies and their attendants. In the background of this gay scene a servant held a noble horse, soon to be the charger of the new knight. The candidate knelt before the lord of the castle, and there took the vows to

be a brave and gentle knight, to defend the church, to protect ladies, to succor the distressed, especially widows and orphans. The ladies of the castle put his new armor upon him, gave him his sword, and buckled on a knight's golden spurs. Then the lord struck him lightly over the shoulder with the flat of the sword, exclaiming, "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and

THE EXERCISE OF THE QUINTAIN. The boys ride, by turns, at the wooden figure. If the rider strikes the shield squarely in the center, it is well. If he hits only a glancing blow, the wooden figure swings on its foot and whacks him with its club as he passes.

of St. George, I dub you knight." (This blow was the "accolade.") Rising to his feet, the new-made knight vaulted upon his horse and gave some exhibition of his skill in arms and in horsemanship; and the festival closed with games and feasting and the exchange of gifts.

More honored still was the noble who had been dubbed knight by some famous leader on the field of victory, as the reward for distinguished bravery. In such case, there was no ceremony except the accolade.

Chivalry was an attempt to fuse the ideals of the Teutonic warrior and of the Christian. It has been called "the flower of feudalism." Its faults were twofold. (1) *It was exclusive.* Its spirit was altogether a class spirit. It recognized no obligations except to nobles. Even the vow to protect women did not apply to any women but those of gentle birth. (2) *It carried some of its virtues* (bravery and devotion to ladies) *to such extremes as to make them fantastic, if not vicious.* The ideals, too, were not always reached, and a perfect knight may have been no more common than is a perfect gentleman to-day. But chivalry did help to soften manners and to humanize society. Along with other feudal institutions, it developed a high sense of personal honor and of personal independence, and, at the same time, of personal loyalty to a lord. It elevated women, and it had much to do with creating the modern home and our idea of a gentleman.

142. Ideals of Knighthood in Literature. — Toward the year 1400, the English poet Chaucer gives this picture of his typical knight: —

"A knight there was, and that a worthy man,
That fro the time that he first began
To riden out, he lovéd chivalry,
Truth and honor, freedom and courtesy. . . .
And tho that he was worthy, he was wise,
And of his port as meek as is a maid.
And never yet no villainy he said
In all his life, unto no manner wight.
He was a very perfect, gentle knight."

143. Moral Ideals of Feudal Nobles about 1300. — Joinville was a great noble of Champagne, in what we now call France, who has already been quoted (§§ 64, 140). He followed King Louis IX (St. Louis) on one of the crusades (§ 241), and for a time served in the king's household on terms of mutual friendship. Many years later, when ninety years old, Joinville dictated to a scribe his recollections of the great king, dedicating the book to the great-grandson of St. Louis, then the heir to the throne. The following extracts show something of the morality of the best feudal society.

"And because I see no one who ought to have [the book] so rightly as you who are his heir, I send it to you, that you and your brothers and

others *who may hear it read*, may take good example from it and put these examples in practice, that God may be pleased with you. . . . The King loved truth to such a degree that even with the Saracens he would not draw back from what he had promised. As to his palate he was so indifferent that never did I hear him ask for any particular dish, as many men do, but he ate contentedly of whatever was served up to him. He was measured in his speech. Never in my life did I hear him speak ill of any one; nor did I ever hear him name the Devil, — a name widely spread in this realm (and it is a great disgrace to the kingdom of France, and to the king when he suffers it, that one can hardly speak without saying 'the Devil take it,' and it is a great sin to devote to the Devil a man given to God from the moment that he is baptized. In the Joinville household, whoso utters such a word receives a box on the ears or a slap on the mouth, and bad language is almost wholly suppressed). . . . He asked me once whether I wished to be honored and to enter Paradise through death? Keep yourself then from doing or saying aught which, if all the world knew, you could not avow and say, 'I did this,' 'I said that.' He told me to refrain from contradicting anything said in my presence, providing there was no sin in remaining silent, because hard words engender strife. . . . He used to say that a man should so equip his person that the grey-beards of the day should not be able to say that it was over done; nor the young men that there was anything wanting. After the king's return from over the sea, he lived so devoutly that he never wore furs of different colors, or scarlet cloth, or gilt stirrups or spurs. I was reminded of this by the father of the king who now reigns [Philip the Hardy] alluding once to the embroidered coats of arms fashionable now-a-days. I made answer to him that never in the voyage over the sea did I see embroidered coats . . . and that he would have done better to have given the money to the poor and to have worn plain clothes as his father used to do."

For Further Reading. — Excellent "source" material will be found in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 3; in Robinson's *Readings*, *I*, 170–196; and in Ogg's *Source Book*. The student should know Froissart (fourteenth century), — at least in Lanier's charming volume, *The Boys' Froissart*, — and Joinville's *Memoir of St. Louis* (thirteenth century). For modern accounts, the best statements are those in Adams' *Civilization* and his *Growth of the French Nation*, and in Emerton's *Medieval Europe*. The older accounts, such as those of Hallam, Robertson, and Guizot, are more or less untrustworthy, especially regarding the rise of the institution.

For special features, — chivalry, village life, etc., — see footnote ref-

erences to §§ 129, 133, 141. *Historical fiction* upon the feudal period is particularly valuable. Scott's novels, of course, must not be overlooked, although they give a false glamor to the age, and perhaps they should be corrected by "Mark Twain's" scathing treatment in his *Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court.* Other excellent portraits are given in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Black Arrow* and Conan Doyle's *White Company.* Charlotte Yonge's *Little Duke* and Stockton's *Story of Viteau* are good for younger students and will be enjoyed by older ones. Martineau's *Prince and Peasant* pictures the abuses of feudalism at a later period. *Students may be called upon to find incidents in such literature illustrating various paragraphs in this chapter.*

Exercise: Explain the terms, — vassal, fief, commendation, homage, fealty. Let the class prepare lists of such terms for rapid and brief explanation, and select some thirty, from this volume so far, for future reviews.

Bodlam Castle. — A well-preserved medieval structure in England.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH

144. The Universal Church a Political State. — Every topic since the disappearance of the old Roman Empire has called for constant reference to the church. For centuries to follow, also, that institution pervaded all the life of Europe. Nowhere in the world to-day does any church fill so large a place, or wield so great authority, as the Catholic church did from the sixth to the fifteenth century. *To understand the Middle Ages, it is even more necessary to know about the church than to know about feudalism.*

Christianity was not only a religion: *it was also a government.* Its officers exercised many powers that have now been handed over to civil[1] officers. Public order depended on the church almost as completely as did private morals. Over wide regions, with its spiritual thunders and the threat of its curse, it protected the widow and orphan, and others in danger of oppression, from the brutal barons who had respect for no earthly power.

But, further than all this, *the church was a sort of vast political state.* For seven hundred years after Charlemagne's empire broke up, the church was the only bond that held the Western world together in a sense of unity. The one name for that Western world during those ages was "Latin *Christendom.*" Nations were not yet made. Not Britain or France or Germany, but Christendom, was the true fatherland to which men gave their love and patriotism.

The church was universal. Membership was not a matter of free choice. All the people of Western Europe, except the

[1] *Civil* is used very commonly in contrast to *ecclesiastical.*

Jews, were baptized into it almost as soon as they were born. To attempt to leave it, or to deny its authority, was to invite the punishment of death as a heretic. It was as impossible to think of any one between the Adriatic and the Atlantic outside the church, as it is now to think of a Frenchman in France outside the French nation.

We have called feudalism the successor of the Empire of Charlemagne; but, in its claim upon men's allegiance, *the church was the true successor of the old Roman Empire.* That Empire, in its time the one home of civilized man, had made possible the expansion of the church throughout its realms, with a government similar to that of the Empire itself (§ 34). Then, as the Empire fell to pieces, and disappeared from the West, the church *remained*, — dressed in the old forms and working through the old territorial divisions, — the sole representative of the old imperial unity.

145. From a very early date, there was a line drawn between laity and clergy. — After the fourth century, the distinction had *outward* marks. Lay society ceased to use the old Roman robes after the barbarian invasions; but the clergy *retained* them. Thus churchmen came to have a peculiar garb. They also adopted the custom of *tonsure*, — shaving a large part of the head.

So far as religion was concerned, the laity were merely called upon to support the church and to obey scrupulously the teachings and directions of their spiritual guides, the clergy. The clergy had for their charge "the cure (*care*) of souls." They were the mediators between man and God; and they alone could administer the holy sacraments, which were indispensable to salvation.

146. The sacraments were seven. (1) *Baptism* purified the infant from the sin of Adam and took him into the Christian community. (2) *Confirmation* admitted the youth into full church fellowship. (3) *Extreme unction*, in a dangerous illness, gave the soul strength to meet death. (4) The *Mass* (the celebration of the Lord's Supper) helped to purify from the ordinary sins and temptations of daily life. (5) *Penance* (after confession of sin and repentance) restored to the Christian life those who had fallen away into deadly sin. (6) *Marriage*

made holy the life of husband and wife. (7) *Ordination* handed down (from Christ) to the clergy their exalted authority and their power to administer these sacraments.

147. Penance played an especially important part in human life. In ordaining a priest, the bishop said to him, "Whosesoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven him; whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." A man who had fallen into sin, then, could escape *only* through a priest's absolution. And, before the priest could absolve from sin he must hear the confession of the sinner, and be convinced of his sincere repentance. Then he might pronounce the solemn "I absolve you from your sins."

This absolution freed the soul from danger of punishment in hell, but not from some punishment hereafter in purgatory. To escape the fires of purgatory, it was still needful for the offender to do penance — to accept some punishment imposed by the priest. This punishment varied with the sin. The priest might order the offender to repeat many prayers, or to keep fasts, short or long, or to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of some saint, or even to the Holy Land. In place of these temporal penalties, the absolved sinner might be permitted to give money to the church for its work.

148. The worship of the church *remained* generally in Latin, — the language in universal use in Western Europe when the services took their form. Sermons, of course, were preached in the language of the people. The chief place in the service was held by the Mass. All men believed that the bread and wine, when consecrated by the priest, were *transformed* into the very *substance* of the body and blood of Christ. Hence the term *Transubstantiation*, which came later into use to signify this miraculous change.

The mass could purify not only those who were present at the sacrament but even those who were suffering in purgatory. And so rich men often left large sums to the church to pay for masses for their souls after death, and many gifts were made in like manner for masses for the souls of departed friends.

The early church had delighted in honoring its martyrs, and *it came to venerate them as saints* and to pray to them to intercede with Heaven for the living. A church building which possessed the tomb of a saint became the goal of many pilgrimages, and worshipers offered both prayers and gifts before the saint's shrine. Chief of all saints was the *Virgin Mary*, the Mother of God. And the universal inclination to offer prayer to a sainted woman helped to introduce an element of gentleness and tenderness into worship which cannot be overvalued for that rough age.

As early as the fourth century, *most of the great religious festivals, such as Christmas and Easter, had come to be celebrated much as in the present day.* The splendor of the religious celebration, and the joyousness of the social side of such festivals, were high lights amid the gloom and savagery of the dark centuries.

149. Preaching played a smaller part in the church's work than to-day, but there was no time when it was not a mighty instrument for good. The following extract from a sermon by the good Bishop, St. Eloy, in the seventh century, is typical in the force with which it insists on man's duties to his fellowmen as well as to God.

"It is not enough, most dearly beloved, for you to have received the name of Christians if you do not do Christian works. . . . Come, therefore, frequently to church; humbly seek the patronage of the saints; keep the Lord's day in reverence of the resurrection, without any servile work; celebrate the festivals of the saints with devout feeling; love your neighbors as yourselves; what you would desire to be done to you by others, that do you to others; what you would not have done to you, do to no one; before all things have charity, for charity covereth a multitude of sins; be hospitable, humble, casting your care upon God, for he careth for you; visit the sick; seek out the captives; receive strangers; feed the hungry; clothe the naked; set at naught soothsayers and magicians; *let your weights and measures be fair, your balance just, your bushel and your pint honest.* . . ."

And Joinville (§ 143) tells how a barefoot monk preached before the mighty monarch, Louis IX: —

"He said he had read carefully in the Bible and other holy books, and had always found that no kingdom had ever risen in war against its lord except when the ruler failed in justice to the people. Let the king, then, see that justice is done equally, to every one of his people, that God may not take his kingdom from him with shame."

150. The growth of the church organization has been described in section 34. **We are now to survey the organization as it stood when the church had won Western Europe.**

a. **All Christendom was made up of parishes,** — the smallest church units. Commonly, a parish was a farming village (a manor) or a part of a town. At its head was a *priest*, who, in large city parishes, was assisted by *deacons* to look after the poor.

b. **A group of parishes made up the diocese of a bishop**; and every parish had to belong to some diocese. The bishop usually established his headquarters in the largest town of his diocese, where there would be several parishes close to his own *cathedral* church, and where he could most easily keep in touch with the outlying parishes. Nearly every town of any consequence in the twelfth century was a bishop's seat (Latin, *cite*), and so gained the name *city;* and its cathedral was far larger and more magnificent than the other churches of the diocese.

The bishop was the mainspring in church *government.* He was regarded as the successor of the apostles, and was subject only to the guidance of the pope, who was successor to the chief of the apostles. Originally, his special duty had been to *oversee* the parish priests. (The Greek word *episcopus*, from which we get the word *bishop*, meant simply overseer.) This duty continued, and involved much difficult travel. But, with the development of the power of the church, other functions had been added to the bishop's office.

He looked after the enforcement of the laws of the church. This "canon law" had grown into a complex system. To administer justice under it, *each bishop held a court*, made up of trained churchmen, over which he presided. This court had jurisdic-

tion not merely over ecclesiastical matters: it tried any case that involved a clergyman, *or any one else who was under the special protection of the church*, — as were all widows, orphans, students, and the families of those who were absent on pilgrimages or crusades (§ 243). Other laymen could claim the privilege of trial in church courts when the case involved religious or moral questions of many sorts; as, for instance, cases depending on laws of marriage and inheritance, the keeping of contracts which had been sanctioned with oaths, the taking of interest (*usury*), which was regarded as unlawful, and all matters connected with the revenues of the church.

The bishop also had charge of the extensive property of the church in the diocese, — a task calling for the assistance of a considerable body of clerks and accountants. His agents, too, collected the tithes due the church throughout the diocese (the tenth of all produce), and distributed its proper share to each parish church.

The bishop was himself a priest, in charge of the services of his cathedral church; and he had some religious powers that did not belong to ordinary priests. *Only a bishop* could admit to full church fellowship by *confirmation*, or *ordain* new clergy, or *consecrate* new church buildings.

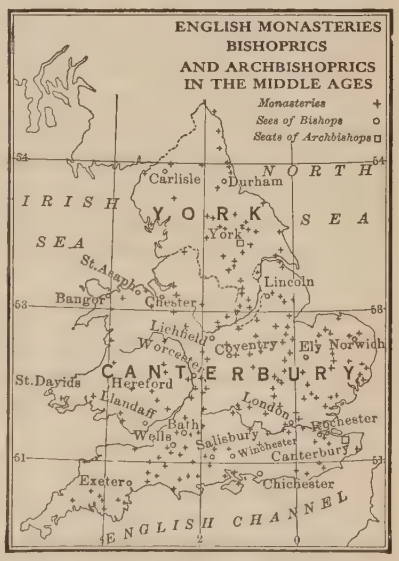
He was likewise an important officer of the civil government. The Roman emperors, after Constantine, had begun to make bishops their lieutenants for many matters of government. And the Teutonic conquerors of the Empire had carried the practice further, because they knew that the bishops had the necessary knowledge to deal with the difficulties that arose, and that bishops were not dangerous to their rule, — as other Roman officials might be if intrusted with authority.

With the growth of feudalism, this temporal power extended itself still more widely. *A bishop was a great feudal lord*, owing military service possibly to several different suzerains, holding much power over vassals, and possessing power of life and death over hundreds of serfs.

About the bishop was a body of assistant clergy, called *canons*.

Taken in a body, the canons were the "cathedral chapter." They aided in the services of the cathedral and in the management of the diocese; and, on the death of the bishop, they appointed his successor, — subject perhaps to the approval of some temporal ruler.

c. **A number of dioceses made up a province,** — which was usually one of the old divisions of that name under the Roman Empire. Over each province, seated in its most important city, was an *archbishop*, or *metropolitan*. The archbishop was a bishop also of one diocese, and he had a general supervision, but not a very definite one, over the other bishops of the province. His court, too, heard appeals from theirs; but he did not excel a bishop in power or dignity in any such degree as a bishop excelled a priest. In each country, one archbishop usually secured a primacy over the others, and became known as *primate*. Thus, the Archbishop of Canterbury was primate of England, with influence superior to that of the Archbishop of York.



d. **At the head of all this church hierarchy stood the *pope*,** the spiritual monarch of Christendom. He was *supreme lawgiver*, *supreme judge*, *supreme executive*. He issued new laws in the form of *bulls* (so-called from the gold seal, or *bulla*, on the documents), and he set aside old laws by his *dispensations*, — as when it seemed best to him to permit cousins to marry, a thing forbidden by the canon law. His court heard appeals

from the courts of bishop and archbishop, and likewise from many of the temporal courts of Christendom. Now and then he set aside appointments of bishops and other clergy, and himself filled the vacancies.

After the middle of the eleventh century, he appointed *legates*, to represent his authority directly in different countries, serving him somewhat as the *missi dominici* served Charlemagne. A legate could revoke the judgment of a bishop's court, remove bishops, and haughtily command obedience from kings, — quite as Shakspere pictures in his *King John*.

That the pope was a temporal prince over a group of provinces in Italy has been explained. Above all else, *he was the spiritual guide and guardian of Christendom*, compelling even kings, on occasion, to cease to do evil and to begin to do justice. Sometimes the papacy fell into weak or improper hands, but on the whole, no line of kings in Europe began to equal the mighty bishops of Rome either in devotion to their work or in ability.

For aid in his high office, the pope gathered about him a "**college**[1] **of cardinals.**" At first this body comprised only seven bishops of Rome and its vicinity; but it grew finally to include great churchmen in all countries. After the middle of the eleventh century, this college elected the popes, as will be explained more fully in its place.

e. **Bishop, archbishop, and pope could each call *councils*** of inferior clergy. The local councils dealt, of course, with local concerns. A *general council*, made up of all bishops in Latin Christendom, settled supreme matters of faith and of church policy. Such an assembly was believed to be divinely inspired in its decisions. The first general council was the one Constantine called at Nicea (§ 35); and at some other times emperors as well as popes summoned these gatherings.

In this organization of councils, the church was far ahead of the temporal government of Europe. England had a national

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[1] "College," in this common use, means merely a *collection* of people.

convocation of clergy, to legislate in church matters, centuries before it had a parliament; and until the recent creation of the Hague Congress, Europe had *no* general political assembly to compare in any way with the general councils of Christendom in the Middle Ages.

Three matters which have been referred to in the paragraphs above call for more extended notice, — benefit of clergy, the weapons of the church, and its revenues.

151. The right of the clergy to be tried in clerical courts was known as "benefit of clergy." The practice had its good side. Ordinary courts and ordinary law partook of the violent and ferocious life of the age. Trials were rude; and ghastly punishments were inflicted for trivial offenses, — often, no doubt, upon the innocent. It was a gain when the peaceful and moral part of society secured the right to trial in more intelligent courts and by more civilized codes. Moreover, in the Middle Ages, all corporations, even trade gilds, very commonly had courts with considerable power of jurisdiction over their own members. The demand of the church was not out of keeping with the ideas and practice of the age, as such a claim would be now.

But the church law was too mild to deal with serious crimes. It did not use force in its punishments, but only required the offender to punish himself by penances of various kinds or by fines, or payments to the church. This mildness was seriously abused. Its advantages tempted men to "take Holy Orders" (enter the clergy) until, besides the preaching clergy and the monks, the land swarmed with "clerics" who were really only lawyers, secretaries, scholars, teachers, or mere adventurers. Some of these, by their crimes, brought disgrace upon the church and danger to the state.

152. The church had two mighty weapons to compel obedience to its commands, — *excommunication* and *interdict.* A bishop could excommunicate any man in his diocese, and a pope could excommunicate any man in Christendom. Excommunication

shut the offender out from all religious communion. He could attend no church service, receive no sacrament, and at death, if still unforgiven, his body could not receive Christian burial. But excommunication was even more than this. In modern language, it was a universal boycott for all social and business relations also. If it was obeyed by the community, it cut a man off absolutely from all communication with his fellows, and practically made him an outlaw. No one might speak to him or give him food or shelter, under danger of similar penalty, and his very presence was shunned like the pestilence.

One decree of excommunication reads: "By virtue of the divine authority given to bishops by St. Peter, we cast him out from the bosom of our Holy Mother Church. Let him be accursed in his town, accursed in his field, accursed in his home. Let no Christian speak to him or eat with him. Let no priest say mass for him, or give him the communion. Let him be buried like the ass."

What excommunication was to the individual, the interdict was to a district or a nation. Churches were closed, and no religious ceremonies were permitted, except the rites of baptism and of extreme unction. No marriage could be performed, and there could be no burial in consecrated ground.[1] "The dead were left unburied, and the living were unblessed."

153. Revenues. — All churches and ecclesiastical lords had their revenues, of course, from rents and landed properties. Pious men and women, at their death, often left property to the church, and it came finally to own over a third of the land in many countries. There were also many dues and fees paid to the clergy, such as the *tithe* (§ 150).

But besides all this, — which corresponded fairly well to the income of the lay lords of the time, — there was also a

[1] In this extreme form, the interdict was rarely proclaimed; and, of course, a decree of excommunication against a king was always disregarded by many of his followers, But, on the other hand, few kings or peoples could hold out against the mere threat of these terrors in an age when religious practices were so interwoven with the fiber of daily life. The *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 4, give several decrees of interdict. Notice especially the reply to one by the Doge of Venice in 1606.

papal system of taxation extending over all Christendom, long before any king had so effective a revenue system for his particular country. The most famous element in this taxation was *Peter's Pence*, or a penny for each hearth each year, collected over Western Europe by an organized body of papal officers. Much more important, however, were the many enormous payments made by the clergy, — such as the payment by each bishop, at his accession, of half the first year's revenue of his office, — a payment corresponding to a feudal *relief* (§ 125).

154. Thus *Christendom* was divided into *provinces, dioceses,* and *parishes,* ruled by *pope, archbishops, bishops,* and *priests.* Besides these, there were the thousands of monasteries (§ 51) that dotted Europe, with their multitudes of monks, ruled by priors and abbots, subject to the final authority of the pope. This vast centralized monarchy of the church had its laws and legislatures and judges, its taxes, its terrible punishments, and its promise of eternal happiness.

155. Of all this mighty organization, the village priest brought the church closest home to the mass of the people. The great ecclesiastics — bishops, archbishops, and abbots — were often from the noble class by birth, and in any case they always became part of the aristocracy. But the rural priest was commonly a peasant in origin, and he often remained essentially a peasant in his life, — marrying in the village (until the eleventh century) and working in the fields with his neighbors. He was a peasant with a somewhat better income than his fellows, with a little learning, a revered position, and with great power for good. He christened, absolved, married, and buried his parishioners, worked for them daily the purifying miracle of the Mass, comforted the heart-sore and wretched, and taught all, by word and example, to hold fast to right living. He looked, too, to their physical welfare. It was as much his duty to guard the village against the visit of a leper as against that of a heretic.

The church building was also the social center of the parish. In it took place the most solemn events of every life, — christening, confirmation, marriage, burial. Near it, on Sun-

day, between the sacred services, the people found their chief recreation in sports and games. And from its steps the priest gave to them what news they received from the outside world, reading aloud there, too, any rare letter that some adventurous wanderer might be able to get written to his home.

156. Democracy. — One other fact about the church government must be kept in mind. The government was a centralized monarchy, but it was infinitely more democratic *in spirit* than feudal society was. Long after the gulf between nobles and non-nobles became impassable (§ 121), men of humblest birth rose sometimes to the loftiest offices of the church. Pope Gregory VII, who set his foot upon the neck of the mightiest king in Europe (§ 221) was the son of a poor peasant. Another pope was a shepherd's son; another, a baker's; and many a great bishop had even a lowlier origin. *The church* in the Middle Ages *was the only part of society where talent and study could lift a poor boy to power.* This was one explanation of its tremendous authority. *It was recruited by the best minds from all classes.*

For Further Reading. — Cutts' *Parish Priests and their People* (ch. ix) and Gasquet's *Parish Life in Medieval England* (ch. iv) give admirable descriptions of the way in which the medieval church affected the life of the common people.

PLOWING. — From an Anglo-Saxon manuscript in the British Museum.

CHAPTER VIII

ENGLAND[1] IN THE FEUDAL AGE, TO 1327

I. FROM EDGAR TO WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

157. Part of a Danish Empire. — In § 108 we left England united under Edgar the Peaceful (959–975). In the long fight against the Norse invader, under the great Alfred and his sons and grandsons, Angle and Saxon and Northumbrian and Mercian had learned to look upon themselves as Englishmen, — citizens of one country. The many Teutonic states in Britain had at last been fused into a true "England," — though bitter feuds did sometimes still break forth between Englishmen of the north and Englishmen of the south.

During the first years of the next century, the ruler was a weak man, Ethelred the Redeless;[2] and the island was conquered by Swegn, king of Denmark, and his son *Knut*. This Danish attack was wholly unlike the invasions in the time of Alfred. Denmark had now become a Christian kingdom; and Knut, who was master also of much of Norway, made England part of a great Scandinavian empire (1016–1035).

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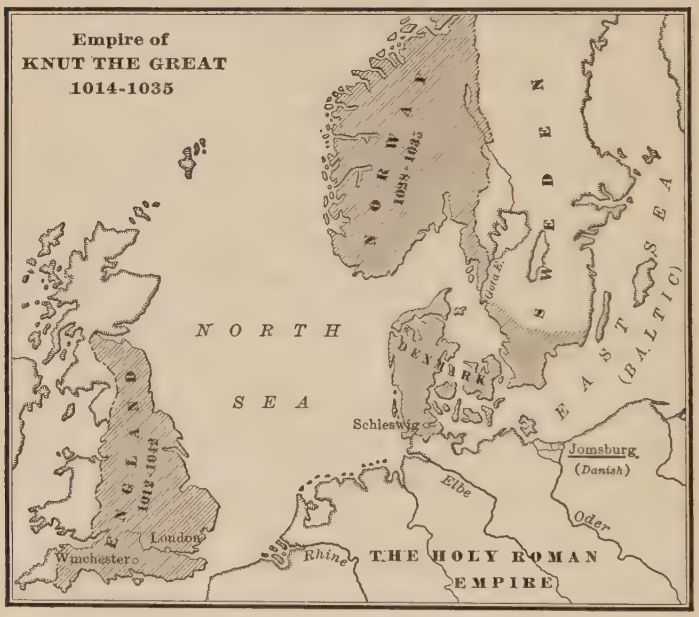
[1] It is desirable for students to read more widely on English history, from this period, than on that of other European countries. Green's *English People* remains the most attractive general account. Either Gardiner's or Andrews' *History of England* makes a good one-volume text.

[2] *Ethelred* means "noble counsel." This nickname meant "Ethelred the man without counsel."

At the same time he showed himself an English king in feeling. He lived mainly in England, and dismissing his Danish army, he rested his power upon the good government he gave to the realm. After twelve years of his rule, while absent for a time, he wrote a noble letter to his English subjects: "I have vowed . . . to rule justly and piously. If I



heretofore have done anything unjustly, through the headiness or carelessness of youth, I am ready, with God's help, to amend it utterly."

158. The First Norman Influence. — Knut's sons and successors, however, proved lawless and ruthless young savages, and in 1042 the Witan[1] of the English kingdom restored the

[1] This was the meeting of the "wise" men, the National Assembly of great lords and ecclesiastics (§ 49) which with the king ruled the land and made laws, and which sometimes elected a king.

Saxon line of kings by electing Edward, son of Ethelred and a Norman princess.

The story of the Norse settlement (911) in the north of France (Normandy) has been told in § 100. Normandy was a fief of the French kings, but practically it long remained an independent state. Rolf and his fierce Norse warriors were pagan barbarians; but a century later their "Norman"[1] descendants were the foremost champions of Western civilization. A long line of able dukes maintained stern order; and this security quickly drew immigrants from the troubled neighboring provinces, so that it became one of the most populous and prosperous parts of Europe. The rulers were patrons of learning and architecture. Churches and rich abbeys rose on every side; agriculture flourished; and the native serfs grew into free peasants. The mixture of Norse blood gave to the population a robust vigor which was notable for centuries, especially in the daring of the Norman sailors. With peculiar adaptability, the Normans took on French customs, adopted French ideas and the French language, and were now to spread this culture into other lands, especially into England.

King Edward of England, as has been said, was half Norman by birth, and he had spent much of his life at the Norman court. He brought swarms of Norman favorites with him to England, and began to introduce Norman customs, much to the disgust of his English subjects. Edward's piety, and his constant dependence upon monks and priests, won him the surname *the Confessor;* but he was a weak man, without ability or decision, and his reign was a series of internal squabbles.

He left no son; and at his death, the English Witan chose *Harold*, the most powerful Saxon nobleman, for their king. But *William, Duke of Normandy*, claimed the throne on the ground of distant relationship and of a promise from Edward. The claim was flimsy, but William prepared to make it good by arms.

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[1] *Norman* is a softened form of Norsemen (Northmen).

II. THE NORMAN PERIOD, 1066–1154

159. The Norman Conquest. — "Harold, the Last of the Saxons," [1] is a gallant figure, whose tragic reign of a few months adds a touching interest to the close of Saxon independence. England was threatened from two sides. Harold's turbulent and tyrannical brother, Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, had been driven into exile by a popular rising. Harold, standing firm for justice, had refused to restore him. So Tostig had stirred up Harold Hardrada, the adventurous king of Norway and one of the most romantic heroes in history, to attack England on the east, while William of Normandy prepared to invade from the south.

For months, Harold of England watched anxiously the two storm clouds, holding fleet and army ready to meet either onset. England as yet had no real feudal system, and Harold's army, aside from his large body of household troops, was made up mainly of a militia of farmers. In September the king had to let this array disperse for the harvest, and at once the two storms burst.

The Norwegian host, a fleet of three hundred ships, landed first, on the coast of Yorkshire. Harold was in the south, to meet the even more formidable force from across the Channel. Hurrying northward with his trusted household troops, English Harold overthrew and slew Norwegian Harold, in a desperate and brilliant battle at *Stamford Bridge*.

But meantime William had made his landing on the south coast near Hastings. Back hastened Harold, by forced marches, with his exhausted and depleted troops, while the jealous nobles of the old Danelaw foolishly and treacherously held aloof. The gentlemen and husbandmen of Kent and Wessex rallied nobly to his banner; but, on the whole, they seemed a poorly armed, rustic force, with which to meet the steel-clad Norman knights. William was ravaging cruelly, to support

[1] This is the title of Bulwer's novel, which all students should know. Charles Kingsley's *Hereward* describes another side of the conquest.

his host and to draw Harold to an attack. But the English king wisely seized the hill of Senlac, commanding William's position, and entrenched his troops there by palisades; so that the invader, unable to forage further, was forced to risk an attack on Harold's terms. This brought on the battle of *Hastings*, or *Senlac*, one of the world's decisive struggles.

A long day the battle raged between two civilizations. The English strength lay in the mail-clad family guards of the

BATTLE OF HASTINGS. — From the Bayeux Tapestry. The Bayeux Tapestry is a linen band 230 feet long and 20 inches wide, embroidered in colored worsteds, with 72 scenes illustrating the Norman Conquest. It was a contemporary work. The scene given here pertains to the close of the battle.

King massed about his standard, the Golden Dragon of Wessex. They wielded huge, two-handed battle axes, and fought on foot, shoulder to shoulder, the King among them, behind a wall of overlapping long shields. *This was a splendid force to resist attack.* The Norman strength lay in their mounted knights and men-at-arms, assisted by bowmen, — *magnificent troops to make an onset.* For the last time for centuries, footmen met knights on equal terms.

Charge after charge of Norman horse failed to break the Saxon shield-wall. William's furious valor and personal strength, which had already won him fame on many a bloody field as the most terrible knight in Christendom, showed as never before, mingled with cool generalship and quick resourcefulness. Three times a horse was killed under him. Once his troops broke, and the cry went up, — "The Duke is slain." William tore off his helmet, to show his face, shouting with mighty voice, — "I live; and by God's help I shall

conquer!" And a blow from his mace struck down one of Harold's brothers at the foot of the English standard.

Finally, at three in the afternoon, by feigning flight, William drew part of the English troops from their impregnable position, in spite of Harold's orders, and then turning savagely upon their disordered ranks, he rode them down in masses. Still the household troops stood firm about the King, and at six the fight swayed back and forth as stubbornly as ever about the Dragon standard. But the Duke brought his archers to the front, to pour their deadly shafts into the massed English array; and, as the sun went down, an arrow pierced Harold's eye. The combat closed, in the gathering dusk, with the slaughter of his followers over his corpse. William was left master of the kingdom.

The Norman conquest was one of the chief turning points in English (and American) history. Never since has a conquering people established itself in England. Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes, had held the island in turn. Each had brought his peculiar contribution to its development. Now the Normans had conquered, because they were better equipped for warfare than the old English, and better disciplined. This same superiority they were to show in government.

160. The Normans found some institutions in Saxon England which had lasting influence on English and American life. These had to do with the *local* divisions of Saxon England, and with the Saxon machinery for justice and local government. The local divisions were of three orders, — shires, hundreds, and townships.

As Wessex had extended her sway over the island (§ 105), the early tribal kingdoms (Kent, Essex, and so on) had sunk into *shires;* and in the end all England came to be divided into about forty such units. Each had its shire-reeve (sheriff). In the Saxon period this officer, appointed by the king, had little power; but under the Norman kings he became much more important. The church, too, had adopted the shires as units for church government. Each shire (or *county*, as the Normans called the divisions) was the diocese of a bishop.

Before the tribal kingdoms sank into shires, they had possessed their own local subdivisions. These, or others formed in imitation of them, remained as subdivisions of the shires, and were known as *hundreds* (a name that survives for local divisions in Maryland and Delaware).

Each hundred was made up of *townships*, or *villages*. The chief village of each shire had usually grown into a fortified "borough," a trading town, with some special privileges granted by the kings. Trade had raised some other villages into boroughs.

161. Local Government. — *The ordinary township had come to have little self-government.* Such powers as it had once possessed had passed mainly into the hands of some neighboring noble, to whom the village was coming to stand much like a "manor" on the continent. Boroughs had greater privileges. They were practically compressed hundreds, so far as government was concerned.

The hundred was the busiest unit for carrying on government. It did its work in a "court" which met once a month. The *hundred court* was made up of the landlords, or their stewards, and the "reeve" (headman), priest, and "four best men," of each village. The sheriff of the shire, or more commonly one of his subordinates, and some representative of the bishop, presided. The court dealt with a great variety of matters. In particular, it settled disputes about land and other property, and tried criminal cases.

There was also a *shire court*, which met twice a year. This body was composed much as the courts of the various hundreds were. It tried appeals from the hundred courts, and decided many matters of local government.[1] *It was in these self-governing courts of the shire and hundred that the old Teutonic freedom best survived. It was these institutions, too, which were to prove the cradle of later English liberty.*

[1] Students should note that "court" in medieval history has a more extended meaning than in recent times. A "court" was concerned with any or all matters of government, — not merely with judicial business.

162. Saxon Feudalism. — Neither feudalism nor serfdom had developed in Saxon England in any such degree as on the continent. Still, even the larger units (shire and hundred), as well as the little townships, were coming under the influence of local nobles. Sometimes a lord secured from the king the right to hold a private court alongside the people's court of the hundred. Moreover, the freemen of the villages had been sinking in condition. After Alfred's time, it became necessary for each free villager to attach himself to some lord. At first, the purpose was merely to hold the lord responsible for the villager's obedience to the laws; but, in return for his responsibility, the lord began to exact small payments of various sorts from the villagers, and that class had begun to pass into the condition of villeins on the continent. This last change was greatly hastened by the Norman conquest.

163. Norman Centralization. — The Normans did not meddle much with the local institutions they found. Their genius for organization did build up a more effective *central* government, as we shall see shortly, and they checked certain weaknesses of the old *local* organization. There had been no good machinery to secure *uniformity* of government and custom in the different shires, or to compel obedience to the national laws. The Normans increased the authority of the sheriff, the king's especial representative, so as to meet these needs. *But the most important political change of the Norman period lay in* **a new sort of feudalism** *which William the Conqueror introduced.*

164. English Feudalism after the Conquest. — Feudalism was already fully developed in Normandy. William introduced it into England as a complete system, but with certain changes which freed it from the worst evils of feudalism upon the continent.

He first confiscated all the land of the kingdom, with legal formalities, on the ground that the landowners had forfeited their holdings as traitors, — since they had not willingly recognized him as king. Much of this land, especially that of Englishmen who had fallen in battle against him, he used to

pay his followers; but most of it he granted back to the old holders on the payment of small fines. In any case he introduced feudal tenure. That is, the land was to be held of the king on condition of feudal service, with the usual "feudal incidents" of reliefs, aids, and so on. **But with the grant of land, the king did *not* grant authority to the lord over his vassals to the extent that was customary on the continent.**

Instead, he introduced many checks to keep the lords from usurping feudal independence. (1) No one lord was permitted to accumulate such vast possessions as were often held by single barons in France and Germany. (2) The properties that the great lords did hold were scattered in different counties. Thus each piece really became a surety for the lord's fidelity; and a great vassal could not easily gather his forces for any treasonable attack.[1] (3) The chief authority in a shire was now exercised, not by an hereditary nobleman, but by the king's sheriff. (4) *Vassals of every degree were required to swear fidelity directly to the king,* so that they owed him allegiance *even against their own immediate lords.*

A Norman Ship. — From the Bayeux Tapestry.

(5) William also preserved the old national militia of shire and hundred, putting it under the command of the royal sheriffs. Thus the English king was not wholly dependent upon the feudal array. He even had a force to confront disloyal nobles.

165. General Result. — Until 1066, England had counted for little in the life of Europe. Its church had become almost independent of Rome, and in politics its foreign relations had

[1] This fortunate arrangement came about probably not so much from design as from the fact that William really became master of the country only by degrees, and so had to reward his followers a little at a time.

been mainly with the Scandinavian countries of the north. At home, from the time of Alfred the Great, the two chief dangers had been the growth of feudal anarchy and the splitting apart of Danish England and Saxon England.

The Norman Conquest changed these conditions. It brought the church again into dependence on Rome,[1] and drew England into the thick of European politics.[2] Within the island, it crushed together north and south, so that the two parts never again dreamed of separation, and it built up a strong central government. The kings were strong enough to keep down feudal tyrants, but not quite strong enough to become royal tyrants themselves. Through dread of royal power, Norman nobles and Saxon people were drawn together[3] and became fused into an English nation, which in centuries of slow, quiet, determined progress, won constitutional liberty. *To the old spirit of Saxon freedom, the Normans added a new genius for organization.* The local institutions to a considerable degree remained Saxon, but the central government owed its efficiency to Norman influences. England was the first country in the world to work out for a large territory *the union of a strong central government and of free institutions.*

[1] The ecclesiastical condition was a factor in the conquest. The Pope blessed the enterprise and sent Duke William a consecrated banner. (This is the banner in the stern of William's ship, in the illustration on page 151.) Afterward, Pope Gregory VII demanded that William do homage to him for his realm. William haughtily refused (see his letter to Gregory in Lee, *Source Book*, No. 50). He filled the high places in the church with Normans in sympathy with Rome, and he developed separate ecclesiastical courts (§ 150), which had not existed before in England; but he guarded jealously against papal interference in his government. He forbade the clergy to place any of his knights under excommunication without consulting him; he declared any one an outlaw who should carry an appeal to Rome without royal permission; and no papal letter could be received in England without his sanction.

[2] For some generations the rulers of England were also dukes of Normandy, and so great vassals of the French crown.

[3] The sharp distinction between the Norman and the Saxon had disappeared before the close of the Norman reigns (§ 166). Scott's *Ivanhoe* pictures a state of affairs in this respect which had passed away at least two generations before the time dealt with in the story.

The conquest also brought in new blood, a higher culture, and new elements in language. Norman lords and clergy, and likewise Norman merchants and artisans, flocked into England. All these people spoke their own Norman-French tongue, and for a time only the lowest classes spoke English. Gradually, the English gained its place as the language of the whole people; but meantime it lost its more complicated grammatical forms and was enriched by a multitude of Norman words.

Norman Doorway, St. Peter's, Northampton. Note the massive round arch and the simple but effective ornament.

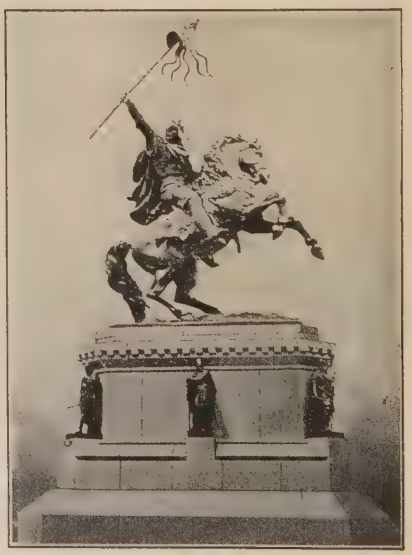
166. The Four Norman Kings. — *William the Conqueror* (1066–1087) was king by right of the sword; but he went through the form of an election by an English Witan, and he ruled with much regard for English custom. Some of his chief work has been described. Among his other wise deeds was the taking of a great census to find out the resources of the kingdom and the dues payable to the king. This survey is recorded in *Domesday Book*, which gives us more exact knowledge about England than we have of any other country in that century. The population numbered some 1,200,000. One-tenth of these are called "burgesses" (inhabitants of "boroughs"), though half of them dwelt in what we should call mere villages. The king's feudal army contained about 5000 knights (not 60,000, as some old English historians understood and taught).

William the Conqueror stamped himself on the world's history, making it a far different thing from what it would have been without him. In his makeup there mingled strangely

"Here is Duke William."—From the Bayeux Tapestry.

the wild passions of his barbaric Norse ancestors and the cool caution and shrewdness of a modern statesman. His person was gigantic, his strength enormous, his will knew no pity, and his outbursts of anger made his closest counselors tremble. "Starkman he was, and great awe men had of him," says the English chronicler of the period, "so harsh and cruel, that no man dared withstand his will." But the same conquered English writer fails not to praise the "good peace" William's stern pitilessness made, "so that a man might fare over his realm with a bosom full of gold." And he gives a suggestion how the lonely and grim king grew gentle in the outdoor woods: "He loved the red deer as though he were their father."

William, by will, left Normandy to his eldest son Robert, and England to his second son *William Rufus* (the Red). This prince (1087–1100), to strengthen his claim, procured an election from an English Assembly; but he proved unscrupulous, though able, and is remembered as a tyrant.



William the Conqueror, the statue at Falaise, his birthplace.

He was succeeded by his brother, *Henry I*, the youngest son of the conqueror. Henry (1100–1135) had been born in England and he married an English princess. He, also, secured an election; and in return he granted to the people of England a Charter of Liberties,[1] which a hundred years later was to become the model for a more important grant. Henry also began many important reforms in the government, and the English of his own day gave him the honorable title, "The Lion of Justice."

STEPHEN, from an engraving based on coin portraits.

The English nobles promised Henry to make his daughter Matilda his successor; but, after his death, his nephew *Stephen* secured an election. Stephen (1135–1154) was weak by nature, and his rule was distracted by civil war with the supporters of Matilda. His reign is the darkest period in English history after the Conquest. The work of Henry was undone. Feudal anarchy seemed at last to have seized upon the land. The contemporary chroniclers exclaim upon the misery of the age with bitter phrases: —

"Every powerful man made his castles, and when they were built they filled them with devils and evil men; they put men in their dungeons for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable . . . men died of hunger, for the earth bare no corn . . . and it was commonly said that Christ and his saints slept. . . . In those days, if three or four men

[1] *Pennsylvania Reprints*, I.

came riding towards a township, all the township fled hastily, believing them to be robbers. . . . That lasted the nineteen winters Stephen was king."

The four Norman reigns may be summed up briefly, thus: William I, conquest, consolidation, provision against feudal disintegration; William II, tyranny; Henry I, the charter, and beginnings of judicial organization; Stephen, anarchy and civil war.

Observe that the three successors of William I all had rivals for the throne, and so were kept in some measure in dependence upon the nation.

Special Reports. — The Danegeld; Domesday Book; a fuller story of the Norman Conquest, with the harrying of the North; the making of the New Forest.

III. UNDER PLANTAGENET KINGS

167. Henry II, 1154–1189. — Matilda had married Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, a province of France. Geoffrey commonly wore in his cap a sprig of the broom plant (*planta genesta*), and this pleasing habit gave to his family the surname, *Plantagenet*. The son of this marriage became Henry II of England, the first of a long line of Plantagenet kings.

At twenty, Henry had landed in England, to make good his claim to the throne against Stephen. An English army gathered round him; but all parties were wearied of strife, and Theobald, the aged Archbishop of Canterbury, brought the rivals to terms. By the treaty of Wallingford it was agreed that Stephen should keep the crown during his life, but that he should recognize Henry as his heir, excluding his own son. This bargain was kept. Stephen died the same year, and Henry quietly succeeded.

Henry's stout body and broad shoulders rose from bowed legs, and were topped by a bull neck and a round head with fiery face and bulging eyes. He wore his hair cropped close, among the long-haired nobles of the court, and was careless in dress, rough and hurried in manner, and exceedingly sparing in food and drink. He had a memory that forgot no detail of business, a strong will that held steadfastly to his plans, and

great physical strength which enabled him to keep tirelessly at his tasks while servants and attendants dropped with weariness. He was the hardest worker of his day. Said one observer, — "He never sits down"; and it was remarked that in travel (on horseback, over the bad roads of the time), he was fond of crowding two days' journey into one.

168. Henry was the most powerful ruler in Europe. *England was only a part of his territories.* Through his mother he had inherited the dukedoms of Normandy and Maine (map after page 182), as well as a shadowy claim upon Brittany, which he converted into real lordship. Through his father, he was Count of Anjou and Touraine. By marriage with Eleanor, divorced wife of Louis VII of France, he had obtained Aquitaine, which then included also Poitou and Gascony. Thus *he ruled more than half of what is now France — and six times as much French territory as was then held directly by the French king.*

True, Henry held these French provinces, in name, as a vassal of the king of France. This fact kept him constantly entangled in warfare with his suzerain. Out of his thirty-five years of kingship, only about a third were spent in England; and these, a few months at a time. He thought of himself, indeed, chiefly as a French prince with important possessions in the neighboring island. So, too, others thought of him in that day. None the less, he proved one of the greatest and most beneficent of all the English kings.

Before his death, Henry had still other possessions. He began the English conquest of Ireland. For a time, he held Scotland in imperfect subjection, her king his imprisoned vassal. And the conquest of Wales went on slowly but steadily, as in every strong English reign.

169. Henry and Feudal Disorder. — The first task of the new king was to restore order. During the long civil wars, both sides had brought swarms of foreign mercenaries into England. These bands paid themselves by plundering the country, and they were still ravaging at will. Henry drove

them out or hunted them down. Then the new castles which had risen in Stephen's time, and which had so often become strongholds for the oppression of the people, were demolished ruthlessly, — in spite of the grumbling and black looks of the great nobles, and some trifling rebellions.

Henry also took two measures to decrease *permanently* the military importance of the feudal lords.

A law known as the *Assize of Arms* revived the old national militia. Every freeman below the rank of the vassals who held their land by military service was ordered to provide himself with weapons and armor. Those who held land of their own were to be arrayed in coat of mail and helmet, and armed with lance and shield. Poorer men must have at least the helmet and lance. All had to hold themselves always ready for service at the summons of the royal sheriffs.

The subvassals of the great lords were excused from military service, on condition of a money payment to the king. This sum was called *scutage* ("shield money"). With this fund the king could hire trained professional soldiers, more reliable and effective than the unwieldy feudal armies (§ 123). Thus the king became more independent of the great nobles, who were no longer followed to the field by such numerous bodies of knights as formerly. The knights, too, turned their attention in part away from fighting, and became more and more interested in farming their lands and especially in the business of the shire courts, — so that we begin soon to speak of them as "knights of the shire."

170. Henry II and the Church. — The king had checked feudal independence: next he sought to check the independence of the church. All "clerics," or "clerks," were exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts (§ 151). Henry was resolute to make all men, lay or cleric, equal before the law; but the church clung firmly to its privileges.

As a step to his purpose, Henry secured the archbishopric of Canterbury (the highest ecclesiastical office in England, which just then fell vacant) for his trusted counselor, Thomas

Becket. This appointment proved the greatest error in Henry's life. Thomas had been the king's friend as well as his chief minister, — a gay companion at the feast or in the hunt, and a gallant follower in the French campaigns. Henry had heaped riches and offices upon him. But in this new position, Thomas became a changed man. He renounced all luxury and gayety, and wore at all times next his body a coarse hair shirt, like the meanest penitent; and he took up enthusiastically the cause of the church against the king.

Henry was willing that clerks should be tried in the church courts, but he demanded that, when convicted there, a criminal should be turned over to the ordinary courts to be punished like other men. Thomas would consent only that the extreme penalty for any crime by a clerk should be degradation from his order, to be imposed by the church courts; and that then, *for future offenses*, the ex-clerk might be tried and punished like other laymen. To settle this dispute, a "Great Council" of lords and bishops was gathered at Clarendon.

This Assembly drew up a long code to regulate the relations of church and state. This body of laws is known as "the Constitutions of Clarendon," and it claimed to be a recital of the customs of the realm. Priests were to elect a bishop, and monks their abbots, only in the presence of royal officers subject to the king's approval; and the church officers so elected were to do homage to the king, and hold their lands of him as his vassals, with all the ordinary feudal obligations. No appeal was to be made in any case to the pope without the king's permission; and no bishop could leave England without royal authority.

All this was only a reënactment of rules proclaimed by William the Conqueror, which had fallen into disuse; but the "Constitutions" went on to make good the claim of Henry as to jurisdiction. The royal courts were to decide, in the first place, whether a suit belonged in the church courts or not; church courts were to hold trials only in the presence of royal officers; and a convicted clerk was to pass to the ordinary courts for punishment.

Thomas refused assent. His personal enemies took advantage of the king's wrath against him to try to ruin him by trumped-up suits in the king's court. Thomas appeared there, cross in hand, haughtily refused to plead, and appealed to the pope for judgment, — in defiance of the Constitutions of Clarendon. Shouts of "Traitor!" drove him from the room; and that night he fled from the realm in disguise, leaving Henry free, *for a time*, for further organization.

171. Excursus. — The great need of the Middle Ages was a better means of administering justice. In theory the king could always do justice even by setting aside the decision of other courts. A favorite name for the royal power was "the fountain of justice." But the difficulty was for the man who suffered from injustice to get at the king. The kings of France and Germany depended more upon their personal efforts, and less upon organization, than was to be the case in England. They were marvels of energy, and they toiled ceaselessly; but they worked at an impossible task. When Conrad II of Germany (§ 215) was passing in the royal procession to his coronation (1025), three low-born persons — a peasant, a widow, and a child — pressed through the crowd and called to him for justice. Conrad kept the procession waiting while he heard their troubles and righted their wrongs, saying to the bishop who wished him to pass on, "Since I have been chosen as a ruler, it is better to do my duty at once; you have often said to me that it was not the hearer, but the doer of the law that was blessed." A moment later another man stopped the procession with his cries for justice, and was heard upon the spot. This was the way the German and French kings administered justice. Herbert Fisher (*Medieval Empire*, 168) says of the German king, "Instead of *organizing labor* on the great highway that was to lead from chaos to order, he *takes up the pick* and works devotedly, with face to the ground." For centuries, royal justice was simply what justice the king in person could get through with in the day, with all the interruptions of war, travel, and other business. There was *no fixed court*, and there were *no regular sessions at different places.* To render justice was a hard task for the king, and to secure it was impossible for most of his subjects.[1]

[1] This condition made possible the growth of irregular secret tribunals, with some of the characteristics of the modern frontier "vigilance committee." The most famous of such medieval institutions was the *Holy Vehme*, which appears in Scott's *Anne of Geierstein*. There is a good account in Henderson's *Short History of Germany*, I, 169–170.

172. The most important of Henry's reforms had to do with the administration of justice. The work of his grandfather, Henry I, had gone to ruin in the anarchy under Stephen. The king's court remained practically a feudal court for the king and his great vassals; while the majority of Englishmen sought justice still in the courts of hundred and shire, or in the local feudal courts that were rising alongside these popular courts.

If this condition had continued longer, each district in England would have developed its own local customs, and national uniformity would have become almost impossible. *Henry saw the need of one law for all England.* He opened the doors of the royal courts to all. In particular, he undermined the feudal courts, and widened the usefulness of the royal court, by ordering that if any free landholder was in danger of being dispossessed of his land by his lord unjustly, the man might find protection in the king's courts.

But Henry did more than issue an empty invitation for all Englishmen to come to the king's justice. *He sent the king's justice out through the realm to the doors of all Englishmen.* Early in his reign, he had sent out judges from his court, from time to time, to visit different shires. The primary duty of these visiting judges had been to watch the sheriffs, and see to the just collection of royal dues. But, incidentally, they were empowered to represent the king by doing justice wherever any man appealed to them, — even from the local court of a great lord.

Before his death, Henry extended and systematized this method. England was divided into six districts, and three judges from the king's court were sent to journey through each district, to hold court in every shire each year at a stated time. These were *circuit* or *itinerant* judges.

***Thus the customs of the king's court became common* law for all England, — the "Common Law," which is to-day the basis of English and American justice. Moreover, the bringing impartial justice to every man's door was a gift beyond price in the twelfth century. It created a rever-**

ence for the law and for courts which has always remained a marked trait of English and American thought and feeling.

173. Henry's laws also introduced a better method of trial. Alongside the old forms, — trial by ordeal and by combat, — he *began* a system of jury trial. It had been a custom of the Frankish kings sometimes to bring together a number of old men in a given district, to give witness in disputes that concerned the ancient customs of the region. The Normans brought this form of "inquest" to England. The Conqueror's officers used it in compiling Domesday Book; and the ignorance of the Norman rulers as to the customs of the land gave frequent occasion to employ it.

So far, however, the sworn[1] body of witnesses had been used only to settle matters in which the king was interested in person. Henry II extended the same method to questions of property ("civil" cases) in which private persons were concerned, to replace the judicial combat.

174. Henry also gave us the beginning of our "grand jury." Many offenders were too powerful for any one person to dare accuse. Henry provided that in each county, at regular intervals, a jury should be called together to "present" suspected criminals to the king's circuit judges for trial.

For some time longer, suspects presented by such a grand jury were tried by ordeal or by combat. But in 1215 a great Church Council, representing all Western Christendom, condemned the ordeal as a method of trial; and then it became the custom *in England* to summon another smaller jury (*petit jury*) to try the man whom the larger jury (*grand jury*) had accused. That is, jury trial, which Henry II had introduced for civil cases, became the custom for criminal cases also.

The accused still had the right to claim trial by combat. The noble classes commonly did so, for some generations, and the practice was not legally abolished until 1819, shortly after an attempt had been made to take advantage of the obsolete right.

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[1] "Juror" means a man who has been "sworn."

For a long time the trial jury were witnesses as well as judges of the testimony. They were allowed, however, to call in other witnesses; and gradually a line was drawn between them and these others, until finally it became the rule that the "jurymen" should come without any knowledge of their own regarding the case, so as to hear and judge impartially the evidence submitted by the witnesses. For many centuries, jury trial, which we owe to Henry II, has been looked upon, justly, as a main element in English and American freedom.

175. Closing Years. — Part of his work Henry had already seen undone. Thomas Becket, from his refuge abroad, did not cease to thunder against the king and all his officers; and finally the pope took up Becket's cause in earnest. Henry was forced to receive Thomas back to his archbishopric, in a pretended reconciliation. But the quarrel soon broke out as bitter as ever; and, stirred by angry words of the king, four of his knights brutally murdered the archbishop.

This foul deed made Becket a holy martyr for the church in the eyes of the people. For a time Henry was deserted on all sides; and he was compelled to make his peace with the pope by surrendering the most important of the Constitutions of Clarendon.

Effigy of Henry II, from his tomb.

Then the feudal lords tried to cast off royal control as the church had done. They found a leader in Henry's oldest son, a younger Henry; and a powerful coalition was formed between this English feudal force, the king of Scotland, and the king of France. Henry's splendid generalship crushed his foes in detail; *and England had seen its last great uprising of feudalism against the national government.*

But these troubles only foreshadowed the deeper sorrows and humiliation of the king's closing days. Two sons, both rebels against him repeatedly, had died before him. But Philip II of France, who had stirred them to treason,

now intrigued ceaselessly with the remaining sons, Richard and John. Broken in health, Henry was vainly seeking reconciliation, when Richard and the French king suddenly appeared in battle array, driving him in headlong flight from his favorite French capital, which they laid in ashes. Hunted from town to town, the dying king was driven to beg for mercy. As a condition of peace, a list of conspirators against him, whom he was required to pardon, was handed him. At the head stood the name of John, his favorite son. Indeed, it had been Henry's partiality for John that had driven Richard into arms against him. Thus, John's name in the list of traitors was the last blow. "Now," said Henry, turning his face to the wall, "I care no more for myself or the world." And he passed away, muttering to himself, "Shame! shame! on a conquered king."

176. Henry's reign "introduced the rule of law." William the Conqueror's laws had been, in comparison, the edicts of an absolute ruler. All Henry's reforms, like the Constitutions of Clarendon, were contained in a series of "assizes," or codes, issued "with the advice and consent" of the Great Councils of lords and bishops, which he called together year after year, when foreign affairs permitted him to be in England. ***Back of all his other reforms, looms up this foreshadowing of a national legislature.***

177. Richard I, 1189–1199. — The great officers who had been trained under Henry II carried on his system of government with little change through the reigns of his two tyrannical sons. Richard "the Lion Hearted" cared mainly for military glory. He was a valiant, impetuous knight, but a weak statesman and a bad ruler. Of the eleven years of his reign, he spent only seven months in England, and these solely to get money for foreign wars. Happily he was as careless as he was tyrannical; and, in his need of money, *he sold many charters of liberties to the rising towns.* He is remembered as the leader of the Third Crusade (§ 249).

178. John (1199–1216) was an abler man than his brother, but a more despicable character. Three events mark his

reign, — defeats by France, by the pope, and by his subjects. (1) Abroad, he lost Normandy and all northern France to the French king. This seemed a deep humiliation to Englishmen at the moment; but it proved a good thing. From this time, English kings and barons gave their attention more exclusively to English affairs, instead of trying to secure domain abroad. (2) After a long quarrel with Pope Innocent III, John was compelled to surrender his crown, to receive it back as a vassal of the papacy. (3) England wrested from his hands a charter of liberties, known as *Magna Carta* (the Great Charter). This third event demands fuller notice (§ 179).

179. Magna Carta. — Toward the close of his reign, John's oppression and harsh exactions brought all classes of Englishmen to unite against him. In 1213, while he was warring in

FACSIMILE (REDUCED) OF THE OPENING LINES OF MAGNA CARTA. The characters in the margin are supposed to be the coats of arms of barons who signed as witnesses, but they are a later embellishment to the document.

France, two mass meetings of English barons and knights *and townsmen* gathered, to discuss redress of grievances. Amid stern enthusiasm, Stephen Langton, whom the pope had made Archbishop of Canterbury, brought before one of these gatherings the long-forgotten charter of Henry I. On this basis,

Langton and the leaders of the nobles then drew up the demands of the meeting. John at first refused even to look at the document. But a mighty army of two thousand knights, supported by the townsmen of London arrayed in their "train bands," marched against him ("the Army of God and Holy Church"). John was deserted by all but a few foreign mercenaries; and, *June 15, 1215*, at a meadow of the Thames

Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut dissaisiatur, aut utlagetur,
No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed,

aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur, nec super eum ibimus nec super
or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor upon

eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum vel per legem terrae.
him send, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus, rectum aut justiciam.
To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay, right or justice.

SECTIONS 39 AND 40 OF MAGNA CARTA. The bars are facsimiles of the writing in the charter, with the curious abbreviations of the medieval Latin. Below each line is given the Latin in full with a translation.

called *Runnymede*, he was forced to sign the Great Charter, — the "first great document in the Bible of English Liberties."

The Charter claimed only to state the old liberties of Englishmen, not to establish new ones. But it had been won by the nation from the king, and the closing provision expressly sanctioned rebellion against a king who should refuse to obey it. That is, *it set the law of the land above the king's will.* True, in some other countries, during the Middle Ages, the great vassals extorted charters of liberties *for themselves* from their kings. But the peculiar features of this Charter are: (1) the barons promised to their dependents the same rights

they demanded for themselves from the king; and (2) special provisions looked after the welfare of townsmen and even of villeins. The wording, necessarily, belongs to a feudal age; and the greater part of the document is concerned with the privileges of feudal vassals. But, as time passed, and as a new society and new needs grew up, men read new meanings into the old language and made it fit the new age.

The Charter became at once the standard of freedom for the whole nation. In the next two centuries, English kings were obliged to "confirm" it thirty-eight times; and its principles, and some of its wording, have passed into the constitution and laws of every American state.

The Charter defined precisely the "aids" to which suzerains were entitled, — and so put an end to extortion. It declared that the king could raise no scutage (§ 169) or other unusual "aid" without the consent of the Great Council of England. All vassals of the king had a right to attend this Council; and so this provision established the principle, — No taxation without the consent of the taxed. It declared an accused man entitled to speedy trial, — and so laid the foundation for later laws of "habeas corpus." It affirmed that no villein, by any fine, should lose his oxen or plow, his means of livelihood, and so foreshadowed our very modern laws providing that legal suits shall not take from a man his home or his tools. Two notable provisions are given in the cut above.[1]

180. Henry III, 1217–1272. — John had no intention of keeping his word; and in a few months, as soon as he could make preparations, he began war to overthrow the Charter. His sudden death, however, left the crown to his nine-year-old son, Henry III. In the name of the boy-king, the great officers of the kingdom gave the Charter the first of its many solemn confirmations; and for some years England enjoyed peace and prosperity.

After Henry reached manhood, his long reign was marked by misgovernment and disorder; but it witnessed also much

[1] Every high school student should study the document itself. It is printed in all collections of documents on English history; and five-cent copies can be secured in the *Old South Leaflets*.

progress toward political freedom for which the king deserves no credit. Henry was a pious, weak, frivolous, extravagant, tyrant. In the second half of his misrule, the English people found a champion in Earl *Simon de Montfort*, the most powerful of the English nobles, and a brother-in-law of the king. The struggle became open war, and Earl Simon won at the *Battle of Lewes* (1264). For a year he was master of England, acting through the captive king. That year, as we shall see (§ 185), was notable in the history of English freedom. Then Prince Edward, once Simon's loved disciple, rallied the royal party, took the great Earl by surprise at Evesham, and defeated and slew him (1265). For the rest of Henry's lifetime, authority remained really in the hands of his capable son, who satisfied the people *by promising to rule according to the system of Simon.* Soon after, the prince succeeded to the throne as Edward I.

STIRLING CASTLE, a stronghold captured by Wallace early in the Scotch rising.

181. Edward I, 1272–1307. — For the two centuries since the Conquest, every king had been a foreigner, — Norman or Angevin (from *Anjou*) in tastes and training. *Edward was English to the core.* He had even the golden hair of the old Saxon kings, and a favorite Saxon name, as well as a thoroughly English character. In his campaigns in France, Wales, and Scotland, he proved himself a great general; but,

tall, deep-chested, long-limbed, skilled in arms, he was prouder of his fame as a knight, earned by desperate fighting in person on many a field against heavy odds. In his younger days, his passionate temper hurried him sometimes into the cruel sack of conquered towns. But he was quick to repent, — at times in a burst of tears; and in his old age he once said, "No man ever asked mercy of me and was refused." His shield bore for its device the motto, "Keep troth." He was a good son, a tender and wise father, a faithful and devoted husband, and one of England's noblest kings.

Edward wished ardently to unite the whole island of Britain into one kingdom. In this he won only a partial success. The conquest of Wales he did complete; and, to conciliate the Welsh people, he gave to his oldest son the title Prince of Wales, which has been borne ever since in England by the heir to the crown. For a time, too, Scotland seemed to submit to Edward's arms and statesmanship; but the hero, *William Wallace*, and the patriot king, *Robert Bruce*, roused the Scotch people again to a stubborn and splendid struggle for national independence; and the two halves of the island remained separate kingdoms for some centuries more.

The true fame of Edward rests upon his work as a lawgiver and as an organizer of the courts of justice. In both respects, he extended and rounded out the work of Henry II.

The following section (§ 182) deals with a topic "hard" to recite upon but too important to omit wholly. It may be well for a class merely to *read* it with the teacher.

182. The Judicial System. — Every high-school student knows something of the "evolution" of plant and animal life, and has learned that the complex "organisms" that we see about us have "evolved," through long periods of time, out of simpler forms. A like development can be traced in many human institutions, and can be studied in the growth of the English judicial system.

The feudal "court" of the Norman kings resembled that of

any great lord except in size. Any vassal who held land directly of the king (any "tenant-in-chief") had the right to attend. In practice, the smaller "tenants-in-chief" were not often present; and the composition of the court varied with the localities where it chanced to be called. Under these conditions, there grew up a smaller, *more permanent* body, composed partly of officers of the king, steadily in attendance upon his person. This inner body kept the name "the king's court" (*curia regis*), while the larger and less frequent gatherings came to be called "the *Great* Council."

The smaller "court" still aided the king in *any* matter of government, and its work was still mainly "executive"; but, more and more, the king called upon it to decide the appeals for justice which were made to him. Thus, by the time of Henry I, the "court" *began* to have considerable *judicial* business. It began also to have *different names* when meeting for different purposes. When it met to look after the king's revenues, it assembled in a treasury room, around a "chequered" table (marked off into small squares, for the convenient counting of the little piles of money which were laid upon it by the sheriffs). In such meetings, the court was called "*the Exchequer*," while at other times it was still called merely "*the king's court.*"

Henry I began to send out members of the court, now and then, to collect revenues and to oversee the administration of justice in the shire courts. Henry II renewed this practice, and extended it into a *system* of circuit "judges." Matters of law called for special knowledge. Trained lawyers began to have greater weight in all the work of the "court," and such men began to be used almost exclusively for these "judges." The circuit judges had become a distinct body of men *within* the "court," but they might still, at times, meet with the larger body for its other work.

Appeals from the circuit judges might still be made to the king. To hear such appeals, another distinct body of judges were set apart by Henry. It was called the *Court of Common*

Pleas, because, like the circuit judges, it dealt mainly with questions of property (*civil* cases) between man and man. To decide important *criminal* cases, especially those which in any way concerned the king's power or revenue, another body of judges was set aside, upon a particular "bench" in the room where the king's court gathered. This group came to be known as "*the Court of the King's Bench.*"

DANCERS. — From an English manuscript of the thirteenth century.

Edward I now completed this growth. *He made the three courts, — the Exchequer, the King's Bench, and the Common Pleas, — into wholly separate bodies, sitting each in its own fixed place, and each with its permanent body of trained judges devoted exclusively to its work. This has remained the English judicial system down to modern times.*[1]

183. Lawyers. — In the time of Henry II, the lawyers, of whom mention is made so often, were still all great *churchmen* with some knowledge of the Roman law. But by the time of Edward, legal business had increased so much *that law had become a profession apart from the church*, and large numbers of trained "lay" lawyers practised in the courts much in the same way as at present. If a man of Edward's day could have stepped from the room in which one of the great courts was doing business into a modern English court of justice, he would have felt quite at home, — as he would not feel anywhere else in the England of to-day. Even the gowns, the wigs, and the forms of procedure remain.

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[1] Appeals could still be made to the king; and so grew up the later supreme jurisdiction of "the King in Council." Under Edward, too, the Chancellor was authorized to hold a court for the purpose of doing justice in cases where it would not be done if the usual forms of law were followed strictly. Thus began the "equity jurisdiction" of the "Court of Chancery."

184. Like Henry II, Edward struck vigorously at feudalism — in four distinct ways.

He *widened the jurisdiction of his courts* at the expense of the feudal courts. A famous "writ of quo warranto" called upon every great noble to show "by what warrant" he exercised judicial authority. Commonly, such authority had been seized in some time of disorder in preceding centuries, and had become established by custom merely. Even when a definite grant of jurisdiction had been made, along with the grant of lands, it was often hard to produce a record of it. But Edward and his courts held that unless an *express* grant of such power from some king could be proven, the authority must revert to the king's courts. This was the heaviest blow that feudalism had ever received. It went far to overthrow it, *so far as government was concerned*, in favor of a national government.

One of Edward's greatest laws was called *Quia Emptores*, from the two Latin words with which it opened. It provided that if thereafter a lord sold any of his land (or let it out in any way), then the new holder should not be his vassal, as formerly, but a vassal only of the next higher lord. In effect, this soon made the great mass of landowners into vassals only of the highest landlord, — tenants-in-chief of the king. *The landlord side of feudalism had lost its chief importance.*

Another great statute compelled all gentlemen who had an income of £20 a year from land to become "knights." This multiplied immensely the number of people in this proud order. Or rather, the feudal class lost itself in a much larger class. *Its social exclusiveness had gone.*

Edward's laws also revived Henry II's "assize of arms," and extended it, ordering that all men who could not provide themselves with armor for the national army should at least be ready to come with bow and arrows. The English long-bow had been becoming famous in the hands of forest outlaws (whose story is told in popular ballads, like the ones about Robin Hood); but Edward was the first English king to see the

value of that weapon in regular war. Soon afterward, his archers won for him the pitched battle of Falkirk over the most gallant of Scottish chivalry. Unarmored infantry repelled armored horsemen. *The military supremacy of the feudal noble had received a fatal blow* — though even then few people really understood the fact until the victory of English archers was repeated on a larger scale in France somewhat later (§ 290).

We have been speaking of Edward's "laws." As Henry II carried his reforms through extending the influence of the Great Council, which stated the "customs of the realm" in a series of codes, or assizes, so Edward carried his reforms in a long series of "statutes," enacted by a new national legislature which we call *Parliament* (§ 185 ff.).

185. The Beginning of Parliament. — Some sort of an "Assembly" has always made part of the English government. Under the Saxon kings, the *Witan* (or meeting of Wisemen) at times exercised great power, sanctioning codes of laws, and even deposing and electing kings. It consisted of large landowners and officials and the higher clergy, with now and then some infusion of more democratic elements.

After the Conquest, the Witan gave way to the *Great Council* of the Norman kings. This was a feudal gathering, — made up of lords and bishops, resembling the Witan, but somewhat more aristocratic. A king was supposed to rule "with the advice and consent" of his Council; but in practice that body was merely the king's mouthpiece in ordinary times, until Henry II raised it to real importance.

Magna Carta gave it additional weight by providing that no new "tax"[1] should be imposed without the Council's consent. At the same time, the Charter prescribed just how the Council should be called together. As has been said (§ 182), all who held land directly of the king ("tenants-in-chief," or

[1] The charter did not say "tax." Taxation proper had hardly begun. It did say that no "scutage," a sort of war tax, should be imposed without the Council's consent. Then, when a system of real taxation grew up, the principle was applied to all taxes.

"barons") were entitled to be present, but only the "great barons" ever came. According to the Charter, thereafter the great barons were to be summoned *individually* by letter, and the numerous smaller barons *by a general notice* read by the sheriffs in the court of each county.

Still the smaller barons failed to assemble; and in the troubles of the reign of Henry III, on two or three occasions, the sheriffs had been directed to see to it that each county *sent* knights to the gathering. *Thus a representative element was introduced into the National Assembly.*

This was a thoroughly natural step for *Englishmen* to take. The principle of representative government was no way new to them. It had taken root long before in *local* institutions. The "four men" of each township present in court of hundred or shire (§ 161) spoke for all their township. The sworn "jurors" of a shire who gave testimony in compiling Domesday Book under William I, or who "presented" offenders for trial under Henry II, spoke for the whole shire. *England was familiar with the practice of selecting certain men from a community to speak for the community as a whole.* The same principle was now applied in a larger, central gathering, for all England.

So far, indeed, only the land-holding aristocracy were in the Great Council, either in person or through the representative knights, and the representative portion of the meeting had no influence except to "consent" to taxes to be collected from those of their class who were not present. The arrangement arose from the king's extravagance and need of money. But after the Battle of Lewes, Earl Simon seized upon this system of representation for wider usefulness. The writs for the famous Parliament[1] of 1265, issued by Simon's direction while the king was in his power, called for the attendance of two knights from each shire *and also of two burgesses from each borough*, to sit with the lords and clergy. Simon wanted more than money. He wanted the moral support of the nation, to

[1] This name for the National Assembly had come into use shortly earlier. We use it now to distinguish the Assembly after the introduction of representation, from the earlier "Councils."

be given by a body representing all classes. He had taken a great step toward changing the *Great Council of royal vassals* into a "*Parliament*" *representing the people of England.*

186. The Model Parliament, 1295. — In the years that immediately followed this deed of Simon, several national assemblies met, wherein towns and counties had some representation; but the exact form varied from time to time, and the powers of the representatives were slight and indefinite. In the "*Model Parliament*" of 1295, however, *Edward I* adopted Simon's plan of thirty years before. Each shire and each borough was called upon to send its two representatives, — since, as Edward's writ read, "**that which touches all should be approved by all.**"[1] From that time, the regular representation of counties and boroughs became a fixed principle in the English national assembly. *For the first time in the world's history, representative government was put upon a good working basis.*

Once more Edward had been the disciple of his old instructor, Simon de Montfort. When the great Earl, on the fatal morning of Evesham, beheld the sun glancing through the mists upon the glittering arms of Edward's advancing host, and recognized that the Prince had caught him in the toils and that defeat was certain, he exclaimed proudly, as he sought death in headlong charge upon the spears, "It was from me that he learned it." And so, thirty years later, as John Richard Green well says, Simon's spirit, looking down upon the Model Parliament, might well say, "It was from me that he learned it."

187. After a half century or so, parliament began to sit in two "Houses." The nature of this division was not the result of any deliberate plan, but it was of immense importance. Edward summoned to his Model Parliament the "three estates,"[2] — the clergy, the nobles, and the burgesses. The

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[1] Hill's *Liberty Documents* gives the *Summons* and critical comment.

[2] "Estate," used in this way, means a "class" of people with distinct privileges and duties of their own.

greater nobles and the greater clergy had *personal* summons; the other classes were represented by delegates, — the smaller landholders by the elected "knights of the shire," the towns by their chosen burgesses, and the lower clergy by elected representatives, one for each district.

At first all sat together. Had this continued, the townsmen would never have secured much voice: they would have been frightened and overawed by the nobles. The result would have been about as bad if the three estates had come to sit separately, as they did in France and Spain. With so many distinct orders, an able king could easily have played off one against the other. England followed a course of its own. The *inferior* clergy, very happily, soon refused to attend parliament. The *great* spiritual lords (bishops and abbots), with personal summons, were not numerous enough by themselves to make an "estate," and so they sat with the great lay lords. Thus, when the different orders began to sit apart, the great peers, lay and spiritual, who were summoned by individual letters, made a "House of Lords," while the representative elements — knights of the shire and burgesses, who had been accustomed to act together in shire courts — came together, in the national assembly, as the "House of Commons."

Thus the three estates faded into two; and even these two were not distinct. For in England, unlike the case upon the continent, only the oldest son of a lord succeeded to his father's title and nobility (§ 121), and to the right to a personal summons to the House of Lords. The younger sons — and even the oldest son during his father's life — belonged in the gentry (gentleman) class, and at most were "knights of the shire." As such, oftentimes, the son or the brother of an earl sat for his county in the House of Commons beside the shopkeeper from the town. *The gentry in the Commons formed a link to bind Lords and Commons together.* This preserved good understanding between the two Houses, so that upon occasion they could act in unison in behalf of English liberty. The House of Commons, from the first, was much more than an

"estate," and it was to widen, in time, into the representative of the nation.

188. Parliament deposes a King. — Even before this two-House form was established, parliament gave one striking demonstration of its power. Edward II (1307–1327), son of the great Edward, was a weak and unworthy successor.

A Family Dinner. — From an English manuscript of the fourteenth century. Notice the dogs, the musicians, and the bare-footed monk at whom the fool is directing some jest.

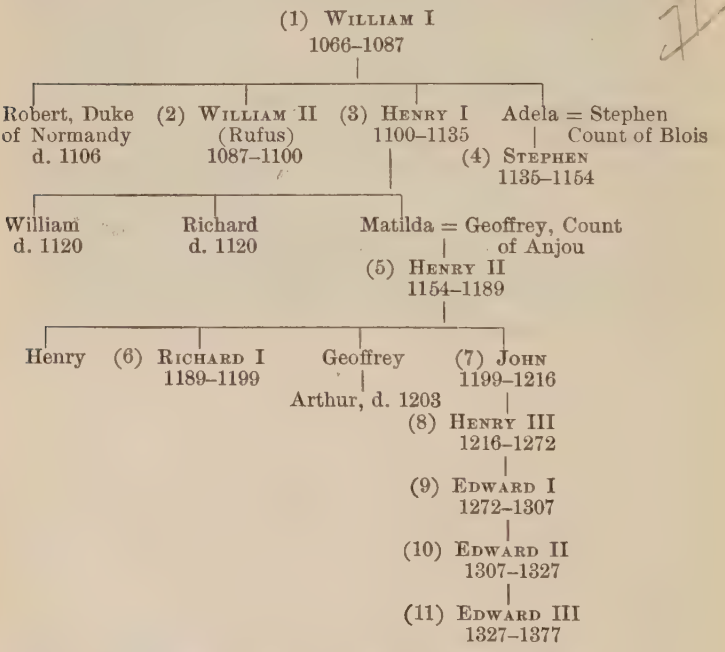
Selfish and greedy favorites ruled through him, to the discontent and injury of the people. Finally, the nation rose against him, and parliament deposed him with much legal formality. With the long reign of his son, Edward III, England emerges from the Middle Ages.

The authority of parliament for ordinary times was yet to grow; but, by 1340 (in the time of Edward III) the division into two Houses was effected. The framework of the national legislature was complete, like the framework of the judicial system a little earlier. In studying this

growth, we have been studying more than *English* history merely. England has been the "Mother of Parliaments" for all countries which to-day have free governments.

For Further Reading. — Besides the general references in footnote on page 143, it would be well for a student who likes books to read Hutton's *Simon de Montfort and His Cause* (sources) and Tout's *Edward I*, at least chapters iv and viii. On Magna Carta, good source material will be found in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 231–238, and in Ogg's *Source Book*, 297–310. Pollard's *History of England* (in the fifty-cent Home University Library) is a brilliant outline in very brief form. Mrs. Green's *Henry II* and Jenks' *Edward Plantagenet* are excellent.

189. TABLE OF NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET KINGS[1]



[1] The kings are numbered. The symbol = means "married."

CHAPTER IX

FRANCE IN THE FEUDAL AGE, TO 1314

190. Rise of the Capets. — During the Norse raids in the north of France (§ 100), the only successful leadership for the French had come, not from the degenerate Carolingian kings, but from a hero of obscure birth, known as *Robert the Strong*. According to one story, he was the son of a butcher of Paris. At all events, he saved Paris from destruction. Paris was then a little town on a marshy island in the Seine. By holding it against the Northmen, Robert, and his son Odo after him, kept the pirates from extending their conquests into central France.

In return, Odo extended his own lands from the Seine to Orleans, on the Loire. This territory was called the Dukedom of Francia; and Duke Odo was the most powerful noble in all the land that we now call France. All about him in that land were similar great lordships, — Flanders, Brittany, Poitou, Anjou, Gascony, Aquitaine, Toulouse, Burgundy, Champagne, Blois, — each ruled by its hereditary duke or count.

In name, all these rulers, like Odo, were vassals of the French Carolingian king. But, in 887, when they deposed Charles the Fat (§ 95), *they chose Odo for their king*. Odo was the first French king of France. For the next hundred years, the crown passed back and forth between the family of Odo and the Carolingians. Then, in 987, the Carolingian line died out, and *Hugh Capet*, a grand nephew of Odo, was made king by the great council of nobles. The surname *Capet* came from Hugh's habit of wearing an abbot's *cape* or cope.

It had been the custom for a king to name a successor during his own lifetime, and then to have the nomination approved

by the nobles. *For three hundred years, however, each Capetian king was happy enough to have a son* old enough and capable enough to receive the scepter directly from his hands, and, indeed, to be associated with him in the government during his lifetime. So, in the absence of conflicting claims, even the *form* of election vanished. French kingship became strictly hereditary, *and the Capetian family ruled France until very recent days*, when France ceased to have kings at all.

191. Reference Table: Capetian Kings to 1314, with Accession Dates.

Hugh Capet	987	Philip II (Augustus)	1180
Robert II	996	Louis VIII	1223
Henry I	1031	Louis IX (the Saint)	1226
Philip I	1060	Philip III	1270
Louis VI	1108	Philip IV (the Fair)	1285–1314
Louis VII	1137		

192. A "Feudal Kingship."[1] — In 987 there was as yet no "kingdom of France." Hugh Capet was crowned "King of the Gauls, Bretons, Danes, Normans, Aquitanians, Goths, Spaniards, and Gascons." This title shows something of the composite nature of "France" at that date.

The election of Hugh did not increase his actual power. It did increase his duties, but his resources rested on his possessions as Duke of Francia. Several of the great princes ruling over the rest of France were each nearly as powerful as the king, and so far as they obeyed him at all, they obeyed him as their feudal suzerain rather than as a national king. He had no hold upon the subvassals — as English kings always had, thanks to the wise changes that William the Norman made in feudalism; nor did he have a national militia such as England always possessed. When he needed an army, his forces came (1) from his own immediate feudal followers in his hereditary duchy, and (2) from such of his great vassals elsewhere as friendship might bring to his aid.

[1] Read the admirable treatment in Adams' *Growth of the French Nation*. 55–59, from which this and the two following sections are condensed.

193. The Work of the Capetians. — Hugh Capet found France broken into feudal fragments, with varying laws and tongues. From these unpromising fragments, the Capetian kings in the next three centuries made a new French nation, with a common language, common customs, and a common patriotism.

Two outside forces helped the Capetians in this great work, the church and the lawyers. (1) The church felt the need of a strong king to protect society against the violence of greedy nobles. And in that day when bishops and abbots were themselves mighty feudal lords, the church could give not only moral support but important material aid. (2) In the eleventh century the lawyer class rose into importance, especially as the advisers and clerical assistants of the nobles and kings. They were trained in the Roman law with its imperial traditions (§ 49, note), and they built up a theory of absolute kingship which gave the kings moral support in every new claim for authority.

In the main, however, France was made through the shrewd, tireless, persistent policy of a long line of able kings who never lost sight of their goal. Says George Burton Adams, the leading American historian of France: —

> "There is no other modern nation which owes so heavy a debt of gratitude to its ancient line of kings as the French. France, as it exists to-day, and has existed through all modern history, with all its glorious achievements, is their creation and that of no one else."

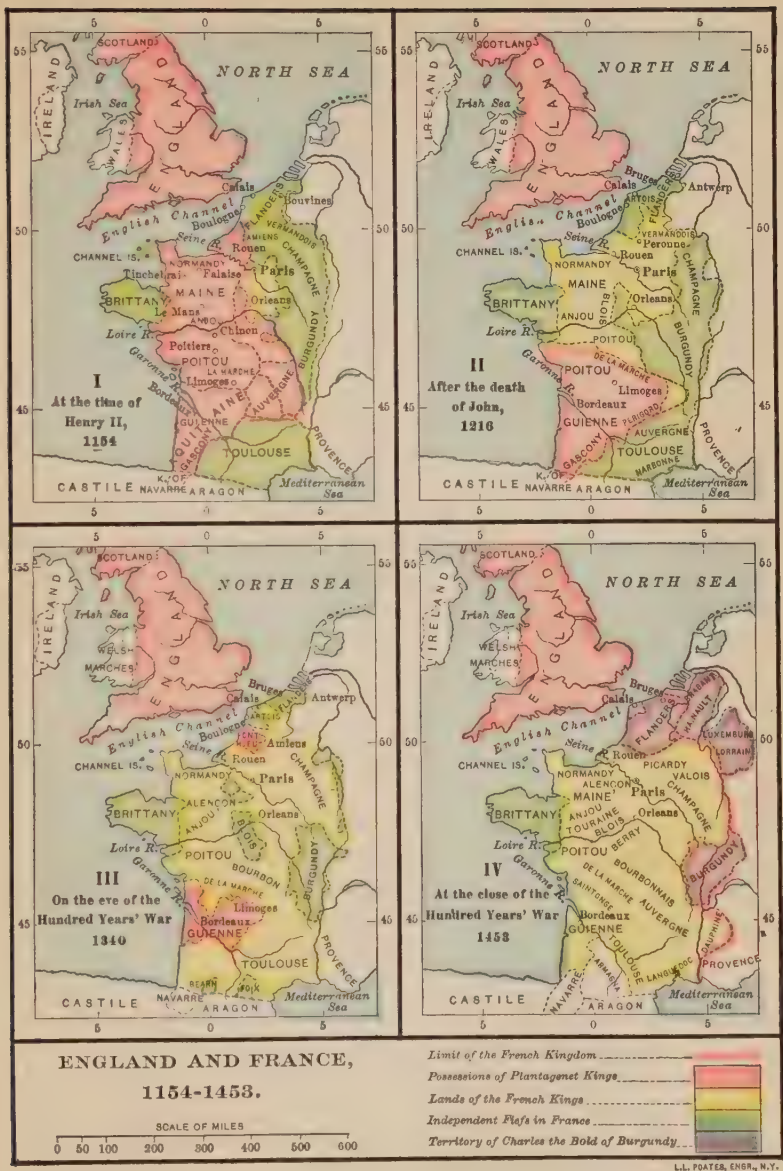
194. "France" grows. — The first great advances were achieved by Philip II, whom admirers styled *Philip Augustus*, because, like the Roman Augustus, he had "enlarged the boundaries of the state." His reign covered the last ten years of Henry II of England, all of Richard's and John's reigns, and the early years of Henry III. When Philip came to the throne, Henry II was still working vigorously and wisely to strengthen the national unity of England against feudal "decentralization." *But in France Henry was the chief obstacle to national unity*, — not because he was king of England, but because, as a great vassal, he held directly six times as much of France (§ 168) as Philip held directly. On all occasions, in

France, Henry upheld the feudal privileges of the vassals against the crown.

It was natural that a French king should strive to stir up enemies, even from within his own household, against this too powerful vassal. Philip set Richard on to make war against his father; and when Richard had become king, Philip intrigued with his brother John. Finally, when John succeeded to the English crown, and so to the French fiefs, his follies and crimes gave Philip his long-sought opportunity. Philip's "court" of great vassals summoned John to answer for his abuses; and, on his failure to appear, declared his fiefs forfeited to the crown. Philip enforced this judgment by arms, so far as concerned Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou. *The northwest quarter* of "France" was so added to the French crown, and the immediate territory of the French kings was quadrupled. At last, too, "France" reached the sea, with ports both on the Atlantic and the Channel. (Maps following.)

The king of England, as duke of Aquitaine, ranked still among the most powerful French vassals, — along with the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Flanders, the duke of Brittany, and the count of Champagne. There had been another of the group, the great Count of Toulouse, most formidable of them all; but Philip had broken his power just before he finally attained success against John.

In this case the success of the French king came through the accident of a religious war. In the twelfth century there had been a period of decline in the church (§§ 211 ff.). This resulted in much religious discontent, and in the rise of several sects of heretics. The most important of these heretical sects were the *Albigenses,* who had their home in southeastern France. They rejected some doctrines of the church, and they rebelled especially against its system of government. Indeed, their dislike for the clergy became so intense that they changed an old by-word, — "I had rather be a Jew," into "I had rather be a priest."


I
At the time of Henry II, 1154
II
After the death of John, 1216
III
On the eve of the Hundred Years' War 1340
IV
At the close of the Hundred Years' War 1453
NORTH SEA
Irish Sea
English Channel
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
WALES
CASTILE
NAVARRE
ARAGON
Mediterranean Sea
Paris
Orleans
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Limoges
Rouen
Calais
Antwerp
Bruges
Amiens
Boulogne
Tinchebrai
Falaise
Le Mans
Chinon
Poitiers
Seine R.
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Bordeaux R.
CHANNEL IS.
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
MAINE
ANJOU
POITOU
GUIENNE
GASCONY
PROVENCE
AUVERGNE
CHAMPAGNE
BURGUNDY
FLANDERS
ARTOIS
VERMANDOIS
PICARDY
LORRAINE
LUXEMBURG
TOURAINE
BERRY
BOURBONNAIS
ALENCON
VALOIS
BLOIS
LA MARCHE
DE LA MARCHE
SAINTONGE
ARMAGNAC
LANGUEDOC
DAUPHINE
BEARN
FOIX
BARBONNE
Peronne
Limit of the French Kingdom
Possessions of Plantagenet Kings
Lands of the French Kings
Independent Flefs in France
Territory of Charles the Bold of Burgundy
ENGLAND AND FRANCE,
1154-1453.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

The church had made many attempts to reclaim these heretics, in vain. Finally, the great reforming pope, Innocent III, proclaimed a "holy war" against them, declaring them "more wicked than the Saracens," against whom Christian Europe had been pouring forth her crusaders for a hundred years. The feudal nobles of northern France rallied gladly to this war. Aside from religious motives, they hated the democracy which was beginning to appear in the rising towns of the South, and they hungered greedily for the rich plunder of that more civilized region. A twenty-years' struggle, marked by ferocious massacres, exterminated the heretics, along with the prosperity of what had been the richest province of France.

From the days of Clovis and Pippin, southern, Roman Gaul had remained practically independent of northern, Teutonic Gaul. At last the feudal North had conquered the city South, — *but the fruits of victory fell to the French monarchy.* Raymond, Count of Toulouse, had tried to protect his Albigensian subjects, and his power had been ruined by the conflict. Philip at once seized the larger part of his realm, and the rest fell to the crown piecemeal, in after years. "France" had acquired *southeastern* France, and had won its way to the Mediterranean. At the opening of his reign, Philip had ruled directly a twelfth of modern France. *At the close, he ruled more than two-thirds of it.*

195. Growth of the Absolute Monarchy. — As the kings acquired the soil of France, piece by piece, their realm outgrew the crude feudal system, and they had to create new machinery of government. And as they added territory to territory, so too they added authority to authority, until by 1300 they became the most absolute sovereigns in Europe. Here, too, Philip Augustus made a beginning. He divided the royal territory into great districts, and over these he set royal officers, usually of humble origin, so that they could not aspire to independent power.

This work of organization was completed before the year 1300 by Philip's grandson, *Louis IX* (St. Louis), and by Louis'

grandson, *Philip IV*, surnamed the "Fair" for his handsome face. In each district the royal officer was given vast authority as a representative of the king. He appointed inferior officers, collected royal revenues, — including new taxes of a modern sort which Philip IV introduced, — and oversaw every detail of local administration. The feudal lords lost all power in government, except over their serfs and villeins. These classes found no gain in the changes in France, except in the greater quiet and freedom from war. But the small vassals and the townsmen did find escape from the rapacity and capriciousness of their old feudal lords.

In England this escape had come through the courts, the itinerant justices, and the free principles of the common law; and Englishmen grew to have an instinctive reverence for courts and law as the protectors of liberty. In France the like security came (a little later than in England) through the despotic power intrusted to their officers by the absolute French kings; and for centuries Frenchmen came to trust absolutism as Englishmen trusted law.

196. The Estates General. — This contrast is shown, in part, in the history of the French institution which most resembled the English parliament. Philip the Fair had completed his reforms by adding representatives of the towns to the nobles and clergy in the Great Council of France. This brought together all three "estates"; and the gathering was called the *Estates General*, to distinguish it from smaller gatherings in the separate provinces. The first meeting in this form was held in *1302*, only a few years after the "Model Parliament" in England. But Philip and his successors used the Estates General only as a convenient taxing machine. It never became a governing body, as the English parliament did. Nor did the French people know how to value it, as the English quickly learned to value parliament. The kings assembled the Estates General only when they chose, and easily controlled it. When they no longer needed it, the meetings grew rarer, and finally ceased.

197. *Louis IX* has been spoken of several times in preceding sections (§§ 143, 149). He is one of the noblest figures in medieval history. In particular he did much to extend justice through widening of the power of the royal courts. Still, his personal administration of justice was of a very primitive sort, such as has been described in § 171. Joinville's Memoir (§ 143) gives many illustrations. "Sometimes I have seen him, in order to administer justice to his people, come into the gardens of Paris dressed in a green coat, a surcoat of woolen stuff without sleeves, his hair well combed, and a hat, with white peacock feathers, on his head; carpets were spread, and all people who had business to be disposed of stood before him. . . . Many a time it happened in summer that he would go sit in the wood of Vincennes with his back to an oak, and make us take our seats around him. And all who had complaints to make came to him without hindrance of ushers. Then he would call a certain noble and say, 'Dispose of this case for me'; and when he saw anything to amend in the words of those who spoke he would correct it with his own lips."

A Gold Florin of Louis IX.

Elsewhere, Louis recommends his people to put up with any bearable injustice; and, with unconscious pathos, he admits his inability to secure full justice for his subjects, even from his own officers. This, as well as the king's deep religious nature, is shown in this following extract from his deathbed testament to his son: —

"Fair son, the first thing that I teach thee is to mould thy heart to love God. If God send thee adversity, accept it patiently, and render thanks, and know that thou hast deserved it. If he send thee prosperity, thank him humbly, that thou be not worse through pride. Bear thyself so that thy confessor and friends may venture to reprove thee for thy misdeeds. Attend devoutly to the service of Holy Church both with mouth and mind. Let thy heart be gentle and compassionate toward the poor and the afflicted, and comfort them so far as in thee lies. Help the right, and uphold the poor man until the truth be made manifest [*i.e.* while the case is undecided]. Bestow the benefices of the church upon men of unspotted lives. Wage no war with any Christian prince, except it be necessary after grave deliberation. Be careful to have good provosts and bailiffs, and make frequent inquiries about them, and about all thy servants as to how they conduct themselves, and whether they are guilty of *overmuch* greed and deceit. . . . Fair dear son, I bestow upon thee all the benediction a good father can give a good son. And may the blessed Trinity

preserve and defend thee from all evil, and give thee grace to do the will of God."

For Further Reading. — Adams' *Growth of the French Nation* is the best brief account, and quite as full as can be used with profit at this point. The same author has a shorter survey in his *Civilization*, ch. xiii. Excellent treatments of certain phases are given in Perry's *St. Louis*, Hutton's *Philip Augustus*, and Smith's *The Troubadours*. Hale's *In His Name* is a story of the Albigenses, no doubt idealizing that sect.

CHAPTER X

GERMANY AND ITALY IN THE FEUDAL AGE

I. GERMANY, TO THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

198. There were five great branches of the Germans in the ninth century, — *Saxons*, *Franconians* (the old East Franks), *Suabians* (Alemanni), *Bavarians*, and *Lotharingians* — whose land, from its frequent connection with France, is best known by its French name, *Lorraine*. The location of these five "stem duchies" can be seen on the map after page 192. Each was ruled by a native duke, and, at times, was on the point of growing into a distinct nation.

The great tasks before the rulers of Germany were (1) to free the land from barbarian invasions (§ 97), and (2) to unite these five German peoples.

199. The Franconians and Saxons were the two leading peoples. From the time of Clovis, the Franconians had held supremacy; but leadership was now slipping from them to the Saxons, whom Charlemagne had conquered and Christianized. They were less touched by Roman culture than any of the other divisions of Germany. They kept many primitive Teutonic customs; and even the old paganism lingered among the wild moors of their northern borders.

When the German branch of the Carolingian family died out in 911 (§ 95), the German nobles chose as their king *Conrad*, Duke of Franconia. But Conrad could not keep the other great dukes in order; and at his death he patriotically recommended for his successor his strongest rival, Henry of Saxony. The messenger to inform Henry of his election found him, falcon on wrist, at his favorite sport of hunting in the Harz moun-

tains; and this incident has given him the surname, *Henry the Fowler.*

200. Henry (919-936) kept the great dukes in close and friendly dependence, and, for his day, beat off the Hungarian raiders. First, it is true, he was forced to buy a humiliating truce by paying a yearly tribute to the barbarians. But he used the interval in wise preparation. *He hastened the adoption of armored horsemen* in Germany, — where the feudal movement was only then beginning. *He built numerous strongholds at exposed points* along the frontier; and to make them centers for the life of the people, he ordered that all markets[1] and festivals should be held within such walled places. Germany had then almost no towns, except a few ancient Roman foundations along the Rhine, like Cologne; and many of the oldest German cities of to-day, such as Nordhausen and Goslar, grew out of these fortresses, giving to Henry his noblest surname, "the Builder."

Henry also organized a militia along the eastern frontier, arranging that one man out of each nine should always be on guard in his new forts, in due turns, while the other eight tilled the land of their absent comrade. Then, when fully ready, Henry refused further tribute. At once, the Hungarians poured across the border; but they were defeated, and cut to pieces by the garrisons of the new towns.

201. Otto I (936–973), son of Henry, completed this work and **put an end forever to barbarian invasions into Germany.** In 955, after long quiet, the Hungarians appeared once more, in greater force than ever before. Terrified chroniclers of the time estimated the raiders at a hundred thousand horsemen. Augsburg, on the Lech river, detained them by holding out, under its warrior bishop, through a terrible siege, while Otto

[1] In earlier times, the Teutonic peoples held their "markets" — meetings for exchanging goods — in open spaces on the borders between the two tribes that were trading. These border spaces were called "marks" ("marches"). Hence comes our word *market*, and also the word *march* (*mark state*) for a border state.

GERMAN COLONIZATION ON THE EAST AT THE EXPENSE OF SLAVS, LETTS, AND MAGYARS, 800-1400.
German
Slav
Lett
Monastery
Seat of a Bishop
Seat of an Archbishop
Boundary between Germans and Slavs, 800 A.D.
Finns
Reval
Eastland
Livland
Riga
Arkküll
Kurland
Memel
Königsberg
Fischhausen
Stralsund
Bergen 1193
Rostock
Kolberg
Oliva 1186
Lübeck
Ratzeburg
Eldena 1199
Wismar
Hamburg
Brode 1177
Stettin
Stargard
Pommerania
Danzig
Elbing
Heilsberg
Marienburg
Marienwerder
Prussians
Bremen
Elbe
Weser
Kolbatz
Landmark
Thorn
Stendal
Berlin
Landsberg
Gnesen
Magdeburg
Brandenburg
Frankfort
Posen
Vistula
Neuzelle
Oder
Glogau
Poles
Leipzig
Meissen
Bautzen
Lebus 1175
Trebnitz 1203
Altzella
Görlitz
Breslau
Altenburg
Dresden
Leignitz
Freiberg
Zittau
Neumarkt
Brüx
Leitmeritz
Neisse
Maine
Bamberg
Prague 1235
Ratibor
Krakow
Bohemians
Olmütz
Iglau
Ratisbon
Brünn
Budweis
Znaim
Danube
Passau
Melk
Vienna
Kremnitz
Lambach
St. Pölten
Salzburg
Admont
Seckau
Bruck
Raab
Ofen
Bistritz
Friesach
Graz
Innisben
Gurk
Lavant
Brixen
Villach
Klausenburg
Hungarians
Hermannstadt
Italians
Agram
Slavs
Roumanians
Kronstadt
Baltic Sea
Conquests of the Teutonic Order after 1250.

gathered troops. Volunteers from all Germany joined him on his march; and Saxons, Franconians, Suabians, and Bavarians all had a part in the final deliverance of Germany at the Battle of Lechfeld.

No quarter was given in the long chase across the borders; and the Hungarians never attacked Christendom again. Soon they themselves adopted Christianity and settled down, in modern Hungary, as one of the family of European nations.[1]

202. Then Germany invaded Slavic barbarism. Otto followed up his success firmly. Year by year, he forced farther back the Slavic peoples along his eastern borders, and established "marks" along that whole frontier. On the extreme southeast was the Eastmark, against the Hungarians, which was to grow into modern Austria; while another mark made the beginning of modern Prussia. His campaigns, too, compelled the heathen Slavs to receive missionaries, and to permit monasteries to be built among them.

Then private enterprise took a hand. German nobles, eager for more land, began a colonizing movement which soon *extended Germany from the Elbe to the Oder*, and carried German civilization and swarms of German settlers among even the Slavs of the heathen Baltic coasts. *This was the most important expansion of the area of civilization for the thousand years between Greek and Roman times and the discovery of America.* It continued for some centuries, and finally doubled the area of Germany.[2]

203. Besides freeing Germany from invasion, and starting it on the road to a vast expansion, Otto also did much to unite its various peoples into one. To balance the power of the great dukes, he built up especially the authority and the dominions of bishops and abbots; and these great churchmen, as in France a little

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[1] This second period of barbarian invasions had closed a little earlier in France and England. This is a good point for the student to review the whole movement as one topic.

[2] Can the class see an important distinction between this eastward expansion and that under Charlemagne into Saxon lands?

later (§ 193), supported the royal authority loyally. At this time Germany seemed much more consolidated than France — where the Capetians had not yet come to the throne — and more even than England, where the House of Alfred was still busied in reducing the Danelaw to submission.

204. Thus, in several ways, Otto I proved himself one of those rare rulers who really set their mark on the world's history. He had become a popular hero; and song and story loved to picture his long, wavy beard and his "hawk's eyes," which kept moving restlessly from side to side, "as if seeking prey." His romantic and ambitious temper was as restless as his eyes, and his strength in Germany now tempted him to a wider enterprise — on which his fame especially rests. This was the restoration of the Roman Empire in the West.

For Further Reading. — Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 12-27; or Emerton, 90-114.

II. THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE

205. For more than half a century (ever since the death of the last German Carolingian), **the Empire in the West had lapsed.** The idea, however, was still a living force. Otto's father, the cool and practical Henry, pondered grandly on a restoration; and Otto's own ardent soul had long been fired with the vision of taking up the imperial task of Charlemagne. The masses of the German people, too, dreamed of it. When Otto stood victor amidst the carnage of Lechfeld, his host, with common impulse, hailed him "Emperor of the Romans." In the near past, German kings had been Roman emperors, and any strong German ruler could not but feel it his supreme duty to restore the Empire, the symbol of universal order and peace.

206. The condition of Italy, too, furnished excuse for German intervention. Even more than other countries of the time, Italy had been shattered into fragments, *so that it had no central kingship whatever.* Colonies of Saracens from Africa had established themselves in the south, contesting that district

with the Greek Empire and the Lombard dukedoms; and the rest of the peninsula was devastated by famine and by ferocious wars between petty states. Finally an imprisoned princess called for help to Otto, the hero of the North.

207. Otto gladly caught at the opportunity. In his first expedition, at Pavia, he crowned himself king of Italy, with the Iron Crown of the Lombards (§ 80), and married the lovely suppliant Adelheid, whose beauty and adventures had shed romance on the dark pages of Italian history. In a second expedition, at Rome, *in 962*, **he was consecrated emperor by the pope.**

208. For the next three centuries, the history of Italy is bound up with that of Germany, and every German king, as soon as he could march to Rome, was crowned emperor. *This connection brought to Germany the culture and art of the ancient world; but on the political side it was disastrous.* Otto's remaining years were spent in restoring brief order in Italy, and he lost the chance really to make Germany a nation. Otto, too, was merely the first of a long line of German kings, who led splendid German armies across the Alps, to melt away in fever and disease beneath the Italian sun. *German strength was frittered away in foreign squabbles.*

Quite as bad were the results to Italy. A German king, however much a "Roman emperor," could not enter Italy without a German army at his back. The southern land became a conquered province, ruled by foreigners whom the natives looked upon as uncouth northern barbarians.

Yet, even in Italy, many of the noblest and most generous spirits were passionate supporters of the German emperors, because they believed devoutly in the ideal of universal peace and justice under the wise providence of one supreme ruler. Some centuries after Otto, a great Italian thinker[1] declared one imperial government for all the world as necessary as one head for the human body, — comparing the various different states of Europe to "the hideous portent of a monster of many heads, biting and snapping at one another."

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[1] Petrarch, § 331.

209. The restored empire took the name "the *Holy* Roman Empire *of the German people*." Two terms in this title suggest two ways in which this new empire differed from that of Charlemagne.

Charlemagne's empire had included practically all Latin Christendom. But new Christian states had now grown up, north, east, and west, — in England, Scandinavia, Poland, Hungary, — all beyond imperial control. *The new empire was far less universal* than Charlemagne's. It did not even include the French realm of Charlemagne; and Italy was held only in part, and that part only by arms. *The empire was distinctly German.*

THE TEMPORAL AND THE SPIRITUAL POWER: a mosaic of the tenth century in the Church of St. John, Rome, representing God giving the keys to St. Peter and the banner to Constantine. — From Lacroix, *Vie Militaire*.

And it was Holy. In some rather indefinite way, it claimed to partake of the nature of the universal church, and to share the headship of the world with the papacy.

210. Three theories arose as to this relation between popes and emperors.

First: *the pope and emperor were equal and independent heads of Christendom,* — one of the spiritual power, the other of the temporal power, — bound, however, to act in harmony. The trouble with this theory was that it would not work. The two heads did *not* act in harmony; and when disputes arose between them, they had no umpire.

Second: *the pope was independent in spiritual concerns; but,*

in purely political matters, as a prince of the empire, he was a vassal of the emperor. This was the theory of the imperial party.

Third: as the more direct representative of God, *the pope was the emperor's superior, even in temporal matters.* This view was adopted by the greatest of the popes.

211. The church, at the moment, however, was unfit to assert this high claim. It, too, had suffered in the general decline of the ninth and tenth centuries that followed the second series of barbarian invasions. Learning and morals both fell away from the standard of Charlemagne's day. Monasteries let the rules of St. Benedict fall into disuse. The ferocious greed of feudalism had begun to infect even religion. Bishops and abbots, we have noticed, had been obliged to take up political and even military duties, and they possessed vast revenues. Sometimes they paid more attention to these matters than to their spiritual duties. Often, indeed, they *bought their offices* from a king just as great lay officers bought their places, and then *sold the lower church offices* under their control.

Even the headship of the church had suffered. The popes had become again little more than the bishops of Rome; and greedy rings of Roman nobles set up and deposed popes at will, as tools in their furious feudal quarrels. In nine years (896–904) there were nine popes, and each change resulted from some discreditable conflict. The papacy lost public reverence; Christendom seemed to have lost its head.

These evils were now to be reformed, partly through the intervention of great emperors, and partly through a glorious revival within the church.

212. This fruitful reform originated in the monastery of Cluny, which had been founded in 977, in Burgundy. Here the abbot restored the rules of St. Benedict, — with such success that soon good men everywhere, as they struggled against evil, turned to Cluny for advice and leadership.

Indeed Cluny went further than Benedict. The Benedictine rules had left each monastery a separate unit. *Now, a more effective organization was adopted.* New monasteries, and old

ones reformed under the influence of missionaries from Cluny, were joined as daughter societies to the mother monastery. The abbot of Cluny appointed the heads of the daughter abbeys, and kept great influence over them, and from time to time called assemblies of delegates from all the monasteries of the order. The holy lives of the wide-spread brotherhood made them a tremendous instrument for good about them; and, before the year 1000, their admirable organization made them a dominant force in the government of the church at large.

A Baptismal Font from Cluny.

213. For the reform of church government, the men of Cluny had three especial aims.

They warred upon simony. That is, they insisted that the buying and selling of church offices should stop. As a means thereto, they urged that every bishop should be elected by lower clergy of his diocese, and every abbot by the monks of his monastery, instead of being appointed by lords and kings.

They insisted that not only monks, but all clergy, should live a life of celibacy. Outside the monasteries, in the ninth century, the lower clergy usually married. Sometimes they tried to secure the wealth and offices of the church for their children. There has always been a tendency, however, to think of holiness as connected with celibacy; and now it was urged strongly that the clergy could not do their proper work unless they were set apart from all family cares and responsibilities.

Both these reforms were finally accomplished, mainly by great reforming popes, who adopted the Cluny program. And these popes themselves were in great measure the product of the third aim of the men of Cluny, who sought, above all else, *to purify the papacy and to restore it to the real headship of the Christian world.*[1]

[1] Adams' *Civilization*, 239–244, and Tout's *Empire and Papacy*, 97–101, give good accounts of Cluny.

In this effort, their work came into touch with that of the reforming emperors. And so we take up again the story of the emperors, which we left in § 207. The footnote [1] on this page shows the succession of rulers.

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[1] **Reference Table of German Kings**

Election

(1) Conrad I (Franconian), 911–918

Election of a new line

(2) Henry I (Saxon), 919–936

(3) Otto I, 936–973 (Emperor, 962–973)

(All later kings in this table were also "Emperors.")

(4) Otto II, 973–983

(5) Otto III, 983–1002

Election of a new line

(6) Henry II (Saxon), 1002–1024

Election of a new line

(7) Conrad II (Franconian), 1024–1039

(8) Henry III, 1039–1056

(9) Henry IV, 1054–1106 { Rudolph, Hermann, Conrad, set up as claimants against Henry IV, from 1077 to 1093 }

(10) Henry V, 1106–1125

Election of a new line

(11) Lothair (Saxon), 1125–1137

Election of a new line

(12) Conrad III (Hohenstaufen), 1138–1152

Election of a new line

(13) Frederick I (Hohenstaufen), 1152–1190

(14) Henry VI, 1190–1197 (15) Philip, 1198–1203 (*deposed*)

Election of a new line

(16) Otto IV, 1198–1214 (*deposed*)

(17) Frederick II, 1214–1250

(18) Conrad IV, 1250–1254

"The Great Interregnum"

214. When **Otto I** restored the Empire, he confirmed the donations of Pippin and Charlemagne (§§ 76, 83); but he also **decreed that no pope should be consecrated until he took an oath of allegiance to the emperor.** The pope resisted this attempt to make him a vassal. To carry his point, Otto *deposed one pope and set up another, by force of arms.* He had rescued the papacy from domination by disorderly Roman nobles; and, in appointing a pope, he sought out a man of pure and noble life. Thus he began the reform of the papacy which was soon to lift it to a pinnacle of glory; but he had also begun a struggle between emperors and popes which was to last three hundred years and to destroy the real power of the empire.

215. **Four unimportant reigns** filled the sixty-seven years after Otto I (973–1039). *Otto II* spent his ten-years' rule in Italy. The danger to Germany from her king's imperial ambition became even plainer in the next reign. *Otto III* was half Italian by blood and wholly so by training. He was an enthusiastic but exceedingly unpractical boy, who became "king" at three, took the work of government into his own hands at sixteen, planned grandiosely to unite Latin and Greek Christendoms by arms, lived his few brief years at Rome in a court of Oriental pomp, and died at twenty-two, wandering helplessly about Italy as a fugitive from a petty uprising of the Roman populace.

During his rule, however, Otto III appointed two remarkable popes. The first, Gregory V, was a German — the first pope from outside Italy. The second, Gerbert, took the name Sylvester II. He was the first French pope. Aside from the great abilities of these two men, their appointment marks a step in the development of the papacy. If the popes were to be the spiritual head of all Western Europe, it was best they should not continue to come all from Italy.

Another fact about Gerbert throws a curious sidelight on the time. He had been a champion of Hugh Capet; and, just before the accession of that king, his enemies had driven Gerbert into exile in Spain. There he had gained a smattering of Saracenic knowledge; and, on his return to Europe, this unusual learning brought him under serious suspicion as a wizard, — a practicer of magic, aided by the devil!

Otto III, like Conrad I, died without an heir. The German nobles chose another Saxon lord (*Henry II*) for their king. And when he also died without leaving a son, they elected a Franconian (Conrad II). A glance at the table on page 195 will show that *there were six such changes for the first twelve kings.* We have noted the unbroken family succession among the Capetians as a chief reason for the growth of French unity. This different fate of the German kingly families was one reason for their failure to achieve German unity.

These last two kings, however, gave their energies to Germany, which had fallen into feudal anarchy. The five great duchies had broken up into many smaller units, — counties, marks, and new duchies; and the steady expansion on the east had added numerous other such districts. Henry II and Conrad began to bring these back from their feudal anarchy into dependence on the crown.

216. Thus Henry III (1039–1056), the third king after the Ottos, **came to the throne under favorable auspices.** He raised the German monarchy to its highest point. *Abroad,* by a series of great victories, he added Slavic Bohemia to the empire permanently — as well as Poland and Hungary for a time. *At home* he reformed both state and church. He enforced the "Truce of God" (§ 128), which had not before been introduced into Germany; and, for a time, even widened it into a "Peace of the Land," compelling all nobles to swear solemnly to give up private warfare. All this was before the Normans had conquered England, and before the Capetians had made any real advance in France.

Henry also encouraged the rising towns by many grants of privileges; and he allied himself to the party of Cluny in the church, putting down simony in Germany. True, he kept the appointment of the higher clergy in his own hands, but only for the public good. He never sold such offices.

While Henry's two predecessors were busy in Germany, Italy had again fallen into extreme disorder. Three men claimed to be pope at one time. Henry compelled all these

contestants to submit their claims to a gathering of bishops which he assembled. All three were deposed, and Henry appointed a new pope. Three times more he filled the papal throne by fresh appointments, so that he has been called "the Pope-maker," and at his death he left his infant son to the pope's guardianship. That son, *Henry IV*, spent his life in fierce conflict with the papacy, which in his day fell to the hands of *Hildebrand*.

217. Hildebrand was the son of a Tuscan peasant of German descent. He was brought up at Rome in a rich monastery where his uncle was abbot. Then the young monk became deeply interested in the ideas of the Cluny reformers, and he spent a year in the monastery of Cluny. His body was frail, but he had a fiery soul, indomitable energy, and great practical sagacity. His ability soon attracted attention, and in 1045, at the age of twenty-one, he became chaplain to the pope. Then, for more than twenty years, under five successive popes, he was the power behind the throne, shaping a growing and consistent papal policy.

218. As papal counselor, Hildebrand accomplished three important steps in the development of the papacy.

a. He formed a close alliance with a popular reform party that had appeared in Lombardy. This party was made up largely of the lower classes, and was led by popular agitators. Its opponents styled it "the party of the ragamuffins." Its purposes were social, religious, and patriotic. It opposed the wealth and corruption of the higher clergy, the dependence of the church upon lay lords, *and the dominance of Germany in Italy*. This last position made this party a natural ally of the popes against the emperors.

b. At the other end of the peninsula Hildebrand found other allies. Early in the eleventh century, bands of Norman adventurers began to seize the territory of the Saracens and of the Greek Empire in South Italy, and finally their leader, *Robert Guiscard* ("the Crafty"), had built up a powerful Norman state there. In 1059 Hildebrand negotiated a treaty with

THE EMPIRE
IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY
(Time of Henry III)
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
DENMARK
RUGEN
POMERANIA
PRUSSIA
Vistula R.
Oldenburg
Hamburg
Billinger Mark
Havelberg
Brandenburg
Oder R.
Posen
POLAND
Breslau
Bremen
Verden
Westphalia
Eastphalia
Elbe
Hildesheim
Magdeburg
East Mark
Lebusa
Utrecht
Münster
SAXONY
Paderborn
Halberstadt
Merseburg
Zeitz
Meissen
Thuringia
Flanders
Arras
Liege
Lower Rhine
Cologne
Aachen
FRANCONIA
Frankfort
Cambray
Amiens
Mainz
Worms
Würzburg
Bamberg
Prague
DUCHY OF BOHEMIA
Olmütz
Rheims
Verdun
Treves
Metz
Toul
Strasburg
Spires
Ratisbon
Eichstedt
Danube R.
Passau
SCABIA OR ALEMANNIA
Augsburg
BAVARIA
East Mark
Danube
Langres
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
Basel
Constance
L. Constance
Salzburg
HUNGARY
Besançon
Chalon
Lausanne
L. Geneva
Macon
Geneva
Sedun
Trent
March of Verona
Udine
Lalbach
Clermont
Lyons
Vienne
Tarentaise
Ivrea
Novara
Como
Bergamo
Vicenza
Treviso
Grado
Aquileja
Drave R.
Vercelli
Milan
Brescia
Verona
Venice
Istria
Save R.
Valence
Grenoble
Pavia
Crema
Mantua
Padua
CROATIA
Le Puy
Die
Turin
Embrun
Piacenza
Brescia
Ferrara
Orange
Gap
LOMBARDY
Tortona
Parma
Modena
Bologna
Ravenna
Uzes
Sisteron
Digne
Alba
Genoa
Savona
Lucca
Pistoia
Forlì
Rimini
Pesaro
Nismes
Arles
Arvignon
Reez
Gulf of Genoa
Florence
Roman Exarchate
Senigallia
Ancona
Arcelate
Cavaillon
Vintimilla
Pisa
Arezzo
Gubbio
Macerata
Marseilles
Aix
Nice
Volterra
Cortona
Assisi
Fermo
Toulon
Chiusi
Ascoli
ELBA
TUSCANY
Spoleto
Teramo
Roselle
Orvieto
Terni
Spoleto
Atri
Viterbo
Rieti
Chieti
Lanciano
CORSICA
Sutri
Solmona
Rome
Larino
Albano
Palestrina
Benevento
Siponto
Velletri
Lucera
Terracina
Troja
Trani
Bovino
Gaeta
Capua
Benevento
Venosa
Bari
Naples
Acerenza
Matera
Brindisi
Sorrento
Amalfi
Salerno
NORMAN STATE
Salerno
Taranto
Otranto
Policastro
SARDINIA
Cosenza
Rossano
CALABRIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Messina
Reggio
SICILY
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
EASTERN EMPIRE
10
14
18
52
48
44
40
6

him which secured stout aid for the papacy. The pope conferred upon Robert the title of Duke of Apulia, and in return, Robert became a vassal of the papacy for this fief.

c. Hildebrand persuaded a council of the church to adopt a decree regulating the method of electing popes (1059). Thereafter the election was to be made, not by a gathering of the nobles and people of Rome, controlled by the emperors or by some noble just then in power, but by the seven "cardinal bishops" of Rome and its vicinity. These "cardinals" made up an advisory council about the popes. And so this method of election corresponded to that which the reformers wished for bishops and abbots (§ 213). This decree is the origin of the "College of Cardinals" (§ 150 *d*).

219. Hildebrand as Gregory VII. — Hildebrand might have been made pope on more than one occasion before he finally accepted the place. At last, in 1073, the people of Rome forced the election upon him. The crowds assembled at the funeral of the late pope raised the shout, "Let Hildebrand be our bishop"; and "St. Peter crowns Hildebrand as pope." The cardinals approved the movement, and Hildebrand reluctantly yielded. He took the name *Gregory VII*, and, with fresh vigor, began to make real his dream of a universal papal monarchy. The empire, he held, was subject to the papacy, as the body to the soul. The pope, the immediate representative of God, was to be the final arbiter between kings.

Gregory's own statement runs: "Human power invented the power of kings; divine pity established that of bishops. . . . He [the pope] may depose emperors. . . . He may absolve subjects from their allegiance to wicked men. . . . He himself may be judged by no one."

Gregory's life proved that his convictions were sincere and unselfish. They were shared, too, by the purest and ablest churchmen of the age. Nor was there anything new in them. The new thing was for a man to be found with the noble daring to try to live up to these ideas when they brought him into conflict with the sovereigns of the earth.

220. The strife between pope and emperor came to a head upon the question of "investitures." The emperor had appointed all bishops and abbots in his realms, and "invested" them with the staff and ring, the symbols of their spiritual office, as well as with the lands connected with those offices. This practice was not always connected with simony; but it made that evil much more common, and the reform party in the church regarded the two things as practically the same.

The real cause of the trouble was the twofold nature of bishops and abbots. They were spiritual officers, and, as such, it was not fit that they should be appointed by lay rulers. But they were at the same time temporal lords, and, as such, the emperors needed to keep control over them. Nearly half the land and resources of Germany were in the hands of great ecclesiastics. Plainly, no king could consent to yield their appointment to any power but himself. Just as plainly, no great and good pope, with the interests of religion at heart, could willingly see these clerical officers appointed by any lay power, with the disregard of spiritual interests that would often follow.

221. Story of the Struggle, to the Deaths of Gregory and of Henry IV. — In 1075 Gregory threatened to excommunicate all bishops and abbots who should thereafter receive their investiture from a lay ruler, and, likewise, every lay ruler who should venture to invest an ecclesiastic with his office. This was a declaration of war on the emperor, Henry IV, who was not likely to surrender willingly a power that all his great predecessors had exercised.

Henry was an able ruler, but with headstrong temper. At fifteen he had assumed the management of the kingdom (1065), and he had just come out victorious from a desperate contest with a feudal rebellion when the decree of Gregory regarding investitures summoned him to a mightier conflict.

The opening of the strife was sharp and rude. Henry continued to invest clerical lords and also to show favor to some whom Gregory had condemned for simony. Gregory sum-

moned him to Rome, and threatened excommunication unless he gave up this policy. Henry replied, through a council of German bishops, by declaring Gregory guilty of infamous crimes and by pronouncing his deposition. Gregory's response was to declare the German bishops excommunicated, and Henry deposed.

Henry's letter to Gregory had been addressed, "Hildebrand, not pope but false monk"; and it had closed, "Descend and surrender the apostolic chair, which thou hast usurped. . . . I, Henry, king by the grace of God, together with all my bishops, do call to thee, 'Get thee down, get down to everlasting damnation.'"

Gregory's reply ran: "O St. Peter, chief of the apostles, . . . for the honor and security of thy church, in the name of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I withdraw, through thy power and authority, from Henry, the king, who has risen against thy church with unheard of insolence, the rule over the whole kingdom of the Germans and over Italy. And I absolve all Christians from the bonds of the oaths which they have taken and shall take to him; and I forbid any one to serve him as king."

Now Henry's enemies in Germany again took arms. The clergy fell away, — unable to stand before the terrors of the papal bull, — and in a few months Henry was helpless. A council of nobles was called, over which the pope was to preside, to decide the question of Henry's deposition. By swift submission, Henry saved his crown. He hurried into Italy, and, at *Canossa*, met the pope, already on his way across the Alps. The stern Gregory refused to see the suppliant, who stood barefoot, in a penitent's garb, through three days of extreme cold, amid the snow and rocks before the castle gate. Admitted finally to the pope's presence, after promising abject submission to his will, whatever it might be, Henry threw himself in tears at the feet of his conqueror, crying, "Spare me, Holy Father, spare me!" Gregory also was moved to tears. He raised Henry to his feet, gave him the kiss of peace, and promised him absolution.

But Gregory had pushed his victory too far, or else not far enough. The foes of Henry in Germany felt that the pope had deserted them, and the mass of the nation were angered

by the humiliation of their king.[1] The hostile nobles did try to set up another king; but German patriotism rallied around Henry, and he easily kept the upper hand.

After some delay, since there was no change in the matter of investitures, Gregory issued another decree of deposition against Henry. But the opportunity was gone. The German bishops, returning to Henry's side, again declared Gregory deposed, and went through the form of electing another pope in his place. There followed a distressing tangle of wars. Finally, Gregory was driven from Rome, and soon after he died in the south of Italy (1085), among his Norman allies, exclaiming sadly, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile." Still, Gregory was in large part victorious. He lives in history as one of the world's greatest men, — one who built an empire not by sword or cannon, but by intellect and moral earnestness.

The quarrel was soon renewed with the new pope, Urban II. Henry's sons were stirred up to rebel against their father; wars were waged incessantly; and in his old age the emperor met many reverses. For years he was a prisoner; and he died in 1106, broken-hearted, in the midst of defeat and shame. For five years his body lay in unconsecrated ground, before the church would remove the curse from his ashes.

222. The "Concordat of Worms." — Henry V had been an ally of the popes against his father, but as emperor he felt obliged to resist their claims as his father had done. Finally, at the city of Worms (1122), the long quarrel was settled by a reasonable compromise. Bishops were to be elected by the clergy and consecrated by the pope; but the emperor was to have a possible veto upon any election, inasmuch as the candidate was to receive from him the investiture of the episcopal lands, which were to be held as by a faithful vassal.

[1] Germany has never altogether ceased to resent the disgrace. In 1872, in a conflict between the new German Empire and the papal party, Bismarck rallied the national feeling to the side of the government by his exclamation "Be sure we shall not go to Canossa!" (§ 819). This sentence is engraved upon Bismarck's monument at Harzburg.

This compromise seems to have been modeled upon one which had been made just before in England between Henry I (§ 166) and Anselm, his great Archbishop of Canterbury. The investiture struggle had been waged in all great Christian countries; but nowhere else had it been so bitter or so long as in Germany.

223. Results. — The struggle between empire and papacy was not over, by any means, with the Concordat of Worms. But one chapter was closed, and it is well to see what had been accomplished. Henry IV had outlived Gregory by a score of years, and, though conquered and humiliated, he had prevented the complete victory of Gregory's ideas. His son had forced the papacy to a compromise. Still, no emperor could ever again make and unmake popes as the Ottos and Henry III had done. The popes, on the other hand, did retain a powerful influence in making emperors, and their right even to depose kings had been powerfully asserted. To all men the papacy had become the final court of appeal and the chief source of justice, righteousness, and mercy.

Germany had been the chief loser. During the fifty years of incessant conflict between emperors and popes, in the long absence of the emperors from Germany, the German nobles had been growing more and more independent of royal authority.

Another political result was more wholesome. The pope turned to the city democracies of Italy for help against the emperor and the Italian nobles; and the emperor called upon the German towns for aid against the pope and the German nobles. In both countries, the towns gained strength rapidly. Out of the conflict between the two great monarchies came aid to the beginnings of popular liberty.

III. THE HOHENSTAUFEN EMPERORS

224. Frederick I (1152–1190). — The Franconian Henrys were soon followed (note on page 195) by the Hohenstaufen Fredericks, — still more brilliant men. The first important ruler of this line was *Frederick Barbarossa* (Red Beard), who has been called "the noblest embodiment of medieval kingship." He was foremost a German king, and the restoration

of order in his northern realm was the most successful part of his work. But he was also a Roman emperor, and he strove mightily to save the waning empire.

This effort brought on a new period of struggle between popes and emperors, to last another century. This time, the immediate occasion of conflict was *a difference of policy regarding Italy.* The emperors were bent on consolidating the peninsula into one state with a strong central government. The popes feared that this would put an end to their independence.

225. Both parties now defined clearly their claims to headship. An artist of the time had painted a famous picture representing a preceding emperor, Lothair II, kneeling before Pope Innocent II for his coronation. The popes placed this painting in the great audience hall of their palace and inscribed beneath it: —

"The king comes before the gates, first swearing due honor to the city. He is then made the vassal of the pope, and takes the crown which the latter *bestows.*"

During the negotiations with one of the popes (Adrian), Frederick objected vehemently to this humiliating inscription. The pope at length removed the picture, but he maintained the papal claim. "What were the Franks," he wrote to the emperor, "till [the pope] welcomed Pippin? What is the German king now till consecrated at Rome by Holy Hands? *The chair of Peter has given and can withdraw its gifts.*"

Frederick's written reply ran: "The empire is held by us, through the election of the princes, from God alone."

226. Frederick's imperial plans brought him also into conflict with the rising towns of northern Italy. To those cities the imperial ideas of the new king meant tyranny. To Frederick, the incessant and remorseless private wars of town with town, and the bloody faction-fights within the leading cities, seemed anarchy. He determined to reduce these turbulent communities to order, and to rule them through imperial lieutenants stationed in each city.

Time after time, Frederick led German armies across the Alps. Milan, the greatest city in the Po valley, was razed to the ground, and its inhabitants were scattered in unwalled villages. Some years afterward, however, while Frederick was at Rome, a sudden pestilence of the Italian summer swept away his army. Twenty-five thousand men perished in a week, — "slain by the angel of the Lord," like the host of Sennacherib before Jerusalem, said the papal party. The cities seized their chance and flew to arms. They bound themselves together in "the Lombard League" (the first city-federation since Greek days), and allied themselves with the pope. At the *battle of Legnano, 1176*, the emperor was completely defeated, barely escaping with life.

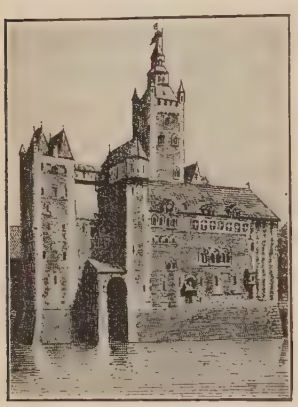
Legnano is one of a few battles in almost four hundred years of incessant fighting that deserve commemoration. In two respects, it stands for the victory of a new age. (1) It was won by a citizen infantry against the feudal horsemen who had so long been irresistible in the field. (2) It secured the recognition of the freedom of the Lombard towns.

The Peace of Constance, signed soon after, was substantially dictated by the free cities. The towns, in words, acknowledged the imperial overlordship, and bound themselves to pay certain tribute; but they secured the recognition of their rights to fortify themselves, to raise their own troops, to wage war on their own account, even against each other, to coin money, and to regulate all their internal concerns. *Practically, they had become free republics.*

227. Frederick's Place in History. — Despite the defeat of Legnano, Frederick remained the greatest and most honored monarch in Europe. His court was one of pomp and splendor. He looked upon France and England as fiefs of the empire; and the sovereigns of those lands regarded the emperor with profound respect, if not quite as their overlord. In Germany itself, his long reign was a period of remarkable prosperity. Forests were cleared to make farming villages, and villages grew into trading towns. Agriculture improved its methods,

and land rose in value. The rougher side of feudal life in the castles began to give way to more refined manners, and a charming German literature appeared in the lays of the Minnesingers (§ 283).

When an old man, Frederick set out upon the Third Crusade (§ 249), and was drowned while bathing, after a hot day's march, in a little stream in Asia Minor. Of all the German kings, Barbarossa, even more than Charlemagne, is the popular hero with the German people; and legends long told how he was not dead, but sleeping a magic sleep, upright upon a golden throne in the heart of the Kyffhäuser Mountain, crown on head and scepter in hand. At the appointed time, in his country's need, the ravens would cease circling about the mountain top; and, at this signal, Barbarossa would awake, to bring again the reign of peace and justice.



A Castle of Barbarossa at Kaiserswerth.

228. Guelf and Ghibelline. — The contest in Italy at this period gave rise to new party names. The Hohenstaufen family took their name from their ancestral castle perched on a crag in the Alps. But near this first seat of the family was their village of *Waiblingen*, by which name also they were sometimes known. The chief rival of the first Hohenstaufen emperor had been Henry the Lion, of Saxony, who was surnamed *Welf*. In German struggles these names became war cries, — *Hi Welfen! Hi Waiblingen!*

In Italy the German words were softened into *Guelf* and *Ghibelline*, and in this form they became real party names. A Ghibelline was of the imperial party: a Guelf was an adherent of the papacy. Long after this original significance had passed away, the names were still used by contending factions in

Italian towns. In general, the democratic factions were Guelfs; but often the terms had no meaning beyond that of family interest, — so that "as meaningless as the squabbles of Guelfs and Ghibellines" has become a byword.

229. Innocent III. — Barbarossa's son, Henry VI, married the heiress of the Norman kingdom in Sicily, and so brought South Italy for the first time into union with the Empire. At Henry's death, his son (afterward Frederick II) was a child of three years; and for almost a generation Guelf and Ghibelline claimants struggled for the crown. During this period of decadence for the Empire, more plainly than ever before, the sovereign power in Europe was the papacy, under the stern morality, tremendous energy, imperious character, and able administration of *Innocent III.*

Within the Empire, Innocent was favored by the political situation. He became feudal overlord and protector of the Tuscan towns, and he was guardian of Frederick, the child-king of Sicily. Thus he was safe from attack by Italy, north or south. At the same time, the conditions in Germany enabled him to make and unmake emperors. The election of the Emperor Philip (note on page 195) was disputed by a rival, Otto. Innocent claimed the right to decide the matter. He rejected Philip as "an obstinate persecutor of the church," and gave his award to Otto, because that prince was declared to be "devoted to the church." "*Him, therefore, we . . . summon to take the imperial crown.*" Then, when Otto took up the imperial claims against the papacy, Innocent declared him deposed, and secured the election of the young Frederick, grandson of Barbarossa.

In France and England, it is true, there now ruled mightier kings than any previous pope had had to deal with outside the Empire; but even these sovereigns were forced to obey the commands of Innocent's legates. Philip Augustus, the haughty and successful sovereign of France, was compelled to take back an innocent wife whom he had just put away; and John of England even surrendered his kingdom and received it back as

a fief of the Holy See, promising annual tribute to Rome (§ 178). The kings of Portugal and Aragon, rising Christian states[1] in the Spanish peninsula, were Innocent's vassals; and he interfered at will in the government of the other kingdoms there, — Navarre, Castile, and Leon, — as well as in the new Slavonic kingdoms on the eastern frontier of Europe.

Innocent was also a moral reformer, and he led a successful movement for a revival within the church. He crushed the Albigensian movement, which rejected the church (§ 194); and he adopted and advanced the Friar reform (§ 230).

230. The Begging Friars. — The growing towns of the eleventh and twelfth centuries did not at first fit into the older organization of the church. Neither the rural parish priests nor the monks took care of the religious needs of the crowded populations. The poorer inhabitants were miserable in body, too, beyond all words, — fever and plague stricken, perishing of want and filth and wretchedness such as no modern city knows.[2] Early in the thirteenth century, these conditions, together with the spread of heretical movements, called forth a general religious revival, with the rise of two new orders of religious workers, — the Franciscan and the Dominican brotherhoods.

The Franciscans (1209) took their name from their founder, *Francis of Assisi*, known later as *Saint Francis*. He was moved by a passionate pity for the ignorant, dying, despairing dregs of the population in the medieval Italian towns about him. A little group of eleven youths caught the inspiration of his lofty enthusiasm and self-renunciation. Francis walked to Rome and secured sanction for his plans from Innocent III, and at once the little band of "brothers" (*friars*) began their mission.

They went forth, two and two, to the poor and the outcasts, living from day to day in the midst of noisome wretchedness, to act as healers and preachers. They nursed lepers, minis-

[1] These states were being formed by warfare against the Moors in Spain.

[2] The best brief account is given in Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars*, 1–52.

tered to the poor, and, with short, homely, fervent speech, preached to all the love of Christ and the call to turn from sin. They gave themselves utterly to serve their suffering fellows. Money they would not touch. Literally, they were barefooted beggars, with one garment, living from day to day upon chance alms.[1]

They were not monks. The monk lived in a quiet cloister, and, however beneficial his services were to the world, his first care was for his own soul. The friar sought instead to save the souls and heal the bodies of others, and he went out into the world wherever he could find most suffering and sin.

The Dominicans (1215) grew out of the zeal of *St. Dominic* to convert the Albigenses from their heresy. Dominic was a powerful and fiery preacher, learned in all the theology of the age. Thus, while the Franciscans in origin were missionaries, to lighten the sufferings of the poor, the Dominicans were preachers to the more intellectual classes. The Franciscans (Grey Friars) were the gentler, the Dominicans (Black Friars) the sterner, in character.

The "begging friars" spread swiftly over all Europe. In 1221, only six years after the founding of the order, Dominicans reached England, passing at once to London and Oxford and other towns.

231. Frederick II. — The death of Innocent, in 1216, left the field clear, for the moment, for the young emperor, Frederick II, who was just coming to manhood. Frederick II has been called the last of the great medieval emperors and the first of the great modern kings — "*the most gifted of the sons of men, . . . a wonderful man in a wonderful age.*" Unlike his grandfather, Barbarossa, he was an Italian by birth and nature. In person, he was slight, bald, nearsighted. A Mohammedan historian wrote that as a slave he would not have brought a hundred drachmas. He was an enthusiastic patron of literature, a founder of one of the early universities (§ 276), and himself

[1] Cf. the precept of Christ to his disciples, *Matthew* x. 9, 10.

a scholar and an author, of no mean ability, in prose and in verse. He wrote charming songs, not in Latin, but in the new Italian tongue of everyday life, and was truly called the father of Italian poetry. He was deeply interested in the science of the Arabs. He ridiculed trial by ordeal and other medieval superstitions, and his own codes of law were far in advance of the barbarous ideas of the age. He was a modern, rather than a medieval, man, — a many-sided man, warrior, statesman, lawgiver, scholar, poet.

At the same time, in his private life he was immoral, and sometimes in his public policy cruel and unscrupulous. With all his wonderful genius, he gave his life's energies to buttressing the hopelessly outgrown and tottering system of a universal empire. He left no positive result, but was only "the most dazzling of a long line of imperial failures."

Seal of Frederick II.

232. Frederick and the Popes. — As emperor, Frederick was master of North Italy; and as king of Sicily, he was master of the South. Of course he wished to join the two parts of his realm. The chief obstacle to his complete success was the existence of the Papal States, stretching across Italy from sea to sea. The popes feared lest their temporal principality should be crushed between the two arms of the Hohenstaufen power, and the danger made them Frederick's relentless foes.

During much of his reign, the emperor was under sentence of excommunication and deposition. On one occasion during the struggle, when the papal throne became vacant, it was filled by the election of a man who had always been favorable to the imperial side. But Frederick did not deceive himself with false hopes. When he was congratulated, he replied, "I have only lost a friend; no pope can be a Ghibelline." Innocent IV, the new pope, proved, indeed, one of the most formidable opponents any emperor had encountered.

Frederick maintained the war during his life, but towards

ITALY
IN THE TIME OF
THE HOHENSTAUFEN
(about 1200)
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
FRANCE
KINGDOM OF ARLES
SAVOY
MONT BERAT
KALUZZO
LOMBARDY
Milan
Pavia
Alessandria
Genoa
Parma
Reggio
Bologna
Mantua
Po
RHETIA
TRENT
FRIULI
MARCH OF VERONA
Padua
VENETIAN REPUBLIC
Venice
CARINTHIA
Trieste
Fiume
Pola
Ravenna
ROMAGNA
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
SERVIA
EASTERN EMPIRE
Arles
Nice
Ligurian Sea
Florence
ANCONA
Ancona
Pisa
TUSCANY
SPOLETO
MARCH OF CAMERINO
ABRUZZO
SHIETI
ELBA
CORSICA
Ajaccio
Civita Vecchia
Rome
Tiber R.
ST. PETERS PATRIMONY
Capua
Naples
Salerno
KINGDOM OF NAPLES AND SICILY
Brindisi
Otranto
CALABRIA
Reggio
Palermo
Syracuse
SARDINIA
Cagliari

the close with lessening chances of success. He spent his last years like a lion at bay, amid the fierce onslaughts of open enemies and the cruel treacheries of trusted friends; and his death (1250) was followed by quick and final ruin for his plans, and by the extinction of his family.

The death of Frederick's son, Conrad IV (1254), ushered in *a long interregnum for the Empire*, and marked **the separation of Germany from Italy.** To crush another of Frederick's sons, Manfred, in Sicily, the pope called in *Charles of Anjou*, brother of Louis IX of France, and gave him the Sicilian crown.

233. Results to Italy. — The popes had won. They had preserved their own predominance as princes in central Italy, and they had excluded the Germans. It is true they had not saved Italy from foreign domination. They had only called in one foreigner against another,[1] and as a result of their policy, Italy, for centuries to come, was to remain disunited and to be the battle ground of France, Spain, and Germany. They had assisted the rising Italian towns, however, in the revolt against despotism, and so had helped to prepare for the rich civic life of northern Italy in the next two centuries.

234. Results to the Empire and to Germany. — *The emperors had failed utterly.* Two hundred years later, an English chronicler wrote of the period following the death of Frederick II, "*The Empire in a manner ceased here.*" Certainly its character changed radically: (1) Italy was lost, as France had been four centuries earlier; and (2) even in theory the union between the spiritual and temporal headships of Christendom was dissolved. *The Empire really was no longer either "Holy" or "Roman": it remained only "German."*

From the thirteenth century the Empire is often spoken of as the "German Empire." The term is good as a description, — just as we speak of the "Greek Empire" at Constantinople, — but it is not a proper title in a strict sense. The only empire in history with the title

[1] The calling in of the Angevins (house of Anjou) against the Hohenstaufen will remind the student of the calling in of the Franks five centuries before against the Lombards.

"German Empire," is the one created by Bismarck and King William in 1871.

In Germany also there was a striking change. The idea that had made the soul of the Empire was gone; but so, too, was the physical body of it, the German kingdom. The title King of Germany had long since disappeared in the scramble for the higher dignity of the imperial title.[1] As Freeman puts it, the kingly crown of Germany had been "crushed beneath the loftier imperial diadem." Or as another English historian says (Mr. Bryce), "The kingdom of Germany broke down beneath the weight of the Roman Empire."

For twenty years after the last Hohenstaufen (1254–1273), there was no emperor in Germany,[2] and no king. These years were the "Great Interregnum," the period of "*Fist-law.*" During this time *there was no pretense of central government.* The old kingdom had dissolved into a mass of petty fragments, some three hundred in number, — free cities, duchies, marks, counties, — each virtually an independent monarchy or city-republic. The chance to make a German nation was postponed six hundred years. In 1273 the name of Emperor was revived by the election of *Count Rudolph of Hapsburg:* but little more than the name remained (§§ 315 ff.).

REVIEW EXERCISES

1. Fact drills (cf. *Ancient World*, 162, 295, for suggestions).
   a. Dates: 843, 962, 987, 1066; (class fill in the events). 1075–1254 (struggle between empire and papacy), 1122 (Concordat of

[1] The German nobles, in the many elections that have been referred to, as in § 215, chose a "King of the Germans." But the successful candidate valued the election chiefly as a step toward the higher dignity, Emperor of the Romans. So, before 1200, men ceased to choose a "King of the Germans" at Aachen, and named instead a "King of the Romans," — a title that more directly suggested the higher office to follow.

[2] Two emperors were elected during this period, — a Spaniard and an Englishman (the brother of Henry III), — but neither of them actually appeared in Germany to enter upon the government.

Worms, which divides struggle of Empire and papacy into two chapters), 1176 (Legnano), 1215, 1265, 1295.

b. *Fix other events in connection with the dates given above ;* such as *Lechfeld*, *Lombard League*, *Peace of Constance*, *French Estates General*.

c. *Extend list of terms* for brief explanation: *Hugh Capet*, *Guelf*, *Canossa*, *mark states*, etc.

2. Review questions by the class. For example : give the two divisions of the struggle between empire and papacy ; characterize each ; and name leaders and chief events of each.

4. Catch-word reviews (cf. *Ancient World*, 183).

a. Germany from Charles the Fat to 962.

b. The Holy Roman Empire, to 1273.

5. Map review. Compare the maps on the Empire (including the one on the Partition of Verdun) for varying boundaries and for increase in number of political divisions.

For Further Reading. — Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* and Tout's *Empire and Papacy* are the two best one-volume accounts of this subject. Bright students may be encouraged to read in one or the other of them, and to bring to the class contributions from such reading. Henderson's *Short History of Germany* is excellent. The best biographies on the period are Sabatier's *St. Francis* (rather long), Morison's *Life and Times of St. Bernard*, and Vincent's *Age of Hildebrand*. Ogg's *Source Book* has some good material. For *required* class reading, the medieval empire is not a good topic.

CHAPTER XI

THE CRUSADES, 1100–1300

I. CAUSES AND CONDITIONS

235. In the last three chapters, we have followed the *separate* development of the leading countries of Europe for some four centuries, to about the year 1300, — pretty well through the active age of feudalism. During the last half of these four centuries, or from 1100 to 1300, ***all Europe had been profoundly interested in a religious and military movement to recover the Holy Land from the Mohammedans.*** This *common* movement of the various countries — the crusades — is the subject of the present chapter. First we need to note the conditions in the Oriental world when the crusades began.

236. The Mohammedans (§§ 58–67) still ruled from the Pyrenees to the Ganges. This wide dominion, it was true, was now broken up into many states, but the civilization of the Saracens had not yet begun to decline. They had utilized the old culture of Persia and of Greece. Their governments were as good as the Oriental world had ever known. Their roads and canals encouraged commerce and bound together distant regions. Their magnificent cities were built with a peculiar and beautiful architecture, characterized by the horseshoe arch, the dome, the turret, the graceful minaret, and a rich ornament of "arabesque."[1] Their manufactures were the finest in the world, both for beautiful design and for delicate workmanship. Their glass and pottery and metal work, their dyestuffs, their paper, their cloth manufactures, their preparations of leather, all represented industries almost or wholly unknown to the West. We still speak of "Toledo" blades, and "Morocco" leather, while "muslins" and "damasks" recall their superior

[1] Note the illustrations on pages 60, 215, 218.

manufacturing processes at Mosul and Damascus. Their agriculture was scientific, with the use of irrigation and fertilizers; and by grafting they had produced many new varieties of fruit and flowers which adorned the lovely gardens in which they

The Court of Lions, Alhambra.

especially delighted. Europe owed to them its first knowledge of oranges, lemons, rice, sugar cane, and asparagus.

In intellectual lines their superiority was no less marked. While Europe had only a few monastic schools to light its "Dark Ages," the Arabs had great universities, with libraries containing hundreds of thousands of manuscripts. In Persia and in Spain they had created a noble literature, both prose and poetry. Philosophy, theology, law, rhetoric, were subjects for special study. Much progress had been made in astronomy. The heavens still keep proof of their studies in its thick sprinkling of Arabic names, like *Aldebaran*, while many terms in our texts on astronomy (*azimuth*, *zenith*, *nadir*) bear like

testimony. From India they brought the "Arabic" notation, while Europe was still struggling with clumsy Roman numerals. Algebra and alchemy (chemistry) are Arabic in origin as in name, and spherical trigonometry was their creation. And while Europe still treated disease from the viewpoint of an Indian "Medicine Man," the Saracens had established, on Greek foundations, a real science of medicine.

A Moorish Vase.

237. The Byzantine Empire. — Midway in character, as in geography, between Latin Europe and Mohammedan Asia, lay the Greek Empire, living on for centuries a quiet, orderly life. In material prosperity it was unexcelled anywhere in the world, and in intellectual activity it was surpassed only by the Saracens. Freeman, the English historian, spoke of it as: —

"a government which with all its faults, for many centuries discharged its functions *better than any contemporary government in the world.* . . . Wise legislators, able administrators, valiant generals, profound scholars, acute theologians, were the natural product of the soil, century after century."[1]

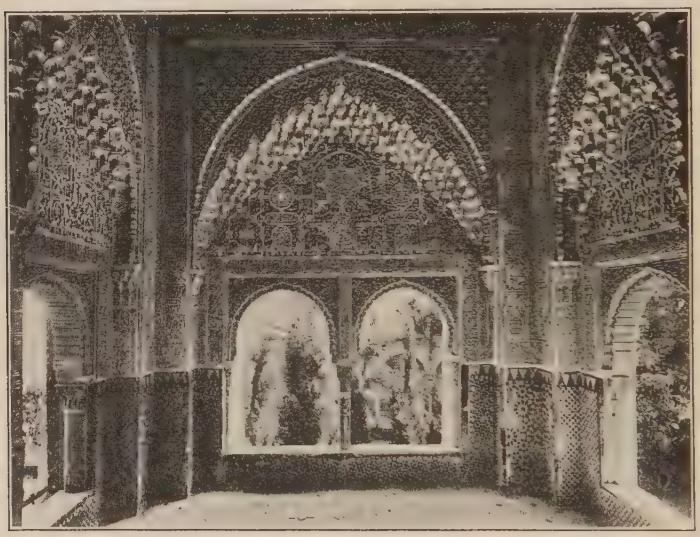
The Empire was a civilized state, standing on the defensive against barbarian attack, and waging its wars mainly with Norse mercenaries. The emperors were often devoted scholars and able authors, as well as great rulers. Constantinople in magnificence and extent and comfort was unapproached by the rude towns of France and Germany; and its wealth, splendor, and comforts, — its paved and lighted streets, its schools and theaters, its orderly police system, its hospitals and parks, — were all amazing to the few visitors from the West. Such little trade as Western Europe possessed was

[1] There are good statements in Tout's *Empire and Papacy*, 151, 152; for detail, see 152–175. Students may consult also Oman's *Byzantine Empire*.

THE
EASTERN EMPIRE
IN THE
TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES
Lands of the Eastern Emperors before 960 are marked thus
The lands conquered between 960 and 1045 are marked thus.
The dates are those of the conquests.
Russians
Magyars
(Hungarians)
Patzinaks
Danube
CROATIA
SERVIA
Dalmatia
Dyrrhachium
Gaeta
Naples
Langobardia
Calabria
WEST
BULGARIA
(1019)
Ochrida
Prespa
EAST
BULGARIA
(971)
Dorystolum
Prestiflava
Adrianople
Macedonia
Thrace
Thessalonica
Constantinople
Nicaea
Nicopolis
Hellas
Peloponnesus
CRETE
(960)
Chandax
ASIA MINOR
CAPPADOCIA
Iconium
CILICIA
(964-965)
(968-978)
Antioch
(968)
Aleppo
Edessa
CYPRUS
(965)
ARMENIA
(1045)
Armenia
Ani
Cherson

mainly in Greek hands; and the "Byzant," the coin of Constantinople, was the standard of coinage over Europe.

During most of its history, the Empire comprised the greater part of Asia Minor, many islands, and at least the coast regions of the Balkan peninsula in Europe. The inland



"Window of the Favorite" in the Palace of Alhambra.

parts of that peninsula were divided between two Slav peoples, the Servians and the Bulgarians, who, like the Russians, had drawn their Christianity and civilization from Constantinople.

238. In the eleventh century, the *civilization of the Saracens* received a fatal blow, and the *existence of the Greek Empire* was endangered. **Political supremacy in the Mohammedan world fell to the Turks**, a new Tartar people from beyond the Jaxartes. The Turks were to play somewhat the same part in the Saracenic world that the Teutons had played in the old Roman world, — with this tremendous difference, that even to the present day they have not assimilated civilization. The Arab culture survived long enough to be transplanted into

Europe during the crusades, but in its own home it was doomed thereafter to swift decay.

The Turks were at least mighty soldiers, and they *began a new era of Mohammedan conquest.* Almost at once the greater part of the Greek Empire fell into their hands. They overran Asia Minor, and established a number of principalities there. One of them, called the Empire of "Roum" (Rome), placed its capital at Nicea, only seventy miles from Constantinople. In terror, the Greek emperor turned to Western Christendom for aid; and his appeal was the signal for two centuries of war, Cross against Crescent.

239. **The crusades were one more chapter in the age-long struggle between East and West, in which Marathon and Tours had been earlier episodes.** ***And the appearance of the Turks had given a new aspect to the strife.*** **It was no longer a conflict between two types of civilization — as the wars between Greek and Persian had been. It was a conflict between the only possible civilization[1] and a brutal barbarism.**

240. **The Abuse of Pilgrims by the Turks.** — The Greek call for aid against the infidel would have produced little effect if Western Europe had not had deep grievances of its own against the Turk. *The crusades were a new form of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and the only kind any longer possible.*

Pilgrimages to holy shrines (§ 148) were a *leading feature* of medieval life.[2] Good men made them to satisfy religious enthusiasm; evil men, to secure forgiveness for crime; sick men, to heal bodily ills. *A pilgrimage was an act of worship.* Chief of all pilgrimages, of course, was that to the land where Christ had lived and to the tomb where His body had been laid. In particular, after the religious revival early in the eleventh century (§ 212), a steady stream of pilgrims from Europe visited Palestine, sometimes in bands of hundreds. In 1064

[1] In 1100 Western Europe was excelled in civilization by some of the lands which had just fallen to the Turk; but there was no longer any hope from those lands, — nor from Eastern Europe, about to fall.

[2] Read Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life*, 338–403, if accessible, on pilgrimages. And see also Robinson's *Readings* I, 312–340.

the Archbishop of Mainz led one company of seven thousand to the Holy Land. Only two thousand of this expedition ever found their way home again, — a fact that shows how dangerous these long pilgrimages were in that day, even before the Turks added to the peril.

The Saracens had permitted Christian pilgrimages, and even encouraged them, as a means of revenue. But in 1076 the Turks captured Jerusalem from the Arabs, and at once began to persecute all Christians there. Tales of suffering and of wrongs filled Europe with shame and wrath, and prepared Latin Christendom to respond to the Greek emperor's appeal for aid. Each crusader marched to avenge pilgrims and at the same time to make a pilgrimage himself. He was "*an armed pilgrim*" to the holiest of shrines.

A Crusader. — From a thirteenth century manuscript now in the British Museum.

241. "God Wills It." — The messengers from Constantinople came to *Pope Urban*, as the head of Christendom, in 1095. Urban at once assumed the leadership, and at a great gathering of French nobles at *Clermont* preached a war of the Cross against the infidel. His eloquence[1] thrilled the multitude to a frenzy of enthusiasm, and they caught up his cry, "God wills it! God wills it!" A great expedition was arranged for the following spring, and all over Europe men were called upon to "take the cross"; that is, to pledge themselves to the expedition by fastening a red cross on the breast.

This gave us the name for the movement. These warriors of the cross (cross-bearers) are called crusaders; and the movement, the crusades. The political motive, to relieve the Greek Empire, sank almost out of mind. The crusaders seemed to think only of recovering the Holy Sepulcher.

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[1] See *Pennsylvania Reprints*, I, No. 2; or Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 51.

242. **There were, however, other motives,** less noble, and less prominent in records. *Multitudes of nobles were influenced largely by greedy hopes of winning new principalities in Asia.* Indeed, the Greek emperor, in his letters to Western leaders, laid chief emphasis on this inducement, and even Pope Urban did not neglect it at Clermont. "Wrest the land from that wicked race," said he, "and possess it for yourselves."

France, in particular, felt this motive, because her population had been growing rapidly. She had just sent the Normans into England and Italy. In like manner she now poured her swarming military population into the East. The crusading armies were so dominantly French that the Greeks and Mohammedans came to use the name "Frank" for any inhabitant of Western Europe.

Many men, too, were moved in great measure *by military ardor and by the mere spirit of adventure,* — the desire to see the world; while others found in the crusades a chance *to escape punishment for crime.* Urban dwelt upon this inducement also, and urged those "who have been robbers" to "become soldiers of Christ." From the moment a man took the cross, the church promised him forgiveness for all past sins, and forbade all attacks, even by the law, upon his person or his property.[1]

None the less, the real cause of the crusades was religious zeal. The war was truly a "War of the Cross." These grosser motives only helped to rally recruits about a banner which a high enthusiasm had set up.

II. THE STORY

243. **The crusades opened with a pathetic movement** which shows the enthusiasm and the credulity of the age.[2] *Hordes of peasantry,* impatient of delay, without waiting for the army of nobles, *set off to rescue the Holy Land, under a preaching monk and a beggar knight,* **Peter the Hermit** *and* **Walter the**

[1] For curious illustrations of these points, see *Pennsylvania Reprints,* I, 2.

[2] Special report, to show a like lesson: the Children's crusade, if Gray's volume, *The Children's Crusade,* is accessible.

Penniless. These multitudes — ignorant, unorganized, almost unarmed — expected divine aid. Most of them perished miserably in the terrible journey through the Danube valley, by starvation and disease, and by the attacks of the Christian natives whose lands they were pillaging for food. The remnants, as soon as they reached Asia, were annihilated by the Turks.

244. The First Crusade. — In the spring of 1096 swarms of the real crusaders began to make their way through Europe to Constantinople, the appointed place of meeting. There they gathered, some three hundred thousand strong, according to the chroniclers, — one hundred thousand of them mailed horsemen, — the most formidable army Europe has ever sent against Asia. The Greek emperor, fearful lest these fierce allies might turn upon his own realm, hastened their departure into Asia. There they endured terrible suffering and loss, in march, skirmish, battle, and siege. The leaders quarreled savagely among themselves; but fortunately, the Mohammedans at this time were even more broken up into hostile camps. In July, 1099, the Christians stormed Jerusalem, amid hideous butchery and wild transports of religious enthusiasm.

CRUSADERS ON THE MARCH.

245. Some letters from the crusaders give curious and interesting side lights on their motives and feelings. One of the leaders was Stephen, Count of Blois, who had married a daughter of William the Conqueror and was the father of the young prince afterward known as King Stephen of England (§ 166). In 1098, from before Antioch, Stephen sent to his "sweetest and most amiable wife," the following letter: —

"You may be sure, dearest, that my messenger leaves me before Antioch safe and unharmed, through God's grace. . . . We have been advancing continuously for twenty-three weeks toward the home of our Lord Jesus [since leaving Constantinople]. You may know for certain,

my beloved, that I have now twice as much of gold and silver and of many other kinds of riches as when I left you. . . . You must have heard that, after the capture of Nicea, we fought a great battle with the perfidious Turks, and by God's aid, conquered them. . . . Thence, continually pursuing the wicked Turks, we drove them as far as the great river Euphrates. . . . The bolder of them hastened by forced marches, night and day, in order to be able to enter the royal city of Antioch before our approach. The whole army of God, learning this, gave due praise and thanks to the omnipotent Lord. Hastening with great joy to Antioch, we besieged it, and very often had many conflicts with the Turks, and seven times with the citizens of Antioch, and with the innumerable troops coming to its aid. In all these seven battles, by the aid of the Lord God, we conquered, and most assuredly killed a vast host of them. Many of our brethren and followers were killed also, and their souls were borne to the joys of Paradise.

CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER AT JERUSALEM, present condition. This church was built by Constantine about the year 325 and was restored by the Crusaders in 1099. It is supposed to contain the place of the burial of Christ.

"By God's grace we here endured many sufferings and countless evils up to the present time. Many have already exhausted all their resources in this very holy passion. Before the city of Antioch, throughout the whole winter, we suffered for our Lord Christ from excessive cold and from enormous torrents of rain. What some say about the impossibility of bearing the heat of the sun throughout Syria is untrue, for the winter there is very like our winter in the West.

"When the emir of Antioch — that is, its prince and lord — perceived that he was hard pressed by us, he sent his son to the prince who holds Jerusalem, and to the prince of Damascus, and to three other princes. These five emirs, with 12,000 picked Turkish horsemen, suddenly came to aid the inhabitants of Antioch. We, ignorant of all this, had sent

many of our soldiers away to the cities and fortresses ; for there are 165 cities and fortresses throughout Syria which are in our power. But a little before they reached the city, we attacked them at three leagues' distance with 700 soldiers. God fought for us, His faithful. On that day we conquered them and killed an innumerable multitude; and we carried back to the army more than two hundred of their heads, in order that the people might rejoice on that account.

"These which I write you are only a few things, dearest, of the many which we have done. And because I am not able to tell you, dearest, what is in my mind, I charge you to do right, to watch over your land carefully, to do your duty as you ought to your children and your vassals. . . ."

246. The Latin States in Syria. — Two important *political* results were accomplished. (1) The Greek Empire recovered much of Asia Minor. (2) *The greater nobles among the crusaders divided the conquered Syrian districts among themselves and set up there four* "**Latin states,**" of which the chief was the "Kingdom of Jerusalem." The crusaders knew of no system of government except feudalism, and so each ruler divided his realm in feudal fashion among his retainers. On the soil of Asia, a complete feudal society sprang up, to continue the war against the Crescent.

247. Fighting Monks. — These Latin states found the core of their fighting force in a new institution, which combined the two opposite ideals of the age, — that of the monk and that of the knight. Three orders of *fighting monks*[1] arose.

The *Knights of St. John,* or *of the Hospital,* grew out of an organization to care for the sick and wounded. Soon the nurses became themselves warriors and knights. They took the monk's threefold vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and added a fourth, binding themselves to perpetual warfare against the infidel. The *Templars* arose in like manner out of a society to succor distressed pilgrims, and the name came

[1] Monasticism was so vital a part of medieval life that it gave birth to new forms to meet new needs. To meet the needs of the new towns, there grew up the Friar movement (§ 230), — a development of *missionary monks;* and the crusades produced these orders of *fighting monks.*

KINGDOM OF ARMENIA
COUNTY OF EDESSA
Edessa
Tarsus
Aleppo
Euphrates
Antioch
PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH
DOMINION OF ATABEKS
(Mohammedans)
Apamia
ASSASSINS
CYPRUS
Tortosa
COUNTY OF TRIPOLI
Tripoli
EMIRATE OF DAMASCUS
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Turon
Hattin
Acre
Tiberias (Galilee)
Nablus
Jaffa
Ibelin
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Bethlehem
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
Kerak
Montreal
FATIMITE CALIPHATE
THE CRUSADING LATIN STATES IN SYRIA
DURING THE
TWELFTH CENTURY
(AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT)
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

from the fact that the eight or nine knights who originally composed the organization dwelt in a house near Solomon's Temple. The *Teutonic Order* grew out of the hospitality of a German merchant toward his needy countrymen in Jerusalem.

Effigies of Knights Templar, from funeral slabs in the Temple Church, London. The crossing of the legs in a funeral sculpture indicated a crusader.

248. The crusades were a continuous movement. From about 1100 to about 1300 there was constant fighting between Christian and Mohammedan in the East, and during all this time bands of nobles from various quarters kept going off to join the war. During the four years of the "First Crusade" the chroniclers estimated that the original army of 300,000 received reinforcements amounting in all to over a million men.

No doubt these figures were exaggerations. But the fact remains that Europe, which in the ninth century had been so defenseless against plundering bands of Norse or Saracens, had now grown strong enough to pour a ceaseless stream of mailed knights into Asia for two hundred years.

At eight particular times there were especially important movements of mighty armies into Asia. These expeditions are known as the eight crusades. But this numbering of a few great expeditions must not make us forget the continuous character of the movement as a whole.

249. The Second and Third Crusades. — For nearly fifty years the new Latin states, reinforced by the annual streams of

pilgrim-crusaders, kept the Mohammedan from the Holy Land. Finally, however, the enemy began to gain ground again, and in 1147 Europe was alarmed by the fall of Edessa, the foremost outpost of the Christian power in Syria. St. Bernard, a famous French abbot (§ 278), at once preached another great crusade. The Emperor Conrad III and King Louis VII of France were persuaded to lead the expedition. This *Second Crusade* failed miserably, from bad generalship and ignorance; but the crusaders left by it in Palestine enabled the Christian states there to make head, for a time, against the enemy.

Forty years later, the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin[1] called Europe again to arms. The Christian states in Palestine had been reduced to a mere strip of coast; but now the great sovereigns of Western Europe — *Frederick Barbarossa* of Germany, *Philip II* of France, and *Richard* of England — united in a mighty effort for the recovery of the Holy Land. This *Third Crusade* is the best known and the most romantic of the whole series; but it failed, because of the death of Barbarossa (§ 227) and the jealousies between the French and English kings.

250. The Latin Empire at Constantinople. — The true crusading era closed with the Third Crusade. The failure of that movement, it is true, at once called forth another effort, but *the Fourth Crusade was diverted from its purpose into a commercial war upon a Christian state.* Venice furnished the ships for the expedition; and her rulers, jealous of Constantinople's monopoly of the eastern trade, persuaded the crusaders to attack the Greek Empire.

For a time that venerable empire disappeared, and the crusaders shared the booty among themselves. Venice took half the old imperial territory, mostly islands and coast regions. Various petty fragments were made into Frankish

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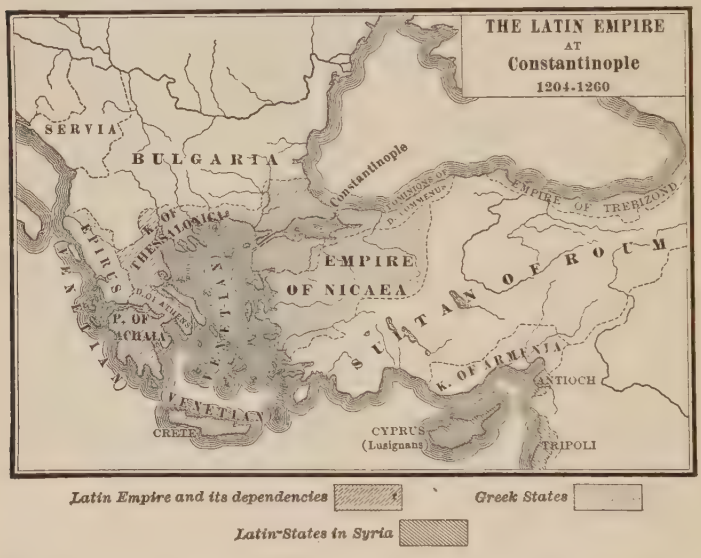
[1] Special report: character and work of Saladin. Lane-Poole's *Saladin* is a readable account.

principalities, like the "Duchy of Athens."[1] And *a "Latin Empire" was set up at Constantinople (1204).*

Long wars followed between this Frank, or "Latin," state and the remnants of the Greek power. This, of course, still called itself "Roman,"—so that we read for a time of the wars of the "Latins" against the "Romans." Fifty years later, in 1261, the Greek Empire at Constantinople was



restored. It was to endure two centuries more, but it never recovered its former vigor. The Fourth Crusade, in its greedy attack upon this ancient champion of Christendom in the East, was a crime against the cause of the crusades.

251. The later crusades are of minor consequence. Their military operations were carried on largely in Egypt, which had become a chief center of Mohammedan power. After

[1] It was the brilliant court of these *medieval* "Dukes of Athens" that Chaucer and Shakspere had in mind in their references to *ancient* Athenian history. Cf. "Duke Theseus," in a *A Midsummer Night's Dream.*

a terrible loss of life in the Fifth and Sixth Crusades, the Emperor Frederick II recovered Jerusalem by peaceful negotiation (1230), but it was soon lost again to the Turks. Then, in 1249, Louis IX of France organized the Seventh Crusade. This attempt came to nothing; and the crusading spirit expired with another expedition, twenty years later, in which Louis died at Tunis.

Before 1300, the last territory of the Latins in Syria had fallen finally to the Turks, and thereafter men who still wished to fight for the Cross went to aid the Christian princes in Spain against the Moors, or warred against the heathen on the northeast of Europe. The Teutonic Order took up the conquest and settlement of heathen Prussia, so laying the foundation for the greatness of a future German state (map after page 248). The Knights of St. John withdrew to Rhodes, where in constant warfare, for two hundred years more, they formed the outpost of Christendom against Mohammedanism.

252. The Tartar Invasions. — Toward the close of the crusading age, Europe was threatened for a time by a greater peril than the Turks. About 1200, a great military leader appeared among the *heathen* Tartars of Asia. Taking the title *Genghis Khan* (Lord of Lords) he organized the scattered nomad tribes into a terrible fighting machine, and set out to conquer the world. The ancient Scythian and Hunnish invasions were repeated upon a larger scale and with greater horrors. Genghis turned fertile countries into deserts and populous districts into tombs, marked by enormous pyramids of blackened corpses.

He conquered China, northern India, and Persia, while his son invaded Europe. In 1223 the rising Christian state of Russia was crushed, and the Mongol empire reached from Peking and the Indus to Crimea and the Dnieper.

The death of the Great Khan (1227) recalled his son to Asia, but, ten years later, the assault on Europe was renewed. Moscow was burned, and northern Russia became a tributary province; Poland and Hungary were ravaged and conquered. Half of Europe became Tartar, and these new Huns even crossed the Danube. In vain did Emperor Frederick II appeal for aid to the rest of Christendom. A German army inflicted a slight check upon the invaders; but again *Western Europe was saved only by the death of a Mongol emperor.* Soon afterward the vast Tartar realm fell into fragments, and the pressing danger passed away.

Parts of Asia have hardly yet recovered from the ravages of the conquest. The whole subsequent development of Russia has felt its baleful influence; and for three centuries a Tartar state, the Golden Horde, maintained itself in Southern Russia. The escape of Western Europe, through no great merit of its own, is one of the supremely fortunate events in history.

253. The crusades ceased because they themselves had helped to create a new age. The Europe of 1300 was a different world from the Europe of 1100. Great questions at home of general interest to all Christendom, — like the investiture conflict, — had filled men's minds; and each country had its special deep interests — like the development of parliament and of courts in England. Trade had grown vastly, and society was not composed so exclusively of fighters. Men had begun to believe less in the saving value of pilgrimages to distant shrines; and they had learned to think more of their duties to the world about them.

This last is well shown in a story told by Joinville in his *Life of St. Louis* (§ 143). Joinville came of a family of famous crusaders. He had accompanied Louis IX on the Seventh Crusade, and had persisted in continuing it after all the other counselors of the king had advised return. But when Louis made his second expedition, Joinville stoutly refused to go at all. Louis urged him to join, — "Whereto I replied that while I was serving God and the king beyond sea before, the officers of the king [Louis] had ruined myself and impoverished my people; and that if I wished now to please God I should remain here to defend my people; *for if I risked myself for the Cross, when I saw clearly that it would be for the damage of my people, I should bring down upon me the wrath of God*, who gave his life to save His people. . . . And I considered that those committed a deadly sin who advised him to that voyage."

III. RESULTS

254. Intellectual Results. — The crusades failed to recover the Holy Land, but they did check the advance of the Turks into Eastern Europe, and their *indirect* results to Western

Europe were vastly more important than the recovery of Palestine could have been. They brought new energies into play, and opened up new worlds of thought. The intellectual horizon widened. Men gained acquaintance with new lands, new peoples, new manners, and new standards of conduct. Even among the Arabs they had found men brave, just, honorable, and religious.

The crusaders brought back at once some new gains in science, art, architecture, and medical knowledge; and their romantic adventures furnished heroic subjects for the pen of poet and story-teller — so that literary activity was stimulated, and many histories of the crusades were written in monasteries. But, best of all, *Europeans had learned that there was more to learn*, and that even the despised infidel could teach them. There was a new stir in the intellectual atmosphere, and the way was prepared for the wonderful intellectual uprising of the following century (chapter xix).

255. Commercial Results. — As long as the Latin states in Syria lasted (nearly two hundred years), they were practically military *colonies, dependent upon Europe for weapons, horses, and supplies of food.* These things had to be transported by sea; and, after the Second Crusade, the crusaders themselves usually journeyed by ship. *This stimulated shipbuilding, and led to an increased production of many commodities for these new markets.*

Even more important was the reappearance in the West of long-forgotten Oriental products. Europeans now learned to use sugar cane, spices, dates, buckwheat, sesame, saffron, apricots, watermelons, oils, perfumes, and various drugs and dyes, and, among new objects of manufacture, cottons, silks, rugs, calicoes, muslins, damasks, satins, velvets, delicate glassware the cross-bow, the windmill.

Many of these things became almost necessaries of life. Some of them were soon grown or manufactured in Europe. Others, like spices, could not be produced there, and, in consequence, commerce with distant parts of Asia grew enormously.

In the absence of fresh meat in winter and of our modern root-foods, spices became of immense importance for the table. For a time, Venice and Genoa, assisted by their favorable positions, monopolized much of the new carrying trade; but all the ports of Western Europe were more or less affected. This commercial activity called for quicker methods of reckoning; and at this time Europe adopted the Arabic numerals.

256. Money replaces Barter.[1] — All these commercial transactions, as well as the fitting out of the crusades themselves, called for *money*. The system of barter and of exchange of services, by which Europe had lived for some centuries, was outgrown. Until this time the Jews had been the only money-lenders. Christians had regarded all lending for interest (usury) as sinful. Bankers now appeared, and more money was coined than in preceding centuries.

257. The crusades undermined feudalism. After the appearance of money, the relations between tenant and landlord no longer needed to rest upon exchange of *services* for land. Thus the economic basis of feudalism (§ 118) was destroyed. The presence of money, too, enabled the kings to collect national revenues, and so to maintain disciplined and regular standing armies, more efficient than the old feudal array.

But the crusades struck more direct blows than these. They swept away multitudes of the feudal lords themselves. Hundreds of thousands of barons and knights squandered their possessions in preparing for the expedition, and then left their bones in Palestine. This cleared the ground. It made it easier for the monarchies, on one hand, and the city democracies on the other hand, to take possession of Europe.

258. And the crusades helped these two new systems to grow up, to take the place vacated by dying feudalism. To get money wherewith to equip their followers for the crusades, the great barons mortgaged their possessions to the kings, and sometimes the smaller barons sold theirs outright. Both classes sold charters of rights to the rising towns on their domains.

[1] Cunningham, *Western Civilization*, II, 74–77; Adams, *Civilization*, 297.

Thus *the kings consolidated their dominions, and got rid of dangerous rivals;* and at the same time *the towns rose to political power.* Until the twelfth century there had been only two "estates," or political classes, in European society, — clergy and nobles. Now the townsmen appeared as a "third estate."[1] This "third estate" wanted order; and the kings could help to secure it. The kings wanted money; and the third estate could supply it. *So these two elements allied themselves* against the weakened remnants of the feudal system, and soon reduced feudalism to little more than a form. *It was succeeded, as a political system, by the free cities* (§§ 259 ff.) *and by the "new monarchies"* (§§ 287 ff.). A new nobility soon appeared, with the *title* and *honors* of the old, but without its power. The new nobles were dependent on the monarch, instead of being his rivals.

For Further Reading. — Three contemporary accounts are printed in the volume, *Chronicles of the Crusades.* Joinville's account in his *St. Louis* — one of the three narratives in that volume — is especially excellent. Further source material will be found in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, I and II, and Archer's *Crusade of Richard I* in the series, "English History by Contemporary Writers."

Modern accounts: Archer and Kingsford, *The Crusades* (probably the best account in English; especially good for the "Kingdom of Jerusalem"); Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 175–197, 295–304; Cox, *The Crusades;* Gray, *The Children's Crusade;* Gilman, *The Saracens;* Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, ch. xi; Adams, *Civilization*, ch. xi; Pears, *Fall of Constantinople;* Oman, *Byzantine Empire;* Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, 157–194; Lane-Poole, *Saladin;* Perry, *St. Louis*, 154–195, 284–296. See also footnote references above.

In fiction: Scott's *Talisman.*

Special Reports. — 1. The Third Crusade. 2. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. 3. The warfare of the crusaders (see Oman's *History of the Art of War*).

Exercise. — Catchword review of the crusades.

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[1] The peasantry did not yet count politically, but even they were benefited by the new conditions: the fact that they might be tempted to run away to the towns (which were always glad to afford them refuge) helped to secure them better treatment from their lords.

SIEGE OF A MEDIEVAL TOWN: the summons to surrender. — From a sixteenth century copper engraving.

CHAPTER XII

RISE OF THE TOWNS

259. The most important single result of the crusades was the impulse they gave to the growth of towns. *For nearly six hundred years,* before 1100, the three figures in European life had been *the tonsured priest, the mailed horseman,* and *the field laborer,* stunted with toil and hard fare. In the twelfth century, towns again became a large part of the life of Europe. Then, alongside priest, noble, and peasant, **there stood forth the sturdy, resolute, self-confident townsman, or burgher.**

260. Feudalism and the towns were foes by nature. Feudalism had arisen out of war, and lived to fight. The towns grew out of trade. They could, and did, fight stubbornly, when forced to do so; but they lived for industry. The noble tried to confound the townsman with the serf, treated him always with haughty contempt, and usually robbed him when the chance offered.

In England, noble and townsman were far less hostile than on the continent; but an event in England, as late as the time of Edward I (1300), shows this class war even there. The town of Boston was holding a great fair.[1] Citizens, of course, guarded its gates zealously against any hostile intruders, but an armed band of country gentleman (of the "noble" class) got through in the disguise of play actors. When darkness

Ruins of a Rhine Castle, above a modern town.

fell, they began their horrible work of murder and plunder. They fired every booth, slaughtered the merchants, and hurried the booty to ships ready at the quay. The horror-stricken people of other towns told how streams of molten gold mingled with rivers of blood in the gutters.

True, King Edward, under whose license the fair had been

[1] Large cities, at fixed times, held great fairs, lasting many days, for all the small places in the neighboring regions, — since the villages and small towns had either no shops or small ones with few goods. Merchants from all the kingdom — and, indeed, sometimes from all Europe, — journeyed to such fairs with their goods, to reap a harvest from the country folk who crowded about their booths. The town took toll for these booths, and usually itself paid king or noble a license fee for security.

promised protection, proved strong enough to hang the leaders of these "gentlemen." But in Germany, at the same period, like events followed one another in a horrible panorama, without attempt at punishment. The towns could shut out the "robber knights" by walls and guards. But from their castle crags the knights swooped down upon any unwary townsman who ventured too near, and even on armed caravans of traders on the highway, to rob and murder, or to carry off for ransom. Such unhappy captives were loaded with rusty chains that ate into the flesh, and were left in damp and filthy dungeons until sometimes their limbs rotted away — so that to "rot a peasant" became a German by-word.

Yet it was the "peasant" townsmen, not the knightly fighter, *who was to make our modern world what it has become.*

261. Beginnings. — *In Italy and southern France,* the old Roman towns had lived along, with shrunken population, subject to neighboring lords. Under the new impulse to trade, by 1200, these regions were once more dotted with prosperous self-governing cities, which modeled their institutions, in part at least, on those they had brought down from Roman times. *Elsewhere,* the towns were mainly new growths — from peasant villages or grim fortresses, under the influence of trade.

Most medieval towns were small, by our modern ideas. True, Milan, in Italy, counted 300,000 people; and some German towns claimed 50,000. But few places had more than from 3000 to 6000. Until the year 1500, England had only two towns with more than 12,000 — London and Bristol.

262. At first each inhabitant of a town remained directly dependent upon the feudal lord on whose domain the town was. **The first great advance toward freedom lay in changing this *individual* dependence into a *collective* dependence** of the citizen body as one whole. That is, the town secured the right to have its elected officers bargain with the lord regarding dues and services to be paid by the town, instead of each helpless citizen being left to settle for himself at the lord's mercy. The gain was immense — somewhat like that of the trade-

union of to-day, compared with the position of a single workman bargaining with a great employer.

263. Two Centuries of Revolt. — By 1100, towns had begun to demand this privilege, and to secure written charters from the lords, expressly guaranteeing it. Sometimes they got it easily, by payments of money; sometimes they won it by blood. *The two centuries from 1100 to 1300 are the period of "the revolt of the towns."*

In 1194 Norwich, in England, paid Richard the Lion-Hearted about $ 10,000 in our values for "having the city in their own hands." In particular, the charter promised (1) that citizens should not be summoned to any law court outside the gates; (2) that they might elect their own Provost (mayor); and (3) that, in place of dues collected by royal officials, they might pay the king each year from the town treasury £ 108.

Gate of Aigues Mortes, a French town which won a liberal charter in 1246.

On the continent, more commonly, a town rose in arms five or six or a dozen times, and suffered terrible martyrdom, before gaining such success. The smaller nobles, in particular, fought savagely to keep all their feudal privileges. In the long conflict, cities were burned and ravaged; and countless heroic leaders of the townsmen swung in chains from the nobles' gallows, or dragged out a more lingering death in dungeons.

Nor did one victory for a town end the matter. The first charter was usually brief and vague — and so became the occasion for later struggles to obtain more precise and extensive grants. Many a medieval town guarded carefully several successive charters in its ironbound town chest.

The great lords felt less jealous of the towns' liberties; and kings sometimes gave charters willingly, to encourage the

growth of towns on their domains, partly to secure increased revenues, partly to build up a check upon the feudal lords. Then we have noted that, in the long conflict between emperors and popes, both parties sold liberties freely to rising towns. And during the crusades, great numbers of lords sold charters recklessly, to get funds for their expeditions; while the towns found even more advantage in the destruction of countless noble families in those movements. So, in one way or another, by 1300, by stubborn heroism and by the wealth which their industry had heaped up, the towns had won.

264. Town life showed new wants, new comforts, new occupations. Thatched hovels, with dirt floors, gave way to comfortable and even stately burghers' homes. Universal misery and squalor among the industrial classes were replaced, for a large part of the population, by happy comfort; and there followed a lavish expenditure for town halls and cathedrals and for civic feasts and shows.

Still, the medieval European city fell far behind the ancient Greek or Roman city or the contemporary Arabian city. There were no street lights at night, no city water supply, no sewerage, no street-cleaning, no paving. The necessity of inclosing the town within lofty stone walls crowded it into small space, so that streets were always narrow and dark. Dead animals rotted in these streets, and on one occasion in the fifteenth century a German emperor, warmly welcomed in a loyal city, was almost swallowed up, horse and rider, in the bottomless filth, as he entered the city-gate. Frankfort, in 1387, found it necessary to forbid the building of pigsties in the public streets; and Ulm a little later was troubled by swine running loose.

Within doors, too, the material prosperity was not for all. Says Dr. Jessopp, "The sediment of the town population was a dense slough of stagnant misery, squalor, famine, loathsome disease, and dull despair." There was no adequate police system, and street fights were constant. At night, no well-to-do citizen stirred abroad without his armor and his guard of

OLD STREET IN ROUEN, present condition. The Cathedral is visible at the opening of the street into the square. Probably the appearance of the street has changed little since the fourteenth century.

stout apprentice lads; and he was always compelled to fortify and guard his house.

The citizen, too, however safe from feudal tyranny, lived in bondage to countless minute and annoying, but necessary, town regulations. When the great bell in the town belfry or watchtower rang the "curfew" at night, he must "cover his fire" and put out all lights, — a precaution against conflagration which was particularly necessary because of the closely crowded, narrow streets, and the absence of fire companies and police. He could plant in his garden no more than a specified number of trees. His clothing, and his wife's ornaments must be no richer than those prescribed for his particular station in society. Above all, he must serve his oft-recurring turn as "watch" in the belfry tower, on the walls, at the gates, or in the streets at night.

265. Gilds. — The people of a town, except the unskilled laborers, were grouped in *gilds*, as in old Roman times (§ 29). The idea of the gild was that all men in the same kind of work in a given district ought to unite, to help one another and to arrange matters in which they were all interested. Each medieval town had its *merchant gild* and its many *craft gilds*. These latter were unions of artisans, — weavers, shoemakers, glovers, bow-makers, drapers, tanners, and so on. York, a small English city of some two or three thousand people, had fifty such gilds. Cologne had eighty. Even the homes of a gild were grouped together. One street was the street of the armorers; another, of the goldsmiths; and on on.

Each craft gild contained three classes of members, — masters, journeymen, and apprentices. *The master* owned a shop, — probably part of the house where his family lived, — and employed one or more journeymen, besides a band of apprentices.

Strictly, *apprentices* were not members of the gild, except in prospect, but they were governed by its rules. They were boys or youths bound out by their parents for a term of years to learn the trade. They lived in the master's house, ate at

his table, and he furnished their clothing and taught them "all he knew."

On the expiration of the term of service (three, seven, or ten years), the apprentice became *a free journeyman*, working for wages. For the next few years he traveled from place to place, practising his trade in various cities, to see the world and to perfect himself in his "mystery," as the secrets of the trade were called.

If he could save the small amount of money needed, he finally set up a shop of his own and became a master. As a master, he continued to work with his own hands, living among his dependents with a more or less paternal care over them.

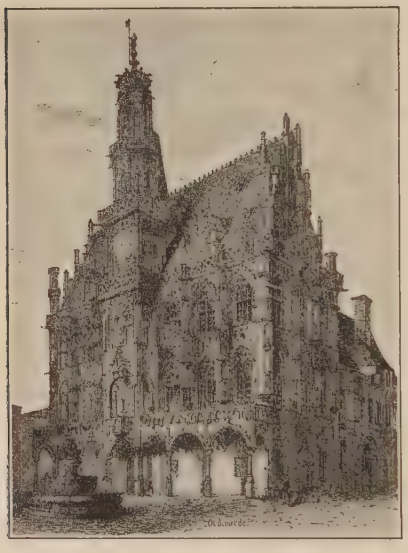
The modern separation between capital and labor had not yet begun, so far as the skilled trades were concerned. Manufacturing was still carried on wholly by hand labor; and the tools of the artisan were like those simple instruments that had been used in ancient Egypt or Chaldea.

The gild was not organized, as the modern trade-union is, to regulate the relations of workmen to employers. It was a *brotherhood*, containing both workmen and employers. Its purposes were (1) to prevent competition (and so all who practised the trade were forced to enter the gild and abide by its rules); (2) to prevent monopoly of materials or of opportunity by any of its members (and so each "brother" had a right to share in any purchase by another, and no one could sell except at appointed times and places); (3) to keep up the price (which was fixed by the gild); and (4) *to maintain a high standard of goods* (and so the gild punished severely all adulterations, the mixing of poor wool with good, and the giving short weight). *Thus the gild aimed to protect both producer and consumer.*

The gild was also a fraternal insurance society: it provided assistance for a needy member, attended to the burial of a deceased member, and, if he died poor, paid pensions to his wife and children and the dowry for his daughter's marriage. Moreover, the gild had social features. Indeed, many a gild

originated as a social club for men engaged in the same trade, and throughout the Middle Ages the gild feasts were the chief social event in the lives of the gild members.

266. A mighty *political* change, also, followed the rise of towns. The townsmen became a "third estate" in government. We must not, however, think of them yet as "the people" of a nation, in the modern sense. They were only one more "class" risen from the unreckoned mass, to stand beside the smaller but higher classes, priests and knights. *Society continued for centuries to be organized in classes*, not as one people; and the new "third estate" looked down upon the mass of unskilled workmen and farm peasants with the same bigoted and cruel contempt with which it was itself regarded by the nobles.[1] So far as the burghers fought for popular liberty, they did so unconsciously. They *thought* only of their own liberties; and their spirit was as narrow and jealous as that of any feudal lord.



Medieval Town Hall, Oudenarde.

Even within a city, political rights, like material comforts, were only for a part of the inhabitants, — the traders and the skilled artisans. Unskilled laborers had no share in the government of the city.

Moreover, the merchants and the artisans were mutually jealous; and for two centuries (1200–1400), in city after city,

[1] See an excellent statement in Adams' *Civilization*, 305-307.

the aristocratic merchant gild struggled in ferocious civil war to shut out the more democratic craft gilds from the city government. At Magdeburg in 1302 the democratic party, securing the upper hand, burned ten aristocratic aldermen at the stake at one time.

267. English towns grew up later than those on the continent. They found the royal authority more firmly established; and so, like the English nobles, they never possessed the extreme independence common elsewhere in Europe.

TORTURE BY WATER, a method used in medieval towns. See footnote. This particular form of torture to compel confession survived to recent times in the Spanish Philippines, and was adopted by American soldiers there in the barbarous warfare with the natives.

Each town, however, built its walls and armed and trained its citizen-militia to defend them. It elected its own officers, and prescribed their powers. Royal officers could not enter its gates without permission from the town authorities, and they could exercise no *direct* control within its walls. The towns-folk paid a tax to the government, and they furnished troops, upon occasion; but both tax and troops they levied in their own way. Offenses committed within the town were tried in the mayor's court, and were punished by ducking in the pond, by fines, flogging, mutilation, beheading, or by hanging in chains on the town gallows at the city gate.[1] The town passed ordinances on many matters now regulated by the nation. They did not fix their own weights and measures, or coin

[1] On the continent the city authorities sometimes exposed criminals in iron cages, pulled away the flesh of blasphemers with red-hot tongs, and boiled forgers in oil, pouring in cold water, from time to time, that death might no come quickly.

their own money, as continental towns commonly did; but the English town magistrates supervised all industry, and, in particular, they looked after the making and sale of food stuffs — bread, meal, ale, wine, meat, fish — fixing quality, time and place of sale, and price. It was their special duty to guard against a season of scarcity by collecting grain in the town's warehouses. This custom, too, prevailed on the continent. In 1540, at Nuremberg, the Emperor Charles V (§ 326) was given bread to taste, made from wheat that was said to have been kept in the town granary 118 years.

Each English town, too, fixed and collected its own tariffs on goods brought through its gates; and the *Cinque Ports* (a league of five towns on the Channel) waged war on their own account with French and Flemish towns. It was customary, too, for one town to make special treaties with others regarding trading privileges. Southampton had formal treaties with seventy other English towns; and, within twenty years, London sent three hundred letters on such matters to the officials of ninety different towns.

268. Italy showed the greatest degree of town independence (§ 226). But, before 1350, most of the cities there had sunk under the rule of "tyrants," who found their opportunity in the incessant wars between town and town. Florence, with her stirring democracy, kept her freedom until after 1400; and, indeed, she kept the forms of freedom, under her *Medici*[1] rulers, for nearly a century more. And *Venice*, under her aristocratic government, built up a mighty maritime empire, like that of ancient Carthage or of Athens, and stood forth as one of the chief Powers in Europe.

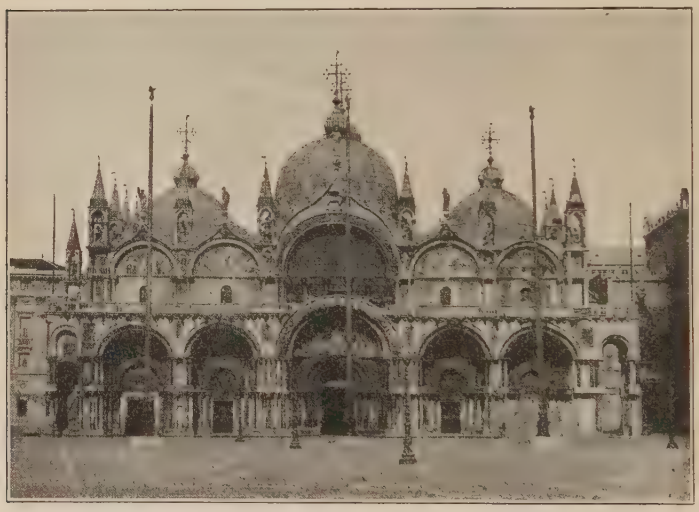
269. In France the southern towns were for a time almost as independent as those in Italy, and many of those in the north secured greater liberties than were known in England. However, when the French kings were finally victorious over feudalism, they perfected the consolidation of the realm by

[1] Special reports: the Medici rule in Florence; famous Florentines from 1250 to 1500; Venice from 1000 to 1500.

THE DUCAL PALACE, VENICE, facing the Square of St. Mark's.

bringing the towns completely under their authority. Thus, before 1400, after a shorter life than elsewhere in Europe, the early liberties of French towns had wholly disappeared, and they were ruled by royal officers.

270. In Germany, after 1250 (§ 234), many towns secured liberal charters directly from the emperors, and became known as "free cities of the Empire." Like the German principali-



ST. MARK'S, VENICE, from a photograph; perhaps the most famous example of "Byzantine architecture," which was based upon the Romanesque, and modified by Gothic and Saracenic influences. Note the use of domes and minarets. See also the *Ducal Palace* on page 245.

ties, they were really sovereign states. Most of them belonged to one of two great leagues: —

The Confederacy of the Rhine numbered some fifty of the leading towns of *southern* Germany. It was organized for defense against the nobles, and for a time it seemed likely to secure a position equal to that of the great princes. This brilliant promise was ruined by a victory of the princes over the League at the battle of *Döffingen* (1388), but many of the sep-

arate towns retained their independence into the nineteenth century.

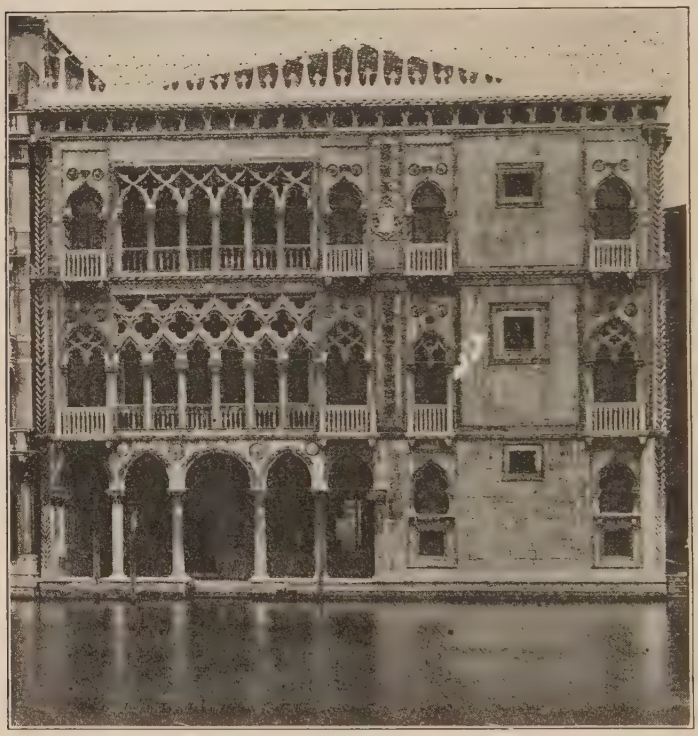
The Hanseatic League ("Hansa," — an old German word for "union") was composed of eighty *northern* German towns. It grew up about 1300, out of earlier unions of small groups of cities; and it was organized, not for political purposes, like the Lombard and the Rhine Leagues, but to protect trade

Interior of Hall of Merchant Princes at Dantzig. Originally a Hall of the Teutonic Knights (about 1300). — From Lübke.

against pirates and robbers, and to secure greater advantages in foreign countries than single cities could secure for themselves.

It established colonies, or "factories," in foreign cities, as in London, Novgorod, Bergen, Bruges, and Wisby. Each such colony had its own government and its own soldiery, independent of those of the other parts of the city in which it was imbedded. The Hanseatic settlement in London was known as the *Steelyard*. The importance of the Hansa in English trade is indicated by the fact that the coin (pound)

of the "Easterlings" (from the East, or Baltic, Sea), became the "pound sterling" in English currency; and the trustworthy character of their wares is shown by the meaning of the word "sterling" in our language.



Ca d' Oro, a Venetian Palace built in the thirteenth century.

By war, or threats of war, the Hansa won trading privileges from the kings of England and other northern countries. In 1370 Waldemar of Denmark was compelled after long strife to sign the *Peace of Stralsund*, which provided that future Danish kings must have the sanction of the League before they mounted the throne. For a century the League was one

DOMINIONS OF THE HANSA AND OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT.
(About 1400.)
Hansa towns are shown thus:- Groningen
Foreign Factories of the League thus:- Bruges
Cities in which the League, or some of its members, possessed trading privileges thus:- Yarmouth
TERRITORY OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER.
1309.
Added up to 1410.
NORTH SEA
(WEST SEA)
NORWAY
DENMARK
England
Bergen
Opslo
Aalborg
Elsinore
Copenhagen
Roskilde
Kalundborg
ZEALAND
FÜNEN
Svendborg
Flensburg
Kiel
Rostock
Lübeck
Wismar
Stade
Buxtehude
Hamburg
Bremen
Lüneburg
Pritzwalk
Ulzen
Seehausen
Salzwedel
Stendal
Hanover
Brunswick
Minden
Hameln
Helmstedt
Magdeb
Hildesheim
Goslar
Halberstadt
Einbeck
Göttingen
Aschersleb
Halle
Mersebu
Groningen
Stavoren
Zwolle
Deventer
Osnabrück
Herford
Lemgo
Höxter
Warburg
Paderborn
Dortmund
Duisburg
Cologne
Neuss
Roermond
Venlo
Wesel
Nimwegen
Antwerp
Ghent
Bruges
Ypres
Sluys
Middleburg
Zierikzee
Briel
Dordrecht
Amsterdam
Kampen
Elborg
Harderwijk
Arnheim
Zutphen
Koesfeld
Münster
Bielefeld
Soest
Dinant
Maas R.
Rhine R.
Scheldt R.
Seine R.
Paris
Dieppe
Harfleur
Norwich
Yarmouth
Ipswich
London
Rochester
Canterbury
York
Hull
Grimsby
0
5
10
60
55
50

15
20
25
30
60
55
50
Abo
Gulf of Finland
Neva R.
Reval
Esthland
1346
Novgorod
Stockholm
DAGO
Dorpat
Pernau
Pskof
ÖSEL
Livland
1237
L. Wettern
Wenden
Wisby
Windau
Riga
Kurland
Mitau
Dvina R.
Dünaburg
Polotsk
Vitebsk
Kalmar
1384
Memel
Niemen R.
Kovno
BORNHOLM
Konigsberg
Rudau
Rügenwalde
Oliva
Braunsberg
Stolp
Danzig
Elbing
Marienburg
Kolberg
Pomerania
1310
Dirschau
Prussia
Grodno
Kammin
Gollnow
Löbau
Kulm
Kulmerland
Stargard
Thorn
1328-43
Bug R.
Pripet R.
Vistula R.
Frankfort
Kalisz
Oder R.
Breslau
Krakow

of the Great Powers of Europe. The Hansa flag floated over nearly every merchant ship of the northern seas and over nearly every counting house from London to Novgorod. The League owned fisheries and mines; and in their trading posts there met, for exchange, furs and hides from Russia, grain from Poland, amber from the Baltic coasts, metals of Saxony, wines of the Rhine, wool and tin of England, cloths of Holland, and the more distant products of the South and East.

As the other northern countries developed, the Hansa lost its preëminence and its special privileges. Some of its cities, however, remained sovereign states until late in the nineteenth century; and three of them — Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck — entered the present German Empire, when it was formed in 1871, on equal terms with the other confederating states.

271. City Leagues. — For a time, in the thirteenth century, it must have seemed possible that Europe would give up its feudal life for city life, and become an enlarged copy of ancient Greece. The Lombard League defeated the great Barbarossa. The Confederacy of the Rhine claimed equality with the princes of the Empire. In southern France the cities predominated over feudalism. In the rising Christian states in Spain, the towns were among the freest in Europe, and were bound together in a Holy League to resist feudal encroachment. Even in England, an early beginning of such a league was to be seen in the alliance of the Cinque Ports (§ 267). In distant Russia, great cities, like Novgorod, Vladimir, Kief, and Moscow, had grown up, where the ringing of the town bell called thousands of citizens to arms, to prescribe terms to princes. And the Hanseatic League was beginning to dominate the coasts and waters of the northern seas.

Most of these unions, however, were short-lived. The cities did not become the *sole* political force, like cities in Ancient Greece. This was well. Medieval cities, like Greek cities, could not of themselves alone afford a *permanant* basis for order and liberty. It was a good thing that Europe did not pass too

rapidly into the city stage, but moved instead toward that larger *national* life which ancient Greece never reached.[1]

For Further Reading. — Source material: town charters and gild rules are given in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, II, No. 1. Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 57, gives some twelfth century charters.

Modern accounts: brief statements of great value are to be found in Adams, *Civilization*, 290–310; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 57–95; Green, *English People*, I, 206–225; Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce*, I, 197–214; Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, I, 181–202; Zimmern, *The Hansa Towns;* Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, 520–540. On gilds, — Robinson's *Readings*, I, 409–412.

Special Reports. — 1. Mystery plays as presented by the gilds. 2. The Hansa and the herring fishery. 3. Fairs in the Middle Ages (see Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History*, 75–79, or Cutts' *Scenes and Characters in the Middle Ages*, 506–508).

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[1] *Ancient World*, § 268.

CHAPTER XIII

LEARNING AND ART IN THE FEUDAL AGE

I. SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

272. The "Dark Ages" of Europe covered six centuries, from the Teutonic invasions to the Crusades. We have noted that the old Roman schools and learning vanished during the invasions of the fifth century. There was a brief gleam of promise in the time of Charlemagne, and some remarkable English and Irish schools[1] flourished just before him, and again, a little later, in the day of Alfred. But these were points of light in a vast gloom. On the whole, from 500 to 1100, the only schools were those connected with monasteries or cathedrals, and these aimed only to fit for the duties of the clergy. Much of the time, even this important task was performed poorly. King Alfred was not the only reformer who complained of priests who could not read the services they mumbled by rote (§ 107).

The best Cathedral schools claimed to teach the "seven liberal arts" of the ancient classical education (§ 18). They did teach students to talk a barbarous medieval sort of Latin, and gave some practice in *writing it* and in *reasoning*. This instruction was a shrunken survival of the Roman **trivium**, *Language, Rhetoric, and Logic.* Even slimmer was the pretense to teach the Roman **quadrivium** of sciences. As a great American scholar has summed it up (Dr. Dana Munro, *Middle Ages*), — "In *arithmetic* the students were taught to keep simple accounts; in *music*, what was necessary for the church services;

[1] These schools offer an excellent topic for a special report by a bright student, especially if he has access to Zimmern's *Irish Culture*.

in *geometry*, a few of the simplest problems; in *astronomy*, enough to calculate the date of Easter."

There was *no study of nature*, and there were almost no textbooks. There was no inquiry and no criticism or discussion. The teacher dictated (in Latin) dry summaries, word by word. Students wrote these down and committed them to memory for recitation. Such schools could not *advance* learning; but they did *keep alive some desire for it.*

273. About 1100, Europe began to stir from its long torpor of the intellect. *The new towns set up lay schools*, to train for business and trades. These schools taught reading, writing, a little arithmetic, and geography; and they *taught*, not in Latin, but *in the "vernacular"* (the speech of the people). That is, they sought to bring education to greater numbers and to fit it to the needs of daily life.

At first, the *church schools* made little change in their courses, but their spirit improved. The teachers began to draw some real scholarship from Arabian universities at Cordova and Alexandria and from the Greek learning that still lingered at Constantinople; *and here and there they ventured to add lectures on new subjects*, — theology, medicine, law.

Soon the crusades added tremendously to the intellectual awakening; and **the result of all these impulses was the medieval university.**

274. One of the earliest universities, and the most famous of them all, **was the University of Paris.** The Cathedral of Notre Dame there had been famous for its school for fifty years; but that school began to grow into a university when *Peter Abelard* taught there, *about 1115*.

Abelard was from a noble family in Brittany, but he chose the life of a churchman rather than that of a knight. He was an attractive youth, with a brilliant and restless mind, and the gift of simple and graceful speech. He came to the Paris school as a student; but his teachers soon declared him their master in learning and in eloquence, and at twenty-two he began to lecture to eager crowds on theology and philosophy

and the principles of right living. A cruel disappointment in love, and the jealous hatred of intellectual rivals, drove him from Paris. Thousands of students followed him, however, from place to place; and when he sought solitude for a time, as a hermit, they covered the desert about him with their tents and reed huts, and heaped their offerings before his retreat.

Such an experience proved that Europe was hungry for knowledge, if only it knew where to seek for it. The impulse Abelard had given to the school at Paris was not lost. Other teachers flocked thither, to satisfy the remaining students whom his fame had drawn together; and soon a new body of teachers in theology and philosophy, as well as in the seven "arts," grew up about the Cathedral school, *but wholly separate from it.* Before 1150, several hundred "masters" were offering instruction in the "Latin Quarter" of Paris. At first each taught students who came to him in his *own dwelling*, collecting his fees from them as best he could; but about 1150, the masters organized, so as to confer degrees and to establish common rules. *This marks the beginning of a definite "University of Paris,"* with a recognized "faculty." Before long, the university began to have buildings and lecture halls.

SEAL OF THE PICARDY NATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, fourteenth century.

The students ranged from boys of fourteen to gray-bearded men, and they came from all parts of Europe. Those from one country grouped themselves together for mutual protection and companionship; and each such group became known as a "nation." A "nation," however, sometimes included students from several adjoining

countries, — like the "English nation," which contained men from all the north of Europe. There were four "nations" at Paris, each with several subdivisions. The government of the university as a whole was in the hands of the faculty; but there was some self-government by the students. The nations and subdivisions elected "deans" and "proctors" to look after discipline. The university was a "Republic of Letters."

When the teachers organized, *they copied the form of the gilds* (§ 265). The professors, or "doctors," were "masters." They licensed the more advanced students, after the completion of the course in "arts," as "bachelors in arts," authorized to teach the younger students in those courses from which they themselves had graduated. These bachelors corresponded to the journeymen of the trade gilds, while the more elementary students corresponded to apprentices. The forms of public examination, and of graduation from one of these three stages to another, were copied, too, from gild customs. Some of them survive in our universities to-day.

For nearly a century, the government of the University of Paris remained just this voluntary association of teachers and students, independent of the civil government and of the church. But many quarrels arose between students and townsfolk (the first "town and gown" rows, such as are described for a later period in *Tom Brown at Oxford*); and, in the year 1200, five students were killed in one of these fights. The faculty stood by the students, and threatened to remove the university. To prevent that disaster to the city, King Philip Augustus gave the university its first charter, making it a "corporation," — that is, a *person* in the eye of the law, — able to own property, and in this case, with extreme rights of self-government. The students were to be tried and punished for crimes only by university authorities, not by courts of city or king.

275. Other Universities. — "University" did not at first imply instruction in all forms of knowledge, as it has come to do. The term, as it was used in early charters, meant only "all of you"; and it became the common legal name for a

"corporation" of teachers and students. A university always had a course in "arts," based on the old *trivium* and *quadrivium*, and the majority of students went no further than this. But graduates of this course were offered one or more professional courses, — law, medicine, or theology.

Seal of the Faculty of Theology at Paris, fourteenth century.

Paris, we have seen, specialized in **theology** (which included philosophy). The *University of Salerno*, in southern Italy, grew out of a monastery school, through the prominence that *Constantine the African* gave there to the study of **medicine** about 1100. Constantine was an African Greek, who had studied in Arabian universities; and his school received charters of privileges from Robert Guiscard (§ 218). The five-years' medical course required a preparation of three years in "arts."

About the same time, at Bologna, Irnerius, a teacher of **Roman law**, drew students from all Europe. In 1158 Frederick Barbarossa confirmed this *University of Bologna* in the rights it had come to enjoy. "We owe," said Barbarossa's charter, "protection to all our subjects, but especially to those whose knowledge enlightens the world." Bologna was soon known as "the Mother of Laws." Thus it has been said that the needs of the body gave rise to Salerno, the needs of men in society created Bologna, and the eternal needs of the soul originated Paris.

276. State Universities. — The next great step was taken in 1224, when the Hohenstaufen Frederick II, as King of Sicily, *created* by charter the *University of Naples, to combine all*

branches of instruction, "in order that those who hunger for knowledge may find *within the kingdom* the food for which they yearn, and not be forced to go into exile to beg the bread of learning in strange lands." *The University of Naples was the first university* ***created*** *by a government.* It was also distinctly a "state university." The government appointed the professors, endowed chairs, and issued degrees in the different professions. The professors were free from taxes and from military service, and had many other privileges copied from those of the clergy and from those of the teachers in old Roman universities. Like privileges were secured soon by all university professors.

277. Summary. — The story of the University of Paris may stand for that of most other *early* universities. They did not come into existence at a precise moment. They were *voluntary* associations of teachers and students. They usually grew out of some church school, but they became lay schools, with the form of gilds. Slowly they took to themselves, by custom, many special privileges; and later these were confirmed to them by charters from kings or popes. Later still, enlightened rulers began to *create* new universities, as Frederick II did that of Naples, — until, before 1400, some *fifty universities dotted Western Europe.* Some single institutions claimed to have twelve, or even twenty, thousand students.

For a long time, a university had little in the way of buildings. Thus it could move easily; and, by threats of doing so, it compelled its town to put up with much student turbulence and crime. The great University of Padua did grow out of a secession from Bologna; and a like secession from Paris to Oxford in England first made that place a real university town.

When the university did not move, the individual students very commonly did. All medieval life was more *fluid* than we can easily comprehend. Merchants, soldiers of fortune, friars, journeymen, were always on the move; but *the poor scholar was the typical wanderer* of them all, often begging his

bread on his travels. Young men thought nothing of passing from Oxford to Paris or Bologna, to sit at the feet of some new famous teacher — and to see the world by the way; and often they traveled in considerable bands, with much jollity and song and sometimes with much disorder. The fact that Latin was the language of all universities encouraged this freedom of movement. Public stage coaches are said to have grown up to meet the needs of student travel.

Thus, before 1300, another figure had come into European life. Alongside peasant, knight, priest, and townsman, there moved now the student (or learned "doctor") in cap and gown. The lay lawyers in England (§ 183) in Edward the First's day came from this new class. Of all five, the townsman and the university man were the men of the coming day.

II. THE SCHOOLMEN

278. The University of Paris had *begun* in a spirit of fearless inquiry. Alone among the scholars of his time, Abelard dared to call man's reason the test of truth — even in the matter of church doctrines. He did not himself doubt those doctrines, so far as we know; but devout churchmen were alarmed at his method of teaching, which *invited* doubt. His chief opponent was *St. Bernard*, head of the famous monastery of Clairvaux. Not reason, he urged, but faith and love enable man to understand the ways of God. Man might not use his reason to ask whether or not a doctrine of the church was true, but, at most, only to understand *how* it was true, — to *confirm* the teachings of the church, but never to *question* them. This view prevailed. A church council condemned Abelard as a heretic, and his books were burned.

Bernard was a far better man than Abelard, and one of the most charming and lovely characters in history. His abilities and his holy life gave him an influence greater than that of any king or emperor of his day, living as he did between the time of Hildebrand and Innocent III. But his victory over Abelard cast the rising universities into chains. Teachers thereafter

did not appeal to reason as a guide in *any* matter, but always to authority, — in human matters as in religion. Some garbled parts of the science of Aristotle (a Greek of the fourth century B.C.) had been recovered through Arabian translations from the Greek, and they soon came to be regarded with superstitious reverence by all learned men. "Thus saith Aristotle" was as final an argument in science as "Thus saith the church" in religion.

The universities were captured wholly by this reverence for authority. They yielded to the spirit of the Middle Ages; and the intellectual rebirth of Europe was delayed two centuries more, — to come at last from outside their walls.

279. The universities took refuge in a method of reasoning called *scholasticism* (the method of the *schools*). It was the method we use in geometry, — *deducing* a truth from given premises or axioms. But this method is utterly barren, by itself, except in mathematics. It ignores observation and experiment and investigation, and it has never discovered a new truth in nature or in man. The schoolmen did not use it in mathematics. They could not use it in science. And so they turned in upon their own minds, and, from premises that had no relation to real things, they built up vast systems of *speculation*, amazingly constructed, but valueless for practical life.

At the same time, scholasticism had its good side. It was an admirable system of mental gymnastics. The schoolmen developed wonderful acuteness in drawing nice *verbal* distinctions. They have been sometimes ridiculed unjustly for *childishness* in discussing such questions as, How many spirits can dance at one time on the point of a needle. But in this discussion they were trying to decide the nature of space, — a question very far from childish. Their real fault was that they concerned themselves with such problems rather than with something that would have helped the world about them.

About the year 1600, Francis Bacon (an English thinker) referred to the "degenerate learning" that "did reign among the Schoolmen

. . . For if the wit of men . . . work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless and bringeth forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit."

280. The three great Schoolmen of the thirteenth century were *Albert the Great, Thomas of Aquino,* and *Duns the Scot.*

Albert (Albertus Magnus, died 1280) was a German Dominican who had studied at Bologna and at Paris. He mingled with his studies enough of curious speculation upon the properties of stones, plants, and animals to be accused of the "black art," but he taught positively that the blood of a stag would soften a diamond, without ever trying an experiment upon the matter.

Thomas Aquinas (died 1274) was an Italian Dominican, and a pupil of Albertus Magnus. He studied at Naples and Paris, and afterward lectured at Paris to immense audiences. He became known as "the angelic doctor." His great work summing up Christian theology is the most complete of all such published systems and is still looked upon as a standard authority.

Duns Scotus (died 1308) was among the last of the great Schoolmen. He was so popular that an able disciple was proud to be called "a Duns." When a better intellectual method arose, after the revival of Greek learning, the term became one of contempt. It survives in "dunce."

281. A Forerunner of the Scientific Method. — Some little science crept into Europe by 1200 from the Arabs, especially in astronomy and chemistry. But the astronomy was mostly astrology, — a system of telling fortunes by the stars. And chemistry was little more than a search for the "philosopher's stone" which should change common metals into gold, or for the elixir of life, a drink that should make a man immortal. And both astrologers and chemists, whether honest or quacks, were generally believed to have sold their souls to the devil in return for forbidden knowledge.

The thirteenth century, however, saw one attempt to study

nature in a scientific way. *Roger Bacon*,[1] an English Franciscan (died 1294), is sometimes called a Schoolman, but he spent his life in pointing out the lacks of the scholastic method and in trying to make clear the principles of true science. His "Great Work" was a cyclopedia of thirteenth-century knowledge in geography, mathematics, music, and physics.

He was a devoted student, working under difficulties incredible to us. Fourteen years he spent in prison, for his opinions. More than once he sought all over Europe for years for a copy of a book, when a modern scholar would need only to send a note to the nearest bookseller. He learned of the ocean east of China, and speculated convincingly upon the possibility of reaching Asia by sailing west into the Atlantic (§ 343). He knew much about chemical explosives, and is believed to have invented gunpowder. He is thought also to have used lenses as a telescope. Probably he foresaw the possibility of using steam as a motive power. Certainly he prophesied that in time wagons and ships would move "with incredible speed," without the help of horses or sails, and also that man would learn to navigate the air.

But Bacon lived at least a century too soon, and he found no disciples. In 1258 Brunetto Latini, the tutor of Dante, visited Bacon and wrote as follows to a friend in Italy: —

> Among other things he showed me a black, ugly stone called a magnet, which has the surprising quality of drawing iron to it; and if a needle be rubbed upon it and afterward fastened to a straw, so that it will swim upon water, it will instantly turn to the pole star. . . . Therefore, be the night never so dark, neither moon nor stars visible, yet shall the sailor by help of this needle be able to steer his vessel aright. *This discovery, so useful to all who travel by sea, must remain concealed until other times, because no master mariner dare use it, lest he fall under imputation of being a magician; nor would sailors put to sea with one who carried an instrument so evidently constructed by the devil.* A time may come when these prejudices, such hindrances to researches into the se-

[1] Roger Bacon, the thirteenth-century friar, must not be confused with Francis Bacon, his more famous but no more deserving countryman, of three centuries later.

crets of nature, will be overcome; and then mankind will reap benefits from the labor of such men as Friar Bacon, *who now meet only with obloquy and reproach.*

For Further Reading. — (1) *On Universities:* Sources: *Pennsylvania Reprints* (II, No. 3) and Ogg's *Source Book* (351–359) contain much interesting information concerning "the Medieval Student." Robinson's *Readings*, I, 438–461 has valuable matter on medieval learning. Modern accounts: Laurie's *Rise of Universities;* McCabe's *Abelard;* Jessopp's *Friars* (ch. vi, "The Building up of a University"); Mullinger's *Cambridge* (chs. i–iii); and Storrs' *Bernard.*

III. LITERATURE AND THE FINE ARTS

282. Until 1200, practically all writing in Western Europe was in Latin, and was therefore the possession of a small class. Knowledge belonged so exclusively to the clergy that a man had only to show ability to read in order to establish his right to "benefit of clergy" (§ 151). The only writers were monks, and the writings consisted almost exclusively of the lives of saints and of barren chronicles.

The chroniclers cared more about the acquisition of the wonder-working bones of some saint by a monastery, or the election of a new abbot, than about a great war or the coronation of a new monarch, while the deeper forces in a people's life they seem not to have thought of at all.

The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* has this entry for the important year of 1066 in England: "In this year King Edward died, and Earl Harold succeeded to the kingdom and held it forty weeks and one day. And in this year William came and won England. And in this year Christ Church was burned. And in this year a comet appeared."

283. Rise of Vernacular Literatures. — Latin continued long to be the chief language of *science and philosophy. But,* **about 1200,** *poets and story-tellers began to use the speech of the common people.* This had been done all along by the minstrels, who, as wandering adventurers or as retainers of some lord, formed a characteristic part of medieval life. But now there arose in various lands a popular poetry of a high order

Spanish ballad poets chanted the Song of the Cid (the national hero in the conflict with the Moors). In the language of northern France, the *trouveurs* celebrated the adventures of Charlemagne and Roland or of King Arthur and his Table Round. In the softer language of the south of France the *troubadours* sang of love, as did the *minnesingers* in Germany. Similar songs were written in the dialect of southern Italy at the Sicilian court of Frederick II (§ 231). In the north, the *Scandinavian poets* wove the ancient Norse ballads into a mighty epic, the *Heimskringla*, — as the Germans also had done with their early legends, in the *Nibelungen Lied*.

Church of Saint-Maclou at Rouen, fifteenth century.

England was backward, because of the new language imposed for a while by her Norman conquerors. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, it is true, which began in Alfred's day, did not quite die out until the close of Stephen's reign, and soon afterward rude popular songs celebrated the deeds of Earl Simon; but not until the fourteenth century did poetry of a high order awaken in that island. Finally, toward the close of the century, in the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer, "the Father of English Poetry," fused the Saxon and the Norman French into a literary English, while at almost the same time Wyclif (§ 295) *translated the Bible* into the speech of the people.

Rheims Cathedral. This beautiful building was badly damaged by German shells in 1914.

284. Medieval Painting.—Classical art had been as completely lost through the early Middle Ages as classical learning. *Medieval painting* existed only as the handmaid of religion. Monks "illuminated" missals and other religious books,—painting with tiny brushes in brilliant colors on parchment,—and they designed gay page borders and initial letters, sometimes with beauty and delicacy.

On a larger scale, the only paintings were rude altar pieces, representing stiff Madonnas and saints, in unnatural colors. The painters knew little of perspective; and even the flowing draperies which they used freely could not hide their ignorance of how to draw the human body.

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, from the southeast; built 1200–1250. The spire rises 404 feet from the ground.

285. Architecture, too, *until the twelfth century*, was relatively poor and rude. The style was the *Romanesque*, based upon old Roman remains and characterized by the *round arch*. But in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Romanesque gave way to a new French style, called *Gothic;* **and architecture**, especially in churches and cathedrals, **reached one of its greatest periods.**

At bottom, *the change lay in a better way of carrying the weight of the huge stone roof.* The early architects had done this by massive walls; but they dared not weaken these by cutting out large windows, and the buildings were dark and gloomy. The architect of the twelfth century was a better engineer, and he invented two new devices to carry the roof. (1) He *gathered*

A Page from the Wingfield Horae.

A manuscript made for the first Duke of Buckingham. This is a fine illustration of the elaborate way the medieval monks illuminated their manuscripts.

its weight at certain points — by using *converging* arches — instead of leaving the weight, as before, distributed equally along the whole length of the wall. And he rested these arches, at the points of convergence, on *groups of mighty pillars.* (2) To help these pillars bear the immense burden, he added *arched props* (flying buttresses) *against the outside of the wall* at the critical points. These met the *side thrust* of the roof's weight, and left only the direct vertical burden for the pillars.

The massive wall and round arch can be seen in the illustration of Norman architecture on page 153. The view of the Salisbury cloisters (page 266) will show in a very simple case how the roof was borne by converging arches resting on pillars. A more complicated illustration of this feature appears in the gildhall of the Dantzig merchants on page 247.

PART OF THE UPPER WALL OF NORWICH CATHEDRAL, showing flying buttresses. (See also Bath Abbey, in the background of the cut on page 21.)

As a consequence of these changes in engineering, Gothic architecture took on a wholly new appearance. It changed the old round arch into a lighter, more varied, and more graceful *pointed arch.* It used the old Greek *columns* with greater freedom and variety, — since the columns now did the work of walls to so great a degree. Rounded ceilings gave way to *loftier and curiously vaulted ceilings,* where the ribs of converging arches intersected one another in ingenious ways. The *tower* replaced the Roman dome; and heaven-pointing *spires* were added, borrowed perhaps from the Saracens. The weight of the roof was so well cared for that it was safe now to pierce the walls with row on row and group after group of *tall windows,* giving the building an effect of lightness and complexity. New chances for ornament, too, were found in the

tracery (openings in the stonework about doors and windows to reduce the weight), in the *moldings* of the many window frames, and in the use of *stained glass* — since there could now be windows enough to admit the necessary light even through darkened glass. Externally, the *flying buttresses* themselves were made into a strikingly beautiful architectural feature; and the niches about the portals were filled with *countless sculptured forms of saints.*[1]

SALISBURY CLOISTERS. Note the intersecting ribs of the vaulted ceiling (§ 285).

The total result was a new architecture, so different from the older styles as to permit no comparison. Gothic architecture is the most perfect product of the Middle Ages, and a Gothic Cathedral is one of the world's wonders to-day. Such buildings were the finest expression of the highest life of the time. They were "religious aspirations in stone."

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[1] The *general effect* of these rough sculptures is imposing, especially at a little distance; but a close inspection reveals a vast inferiority between them and the marble-sculptured forms of athletes in which ancient art had delighted. The medieval workman, however, made up, in a measure, for his lack of skill in sculpture and for the poorer material that he worked in (stone, not marble) by giving full play to a rude humor — as when perhaps he carved a monkey on a monk's back, clinging to his ears, or when he formed the quaint gargoyles through which the gutters of cathedral roofs discharged rain water.

PART II

FROM THE CRUSADES TO LUTHER

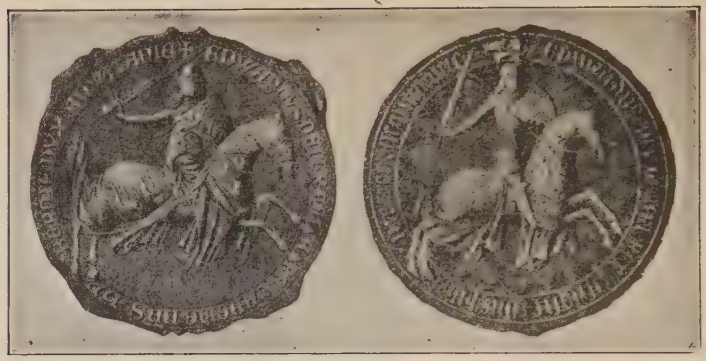
(The Age of the Renaissance, 1300–1520)

286. The Periods. — The five centuries from Charlemagne to 1300 we have treated as "the Age of Feudalism." The period falls naturally into two great parts.

From 814 to 1100 (to the opening of the Crusades) is a continuation of the "Dark Ages," which had seemed broken by the work of Charlemagne. The matters of moment in these gloomy three hundred years are the grim feudal system, the medieval church, the serf system of labor, the destructive strife between empire and papacy, and at the close, the Norman Conquest of England.

From 1100 to 1300 we find ourselves in a new atmosphere. It is convenient to call these two hundred years "the Age of the Crusades." But quite as much they were the age of the rise of towns and trade gilds, and of universities, of literature in the language of the different peoples, of Gothic architecture in cathedrals and town halls, of the growth of France out of feudal fragments into a kingdom, and of the rise of parliament and of national courts in England. True, Germany fell back into feudal turbulence; and the universities were captured by the barren spirit of scholasticism. Still, *the year 1100 is the threshold over which we pass from centuries of gloom to centuries of fruitful progress.*

Part II deals with two centuries of yet more rapid advance, which carry us well out of the Middle Ages into Modern life. Like the year 1100, *the year 1300 also is a milestone of progress.* In the two following centuries Europe, politically, passes from feudalism to modern *national states,* and intellectually finds a ***rebirth*** (Renaissance).



SEALS OF EDWARD III OF ENGLAND before and after the assumption of the arms of France (§ 288). On the seal to the right may by noticed the royal fleur-de-lis of France.

CHAPTER XIV

ENGLAND AND FRANCE

(DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES)

We left the story of England in § 188 with the accession of Edward III in 1327, and the story of France, in § 196, with the rule of Philip the Fair, which closed in 1314. *For the next hundred and thirty years, the stories of the two countries are intertwined.*

I. FIRST PERIOD OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

287. Opening of the Struggle. — When Edward III came to the throne (1327) most of England's old possessions in France were gone; but he was still Duke of Aquitaine — and, in name, a vassal of the French king for that province. Like Edward I, the third Edward strove strenuously — but vainly — to unite Scotland to England by arms; and the French king, continuing the old policy of Philip Augustus (§ 194), toward his too powerful vassal, gave aid to Scotland. Therefore, in 1338, Edward gladly seized the excuse to declare war on France. This was the beginning of the "Hundred Years' War," which lasted, with two truces, until 1453.

288. To strengthen his position Edward set up a fanciful claim to the French crown;[1] and from that time until the nineteenth century, each English king kept also the title "King of France." **But at bottom the war was commercial in purpose.**

ENGLISH LADY ON HORSEBACK.— From a fourteenth century manuscript in the British Museum.

1 2 3

FRENCH DRESS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY: 1. Middle class; 2. Lower class; 3. Noble lady.

England wanted markets for her products. In particular, her merchants wanted to *sell their wool* in the Flemish manufacturing

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[1] The following table gives the Capetian kings for this period, with dates of accession. See § 191 for the earlier Capetians.

Louis X	1314	Charles VI	1380
Philip V	1316	Charles VII	1422
Charles IV	1322	*Louis XI*	1461
Philip VI (Valois)	1328	Charles VIII	1483
John	1350	Louis XII	1498
Charles V (the Wise)	1364	*Francis I*	1515–1547

The first three were sons of Philip IV, and left no sons. The French nobles then chose Charles' cousin, Philip of Valois, for king. The mother of Edward III was a daughter of Philip the Fair. French law, however, did not recognize inheritance of the crown through females. And if it had, then, through other princesses, there were French nobles with better claims than Edward. Edward did not put forward his claim until after war had begun.

towns, and to *buy the famous Bordeaux wines* of Aquitaine. In that day every country shackled foreign merchants with restrictions and tolls; and the easiest way to get access to French markets seemed to be to conquer France.

289. The war was waged on French soil. The English gained brilliant victories, overran France repeatedly, and brought home much plunder. "No woman," says an English chronicler, "but had robes, furs, *featherbeds*, and utensils, from French cities." England was prosperous, too, in the early period of the war. The people felt none of its direct ravages — except for occasional raids by Norman pirates on the coast — and for many years they bore cheerfuly the cost of campaigns abroad.

290. The two great victories of this first period of the war were Crécy and Poitiers.

In 1346 Edward led an army through the north of France, ravaging crops, burning peasant villages, and turning the country into a blackened desert, to within sight of the walls of Paris, — in the usual fashion of warfare in those chivalrous days. Philip VI (less capable than most Capetians but a brave prince) gathered the feudal forces of France in an immense host to crush the invader. Edward retreated toward the coast, but was overtaken at Crécy by five times his numbers. The French might easily have annihilated his little army by shutting them off from supplies; but king and nobles thought only of instant vengeance on the invader, and charged at once, with headlong but blind valor.

Edward had drawn up his troops, less than sixteen thousand in all, on the slope of a hill, with a ditch in front to check the charge of horsemen. Behind the ditch stood the English bowmen, the main force of the army; and Edward even dismounted his few hundred men-at-arms to fight on foot among them and so strengthen their lines against a charge. This force, which was to meet the French onset, was placed under the command of the king's oldest son, the young Edward, known better as "*the Black Prince*," while King Edward, with a reserve, took stand higher up the hill.

The first charge of the French nobles seemed for a moment about to swallow up the little English army, and the young Edward sent to his father for reinforcement. But the king from his higher ground could see that all was going well. "Is my son dead, or unhorsed, or wounded? Then go back, and bid them not send to me again so long as he lives. Let the boy win his spurs, for, if God so please, I will that the honor of the day be his."

The honor really belonged to the English yeomen, — the men of the six-foot long-bow and heavy, yard-long shafts winged with feathers from gray-goose wings. The English free peasants were trained from childhood to draw "a mighty bow" — as English ballads called the national weapon — by "laying the body to it," when main strength, unskilled, could not have bent it. The archer shot nearly a quarter of a mile (four hundred yards), and drove his arrows through all ordinary iron armor; or, if the knight were clothed in "armor of proof" from Milan, he took deadly aim, at closer quarters, at openings for eyes and mouth, or at any exposed joint. Confident in their skill, the bowmen coolly faced the ponderously charging mass, pouring in their arrows, says a French chronicler, "wherever they saw the thickest press," and letting few French knights reach the English lines.[1]

The battle began toward evening. At dusk, the gallantest chivalry in Europe were in flight, leaving dead on the field twice the whole number of the English army. *The invincibility of the feudal horseman was gone.* Ten years later, the Black Prince, in sole command this time, repeated the victory at *Poitiers* against *seven times* the English numbers.

One chronicler of the day says that gunpowder was used at Crécy. The English, he reports, had several small "bombards" "which, with fire, and noise like God's thunder, threw little iron balls *to frighten the horses!*" Cannon certainly came into use about this time; but the first ones were made by fastening bars of iron together with hoops; and the

[1] Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 76, gives Froissart's description of Crécy.

gunpowder was full of impurities and very weak. Cannon were of little use for a century more. Then they began to be used to batter down the walls of castles and cities. It was longer still before firearms replaced the long-bow for infantry.

291. Calais and Peace. — Victories like Crécy foretold a vast revolution in society, but they had little effect on the war at the time. Edward gained little French territory by them; and, before the end of his reign, the French had recovered all that he did gain except a few places on the coast. He used the interval that Crécy brought him, it is true, to besiege and capture *Calais*, an important port on the Channel; and *this city remained in English hands for two centuries*, — an open door at any moment for the invasion of France.

A "Bombard." — From a sixteenth century German woodcut.

At Poitiers, John, the king of France, was captured. This event brought a short peace. King John paid an enormous ransom and surrendered all suzerainty over Aquitaine. Edward, in turn, gave up all claim to any other part of France, except Aquitaine and Calais. *This Peace of Bretigny closed the first period of the war (1360).*

292. The Second Period of the War. — In 1369 a dispute concerning Aquitaine found both parties eager to renew the war. The French king now was Charles V (*The Wise*), and the victories all belonged to the French side. Place after place fell to them, until, at the end, in 1380, *England kept only two towns, — Bordeaux and Calais.*

II. ENGLISH DEVELOPMENT DURING THE WAR

293. The Black Death. — French success in the second period of the war had been due not alone to Charles the Wise, but

even more to new conditions in England. The happy prosperity of the first part of Edward's reign had received a terrible shock from the *Black Death.* This was the most famous of all the plagues of history. It had been devastating the continent for some years, — moving west from Asia, — and it is believed to have carried off at least a third of the population of Europe. In the year after Crécy, it reached England, and almost at a blow it certainly swept away a third of the people there. One bright fact shines out from the universal misery — the splendid devotion of the village priests. They might easily have kept themselves safest; but everywhere, through their self-sacrificing care of their dying parishioners, they suffered most. In some counties, more than two-thirds the parishes were left without clergy.

294. Serfs and Villeins become Free Yeomen. — Except for the devoted village priests, the loss fell most heavily on the working classes; *but it soon helped those who remained to rise out of serfdom. The lack of laborers was so great that wages doubled, and therefore a higher standard of living became common.*

True, parliament tried, in the interest of the landlords, to keep down the laborers by foolish and tyrannical laws, — forbidding them to leave the parish where they lived or to take more wages than had been customary in the past, and ordering them under cruel penalties to serve any one who offered them such wages.[1] But when a landlord was anxious to harvest a standing crop, he did not dare to try to take advantage of such laws. Instead, to keep his old serfs from running away to other landlords, he made more and more favorable terms with them, and *gradually allowed them to exchange all their personal services for a fixed rent in money.*

In the latter part of Edward's long reign, however, the peasants were stirred by bitter discontent. The change from serfdom to freedom had begun even before the Black Death. That event hastened it; but still it was spread over a century. This

[1] The *Pennsylvania Reprints* (II, 5) gives the famous *Statute of Laborers.*

seems swift, to a student ages later; but to the suffering laborers of that century — father, son, grandson, great-grandson — it was terribly slow. Each gain made them doubly impatient with the burdens that remained. They felt, too, many cases of bitter hardship and tyranny, — where a lord, by legal trickery or by downright violence, forced half-freed villeins back again to serfdom.

295. Wyclif and John Ball — Another set of causes added to this discontent. The growing wealth of the church, and the worldliness of the great churchmen, were becoming a common scandal. The famous and gentle Chaucer, a court poet, indulged in keen raillery toward these faults.[1] More serious men saw them as plainly, and could not dismiss them with a jest.

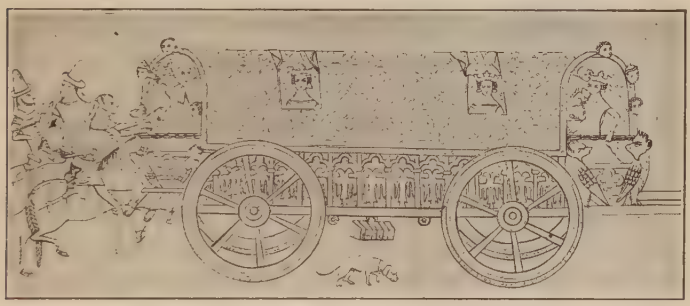
JOHN WYCLIF.

At the University of Oxford, a clergyman, *John Wyclif*, one of the most famous lecturers there, preached vigorously against the luxury of the rich and abuses in the church, and at length passed on to attack some of the church doctrines. He has been called "the Morning Star of the Reformation." He denied the doctrine of transubstantiation (§ 148), and he insisted that even ignorant men might know the will of God, through the Bible, without the aid of a priest. Accordingly, with his companions, he

[1] Illustrations may be found in the descriptions of the monk, the prioress, the friar, and the pardoner, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*.

made the first complete translation of the Bible into English; and his disciples made many copies (with the pen, since printing was not yet known) and distributed them throughout the land.

These disciples, who wandered through England, called themselves "poor preachers." Their enemies called them "mad



An English Carriage of the Fourteenth Century. — After Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life;* from a fourteenth century psalter. This carriage is represented as drawn by five horses tandem, driven by two postilions. Such a carriage was a princely luxury, equaling in value a herd of from four hundred to sixteen hundred oxen.

priests" or "Lollards" (babblers). Some of them exaggerated their master's teachings against wealth, and called for the abolition of all rank and property. *John Ball*, one of the "mad preachers," attacked the privileges of the gentry in rude rhymes that rang through England from shore to shore, —

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

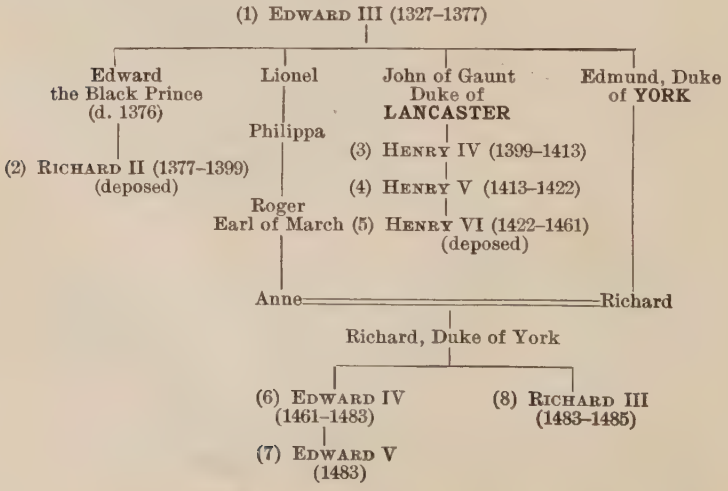
"This priest," says Froissart, a contemporary chronicler, "used oftentimes to go and preach when the people in the villages were coming out from mass; and he would make them gather about him, and would say thus: 'Good people, things go not well in England, nor will, till everything be in common and there no more be villeins and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we? We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve, . . . but they are clothed in velvet and are warm in their furs, while we shiver in rags; they have wine, and spices, and fair bread; and we, oat cake and straw,

and water to drink; they dwell in fine houses, and we have the pain and travail, the rain and the wind in the fields. From our labor they keep their state. Yet we are their bondmen; and unless we serve them readily, we are beaten.' And so the people would murmur one with the other in the fields, and in the ways as they met together, affirming that John Ball spoke truth."

296. The general confusion was increased by weakness in the government. Edward's hand lost its firm control, in old age, with much sickness and family trouble, and he died in 1377. His eldest son, the Black Prince, had died before him; and he was succeeded by his grandson.[1] That prince, Richard II, was a mere boy, and the government was distracted by dissensions among his counselors.

297. The Peasant Rising of 1381. — While England was in this state of confusion and discontent, parliament passed a heavy poll tax, bearing with unfair weight on the poor. This proved a match to set the realm ablaze. With amazing sudden-

[1] The following table will show the succession of English kings for the rest of this chapter; also the conflicting claims that will call for attention in § 304. For Edward III, refer back to the table on page 178.



ness, the peasantry rose in arms. From all sides they marched upon London, and in a few days the king and kingdom were in their hands.

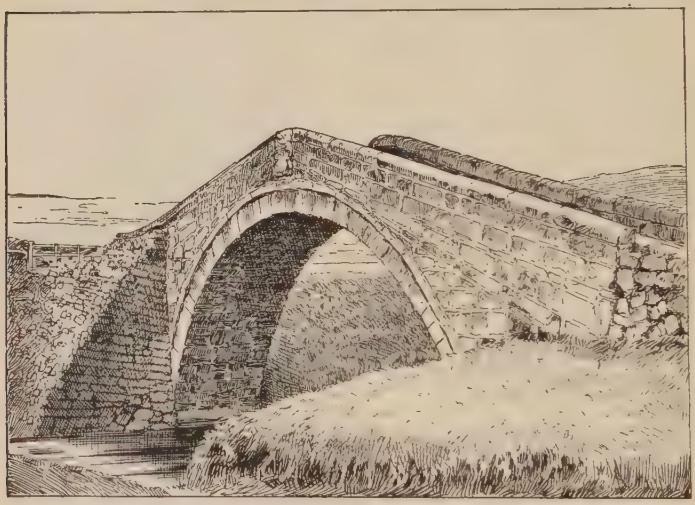
Their special demand was that all labor rents should be exchanged for fixed money rents. The strangest thing about the rising was the self-restraint shown by the peasants. The various bands sacked some buildings of the gentry class, — destroying especially the "manor rolls," or the written evidence of services due from villeins on an estate, — and they put to death a few lawyers and nobles. But women and children were not injured, and there was no attempt at general pillage and murder, such as usually mark servile insurrections and such as characterized the frightful risings of the peasantry in France a little earlier. The French "Jacquerie"[1] was an outburst of brute rage, upon the part of hopeless creatures, goaded past endurance, and seeking only to glut their vengeance. The English peasants stood upon a higher plane of comfort and of civilization, and their revolt was marked by the moderation of men who had a reasonable program for reform.

Effigy from the Tomb of the Black Prince.

Unfortunately, the peasants lacked the organization needful to secure the results of their temporary success. Their chief leader, *Wat the Tyler*, was murdered treacherously in a confer-

[1] From the name *Jacques*, used generally for French peasants, as "Pat" is used for an Irishman. Probably our phrase, "a country Jake," has this origin. Conan Doyle's *White Company* gives a vivid picture of the French Jacquerie.

ence under a flag of truce as we would say. "Kill!" shouted the great mass of Tyler's followers; "they have murdered our captain!" But the young Richard rode forward fearlessly to their front. "What need ye, my masters!" he called; "I am



A Fourteenth Century Bridge in Rural England, near Danby in Oxfordshire. — From Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life.*

your king and captain." "We will that you free us forever," shouted the peasant army, "us and our lands; and that we be never more named serfs." "I grant it," replied the boy; and he persuaded them to go home by such pledges and by promise of free pardon. For days, a force of thirty clerks was kept busy writing out brief charters containing the king's promises.

But when the peasants had scattered to their villages, bearing to each one a copy of the king's treacherous charter, the property classes rallied and took a bloody vengeance. Parliament declared, indeed, that Richard's promise was void, because he could not give away the gentry's property — the services due them — without their consent. Quite willing, Richard marched triumphantly through England at the head of forty

thousand men, stamping out all hope of another rising by ruthless execution of old leaders. Seven thousand men were put to death in cold blood. The men of Essex met him with copies of his charters, declaring that they were free Englishmen. "Villeins you were," answered Richard, "and villeins you are. In bondage you shall abide; and not your old bondage, but a worse."

We do not know the names of most of the patriot leaders who suffered for the cause of liberty, but history has preserved the story of one of them. Early in the rising, the peasants of St. Albans (in Essex) had wrung charters from the monastery which had previously owned their town — in so legal a way that now even the royal courts could not ignore them. The leader of the St. Albans villagers, *Grindecobbe*, was condemned to death, however, for his part in the rising, and was then offered his life if he would persuade his townsmen to give up the charters. Grindecobbe turned to his fellows only to bid them take no thought for him but to hold firm their rights. "I shall die for the freedom we have won, counting myself happy to end my life by such a martyrdom. Do then as if I had been killed in battle yesterday."

The steadfastness of such forgotten heroes was not in vain. In a short time the movement toward the emancipation of villeins began again with fresh force; and, *by* 1450, *villeinage had passed away from England forever.*

298. **The growth of parliament** during the Hundred Years' War was almost as important as the rise of the peasants out of bondage. Constant war made it necessary for Edward III and his successors to ask parliament for many grants of money. Parliament supplied the king generously; but it took advantage of his needs to secure new powers for itself. These gains may be classed under nine heads.

(1) It became an established principle that "redress of grievances" must *precede* a "grant of supply." That is, the king must consent to such new laws as parliament wanted *before* it gave him money to carry on his government.

(2) In the closing years of Edward III the *Good Parliament* (1376) "impeached" and removed his ministers, using the same forms that have been used in impeachments ever since in English-speaking countries.

(3) When Richard II was old enough to take the government into his own hands, he tried to rule without parliament. He put to death, or drove into exile, leading nobles whose opposition he feared; and then, surrounding parliament with his troops, he compelled it to grant him a tax for life, with other absolute powers. Soon England rose against him, *and the Parliament of 1399 deposed him, electing a cousin* (Henry of Lancaster) *in his place.*

PARLIAMENT OF 1399, which deposed Richard II. — From a contemporary manuscript.

Richard II was the last Plantagenet king. The note on page 276 gives the Lancastrian reigns and those of the family that followed.

Richard's reign began with bloody treachery toward the English peasants, and it ended when he attempted equal treachery toward the nobles and middle classes. Shakspere has won undeserved sympathy for the tyrant by the pathetic lines put into his mouth at deposition, when Richard declares his willingness to give

> "My gorgeous palace for a hermitage,
> My gay apparel for an alms-man's gown . . .
> And my large kingdom for a little grave."

But we must understand that this deposition by parliament is one of the chief landmarks in the growth of English (and American) freedom. *The next kings owed their title to parliament, and were dependent upon it.*

(4) The new king, Henry IV, frankly recognized his dependence on parliament. Under him the lower House (House of Commons; § 185) made good its claims that all money bills must originate with it (a practice that has been common to all English-speaking legislatures ever since), and that the royal officers must report to it the way in which they expended money (1407).

(5) The Commons secured the right to judge of the election of their own members.

(6) They compelled the king to dismiss his ministers and appoint new ones satisfactory to parliament.

(7) Freedom of speech in parliament and freedom from arrest, except by the order of parliament itself, became recognized privileges of all members.

(8) On three different occasions during Henry's reign, parliament passed acts fixing the succession to the throne.

(9) So far, when parliament had wanted a new law, it only *petitioned* the king to enact one of a given kind. When the king had consented, and parliament had adjourned, the royal officers, in putting the law into form, often inserted words which really defeated parliament's purpose. But now, under Henry V (1414), parliament began to pass "bills," which the king had to accept or reject, and the wording of which he could not change without reference back to parliament.

299. The "Liberties of Englishmen." — Thus under the Lancastrians there was established in the breasts of the English middle classes a proud consciousness of English liberty as a precious inheritance. With right they believed it superior to that possessed by any other people of the time. As a French historian says (Duruy, *Middle Ages*, 436), "In the middle of the fifteenth century, the English people had in Magna Carta

a declaration of their rights, in the jury a guarantee for their safety as individuals, and in parliament a guarantee for national liberty." No man in time of peace could be arrested except by order of a magistrate (not simply on the king's order). When arrested, he was entitled to speedy trial. And he could be condemned only by twelve men of his own neighborhood. Parliament voted taxes and superintended their expenditure, settled the succession to the throne, impeached offensive officers, and, upon occasion, deposed a king; and no law could be made or changed without its consent.

Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice under Henry VI, wrote a book, *In Praise of the Laws of England*, for the instruction of Henry's son. The volume explains the English kingship in these words: —

"A king of England at his pleasure cannot make any alteration in the laws of the land without the consent of his subjects, nor burden them against their wills with strange impositions. . . . Rejoice, therefore, my good Prince, that such is the law of the kingdom you are to inherit, because it will afford both to you and to your subjects the greatest security and satisfaction. . . . [The king] is appointed to protect his subjects in their lives, properties, and laws. For this end *he has the delegation of power from the people*, and he has no just claims to any other power."

III. FRANCE: CLOSE OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

300. Third Period of the Hundred Years' War. — In 1415, after a generation of peace with France, Henry V renewed the Hundred Years' War. He had no clear excuse; but he was fired by ambition, and he saw an opportunity in the disorder of France under an insane king (Charles VI).

Henry was brilliantly successful. At *Agincourt* he won a victory which recalled the day of Crécy; and his infant son (afterward Henry VI) was crowned *King of France* at Paris, with the assent of a great body of French nobles.

But the English triumph was brief. Through the long struggle with a foreigner, *the French people were coming to feel themselves one nation;* and an unschooled peasant girl, **Joan of Arc**, inspired with this new patriotism, freed her country.

Joan saw "visions," and thought that divine voices called her to her task. With great difficulty she won her way to the French Dauphin (the title of the heir to the throne), and secured from him a small body of troops with which she promised to relieve Orleans. The English had nearly reduced that place to surrender, and it was the last French stronghold in the northern half of the kingdom. Joan's victory was marvelous — and, her followers believed, miraculous. The French people rose in one mass to follow the "Holy Maid of Orleans," and swept away the invaders. Victory followed victory, until the English lost all France except Calais. Then the war died out, because England became involved in civil wars at home.

JOAN OF ARC AT THE RELIEF OF ORLEANS.

Meantime, however, Joan fell into English hands, and was tried and burned as a witch, — one of the darkest stains in all the bloody pages of medieval history. Joan's gentle firmness and purity, and her steadfast endurance even in the flames, confounded her persecutors. "We are lost," exclaimed one of them; "we have burned a saint!" The superstitious cruelty of the English, terrified by Joan's victories, deserves no more reproach than the baseness with which the French king and court deserted her, jealous of her popularity, without an effort to save her. But history has placed her foremost among all French heroes. Says a famous French historian, — French

patriotism "blossomed in Joan of Arc, and sanctified itself with the perfume of a miracle."[1]

301. The French Kingship. — Charles VII, in spite of his detestable desertion of Joan of Arc, proved a great king. He restored order with a firm hand. Bands of "free lances" (mercenary soldiers) had been living on the country for generations and had earned the name "flayers" from their methods of torture to discover valuables. All such bands were now driven from France; and prosperity came back swiftly to the exhausted peasantry and the towns.

During the long war, and after it, while breaking up the "flayers," Charles had maintained a standing army. This force he was careful to keep when these troubles were over. He had also a train of artillery, which now made him able easily to batter the castle of any feudal rebel about his ears. During the war, too, the kings had raised taxes arbitrarily, of necessity. They continued to do so, now that the national necessity had passed. The Estates General (§ 196) lost all chance to become a real power, and the monarchs grew absolute.

The nobles of France made one last desperate attempt to check this royal despotism when **Louis XI** came to the throne, but were quickly crushed. The young Louis won his victories mainly by cunning. Through his reign, he chose his chief advisors and ministers from men of low position, who could not gain by turning against him; and before his death feudalism had ceased to be a political danger even more completely than in England. *Louis XI* ranks alongside *Philip Augustus, Louis IX, Philip the Fair, and Charles the Wise*, in numbering the kings who built up the French monarchy.

302. The Growth of France Completed. — France came out of the Hundred Years' War, after vast destruction of property, after terrible periods of suffering, with territory consolidated, with a new patriotism binding her people together, and with her kings stronger than ever.

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[1] Special report on Joan of Arc. Lowell's *Joan of Arc*, Lang's *The Maid of France*, or Clemens' (Mark Twain's) *Joan of Arc* (a novel).

In § 194 we traced the growth of French territory to the opening of this war. The closing campaigns (after the victories of Joan), made the French king finally master of Aquitaine (the southwest quarter of France); and, soon after the war ended, the growth of France was completed by the addition of Provence and of the Dukedom of Burgundy.

The Dukedom of Burgundy was one of the petty states that arose after the partition of Verdun (§ 94). Little by little, for some centuries a line of able and unscrupulous dukes had been joining province to province and city to city, — some, the fiefs of France, some, fiefs of the Empire, — until, by 1450, Burgundy was one of the "powers" of Europe. During the Wars of the Roses in England, Duke *Charles the Bold* was working zealously to weld his groups of provinces (map after page 182) into a kingdom, and to persuade the Emperor to change his title to that of king. Louis XI of France intrigued craftily but secretly against him; but Charles seemed on the point of success when (1477) he was defeated and slain by the Swiss peasants, whom he was trying to force into his state.[1]

Charles left a daughter, but no male heir; and Louis seized the dukedom as a fief which had "escheated" to the crown (§ 125). The rich Flemish towns, it is true, escaped him (§ 323); but he found compensation by grasping Provence, to which Charles of Burgundy had made some claim.[2]

303. Louis XI left France the richest, most orderly, and most united country in Europe. The next two kings were less able rulers, and so France did not just at first step into the leadership of Europe that belonged to her. But with *Francis I* (1515–1547) she, at times, plainly held that place. That reign carries France into the next great Part of our history (Part III, page 325).

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[1] Read this story in Scott's *Anne of Geierstein.*

[2] Review the growth of France, with maps after page 182.

IV. ENGLAND AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES, 1454–1485

304. The Wars of the Roses.[1]—We said (§ 300) that England withdrew from the French war because of war within her own realm. In 1422 Henry VI became king, while less than a year old. His long minority gave time for factions to grow among the nobles; and when Henry was old enough to assume the government, he proved too weak and gentle to restore order. The misrule of the great lords caused wide discontent, especially among the rising towns,[2] whose industries called for settled government; and, encouraged by this discontent, the Duke of York came forward to claim the crown. Thus began the Wars of the Roses,[3] to last from 1454 to 1471.

Guy's Tower.—The Keep of Warwick Castle. The Earl of Warwick (the Kingmaker) was a prominent leader in the Wars of the Roses.

York was descended from a son of Edward III older than the one through whom the Lancastrians derived their claim to the throne;[4] and the war, the most ruthless and bloody in English history, was largely a selfish contest between great nobles. At the same time the chief significance of the struggle lay in the fact that the Lancastrian strength was in the feudal

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[1] Stevenson's *Black Arrow* is an admirable story for a boy, and Bulwer's *Last of the Barons* is the most famous novel dealing with the age.

[2] Special topic: Cade's Rebellion. (The student must get the view of recent scholars and not be content with the slanders of the old writers.)

[3] The Yorkists assumed a white rose as their badge; the Lancastrians, a red rose. Students may be asked to find the scene in which Shakspere represents the choice of these symbols.

[4] Footnote on page 276.

nobility of the north of England, while York was supported by the new middle class of the towns in the south.

305. Finally, York and the cause of the towns conquered. *The three Yorkish reigns* are shown in the footnote on page 276. Edward IV was a selfish and rather careless despot. His son, Edward V, was a child and was never crowned. It is believed that the regent, his uncle, murdered him. The murderer became king as Richard III. He was an atrocious tyrant, and was soon overthrown by a popular rising. **Henry Tudor**, a distant connection of the Lancastrians, led this rising, and became king as *Henry VII.*

A Medieval Battle. — From a sixteenth century woodcut.

306. A "New Monarchy." — The losses in the long civil war had fallen mainly on the feudal classes. The old nobility was almost swept away in battle or by the headsman's ax. The new kings created new nobles (but kept them dependent on the crown), and *set to work skillfully to crush the scant remains of feudal independence.* For instance, a law of Henry VII wisely forbade nobles to maintain armed bands of retainers — whose presence was a source always of disorder and a threat to peace. A few of the surviving *old* nobles at first disregarded this law. On a visit to one of these, — the great Earl of Oxford, — the king found an array of such armed retainers drawn up to salute him. Oxford had been one of Henry's earliest sup-

porters for the throne; but now Henry frowned darkly: "I thank you for your good hospitality, Sir Earl; but I cannot have my laws broken in my sight." And Oxford was called before the king's court and ruined by a fine of £15,000,—some half million dollars in the values of to-day.

The first plain result of this crushing of feudalism was a *general* loss of liberty. Without great nobles for leaders, the towns and the country gentry were not yet strong enough to challenge the royal power. *So parliament lost authority.* During the wars, it had not been possible to hold true parliaments; and when war was over, the kings had been so enriched by confiscations of the property of opposing nobles that they did not need new taxes in ordinary times, and so could get along without calling parliaments.

Another new device helped the monarch to maintain this superiority. During the wars, a king had had to depend, not on parliamentary supplies, but on free-will gifts (*benevolences*) from men of wealth in his party. After the war, Edward IV continued to ask benevolences from leading men as he met them in traveling through the kingdom. Richard III had tried to secure popular favor by promising to surrender this evil custom; but he soon practised it in a more extortionate form than ever. And now Henry VII reduced it to a system of regular supply. He asked, no longer merely in person, *but by letter.* His minister, Morton, sent out demands to rich men over all England. To some he said that their luxurious manner of living showed that they were easily able to supply their king; to others, that their economy of life proved that they must have saved wherewith to aid their sovereign's necessities. Thus every man of consequence in the realm found himself impaled, it was said, on one prong or the other of "Morton's Fork."[1]

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[1] Perhaps the most important point of this story is that it reminds us of the recent introduction of forks (two-pronged instruments) at the table. They had come into use in Italy a little earlier. Cf. § 140.

Thus England entered the sixteenth century under the Tudor kings with a "New Monarchy." Henry VII and his son Henry VIII (§ 373) were more absolute than any preceding English kings. Still they were shrewd enough to cloak their power under the old constitutional forms, and so did not challenge popular opposition. They called parliament rarely, — and only to use it as a tool. Parliament did not play as large a part again for more than a hundred years as it had in the century before the Wars of the Roses. But the occasional meetings, and the way in which the kings *seemed* to rule through it, *saved the forms of constitutional government.* This was a mighty service. At a later time, as we shall see, life was again breathed into those forms. Then it became plain that, in crushing the feudal forces, the New Monarchy had paved the way for a parliamentary government more complete and valuable than men had dreamed of in earlier times.

For Further Reading. — Green's *History of the English People* or his *Short History*, or Gardiner's *Student's History* (note on page 143) continue to be the most desirable of all general narratives for England, and Adams' *Growth of the French Nation* for France. On **the Hundred Years' War**, the student will enjoy the contemporary story of Froissart, especially in Lanier's *Boy's Froissart.* On the **Battle of Crécy**, in particular, Robinson's *Readings*, I, 466–470 (sources), and Oman's *Art of War*, 603–615. On **the Black Death**, Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars*, ch. iv. The *Pennsylvania Reprints*, II, no. 5, gives documents for England in the age of Wyclif and the Peasant Rising.

CHAPTER XV

THE PAPACY IN THE AGE OF THE RENAISSANCE

307. The Revolt of France and England. — We saw (chapter x) how the thirteenth century conflict between popes and emperors left the popes victorious. The victory, however, was not long-lived. Almost at once new forces appeared to challenge their overlordship. In France and England the new national patriotism had already begun to rebel against papal authority in temporal matters. Neither people nor kings questioned the authority of the pope in spiritual matters; but they did demand that the *government* of the land should be free from papal supervision. To this feeling, the Emperor Frederick II had tried to appeal in letters to the kings: "My house is on fire. Hurry, bring water, lest the fire spread to your house too!" Soon after Frederick's fall, France and England did take up in earnest the struggle against papal claims.

The conflict was hastened by the Hundred Years' War. The kings needed money, and were trying to introduce systems of national taxation in the place of the unsatisfactory feudal revenues. The clergy had been exempt from feudal services; but they owned so much of the wealth of the two countries that the kings insisted upon their paying their share of the new taxes. *Pope Boniface VIII* (1296) issued a bull forbidding any prince to impose taxes on the clergy without papal consent, and threatening excommunication against all clergy who paid.

308. But when the English clergy, trusting in this papal decree, refused to pay taxes, Edward I outlawed them. To outlaw a man was to put him outside the protection of the law: he

The Cathedral of Amiens, — the nave, or center aisle, looking from the main entrance toward the altar. This supremely beautiful example of Gothic architecture was begun in 1220 and completed in 1288. The piles of chairs suggest the method of seating even to-day in European cathedrals, where pews are practically unknown. The cathedrals are always open, but the chairs are used only during special services.

could not bring suit to recover property or damages, and offenses against him were not "crimes." It became plain at once that, in comparison with this practical "excommunication" by the state, the old clerical excommunication was stage thunder. The clergy generally paid; and, a little later, a compromise was made whereby they were permitted to tax themselves.

309. France was the scene of a sharper contest. As it progressed, Boniface set forth the old claims of papal supremacy over princes. "Whoever resists this power," said one of his bulls, "resists the ordination of God . . Indeed we declare . . . that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." But Philip IV treated these claims with contempt, and the Estates General (1302), *even the clerical Estate,* denied the pope any control over the state, and pledged their lives to defend the "ancient liberties of the French nation." Philip *forbade the payment of any revenues from his realm to the pope,* and arrested the papal legate. Boniface threatened to depose the king. A few days later, a company of French soldiers made Boniface prisoner; and the chagrin of the old man at the insult probably hastened his death (1303).

310. The "Babylonian Captivity." — Philip secured the election of a French pope, who removed the papal capital from Rome to Avignon, in southern France. Here the popes remained for seventy years (1309–1377), in "the Babylonian Captivity of the church."

Of course the papacy lost public respect. It was no longer an impartial umpire. Politically it had sunk into a mere tool of the French kings, and the enemies of France could not be expected to show it reverence. The English parliaments of Edward III passed statutes (*Provisors* and *Praemunire*) to limit papal control over church appointments in England and to prevent appeals from the courts of English bishops to the papal court. Even in Germany, distracted as it was, in 1338, a Diet (a sort of parliament) formally denied that the

"French popes" had any part in the choice of their ruler. In Italy the Papal States themselves fell into anarchy and revolution, and there was danger that the popes might lose their principality altogether.

311. The Great Schism. — In 1377, to save the papal territory, Gregory XI visited Rome. This act brought on a greater disaster even than the exile itself. Gregory died while at Rome. The cardinals were obliged at once to choose a successor. They were Frenchmen (as all high church offices had been given to Frenchmen during the scandal of the Captivity); but even French cardinals did not dare disregard the savage threats of the people of Rome, demanding an Italian pope. They chose Urban VI, who established himself in the old papal seat at Rome. But, a few months later, the cardinals assembled again, declared that the choice of Urban was void because made under compulsion, and elected a French pope, Clement VII, who promptly returned to Avignon.

Urban and Clement excommunicated each other, each devoting to the devil all the supporters of the other. Which pope should good Christians obey? The answer was determined mainly by political considerations. France obeyed Clement; England and Germany obeyed Urban. Two such heads for Christendom were worse than no head at all.

312. The Hussite Heresy. — This sad condition of the papacy brought with it danger to the church itself. The Wyclif movement took place toward the close of the exile at Avignon. That movement has been described (§ 295). The church in England had declared Wyclif a heretic; but he was protected during his life by one of King Edward's sons. Soon after Wyclif's death, however, the Lancastrian monarchs began to persecute the Lollards. In 1401, for the first time, an Englishman was burned for heresy. The Lollards finally disappeared as a sect, but their influence lasted, in underground ways, until the beginning of the great Protestant movement a century later.

Meantime, the seeds of the heresy had been scattered in a

distant part of Europe. Richard II of England married a princess of Bohemia, and some of her attendants carried the teachings of Wyclif to the Bohemian University of Prague. About 1400, *John Hus*, a professor at Prague, became a leader in a radical "reform" much after Wyclif's example, and the movement spread rapidly over much of Bohemia.

313. The Council of Constance. — Thus the religious situation of Christendom was desperate. Great and good men everywhere, especially in the powerful universities, began to call for a General Council as the only means to restore unity of church government and doctrine. Neither pope favored the plan; but at last the cardinals called a Council at Pisa. This body (1409) declared both popes deposed, and chose a new one. The result was *three popes*, for the Council was not really universal in character, and it acted with unwise haste, and so failed to secure obedience.

Soon after, however, one of the popes, under pressure from the German emperor, called the *Council of Constance* (1414). Five thousand delegates were present (besides vast numbers of visitors and attendants), and all Latin Christendom was represented. With recesses, the Council sat four years. In the matter of church government, it acted with wisdom and caution. One pope was brought to resign; the others were deposed; and unity was restored under a new pope, Martin V.

Then the Council turned its attention to the troubles in Bohemia. John Hus was present under a "safe conduct" from the emperor. His teachings were declared hersey; but neither persuasion nor threats could move him to recant. "It is better for me to die," he said, "than to fall into the hands of the Lord by deserting the truth." Despite the emperor's solemn pledge for his safety, Hus was burned at the stake, and his ashes were scattered in the Rhine (1415). Wyclif's doctrines, too, were condemned; and, to make thorough work, his ashes were disinterred from their resting place and scattered on the river Swift.

The Council was made up of earnest reformers, — good men,

who believed that in this work they were serving God and saving the souls of future generations of men from eternal torment. But their vigorous measures did not wholly succeed. Hus became a national hero to Bohemia. That country rose in arms against the church. A crusade was preached against the heretics, but years of war failed to crush them wholly.

314. The Last Popes of the Middle Ages. — The unity of the papacy was restored, and much of its spiritual authority, but not its power over kings. Nicholas V (1447) showed himself a learned scholar, eager to advance learning, as well as a pure and gentle man. Pius II (1455) strove to arouse a new crusade against the Turks, who had just captured Constantinople; but his complete failure proved (in his own words) that Europe "looked on pope and emperor alike as names in a story." Some of the succeeding popes were busied mainly as Italian princes, building up their temporal principality by intrigue and craft such as was common at that day in Italian politics.

Of this class, the most notorious was Alexander Borgia (Pope Alexander VI, 1492–1503), whose name (with that of his son, Caesar Borgia) has become a byword for wickedness. A scholarly Catholic historian (Pastor, *History of the Popes*) gives his approval to this quotation regarding Borgia: "The reign of this pope . . . was *a serious disaster*, on account of his worldliness, openly proclaimed with the most amazing effrontery; on account of his nepotism [favoritism to relatives]; and lastly on account of his utter absence of all moral sense both in public and private life . . . which brought the papacy into utter discredit." It was conditions like these that made Luther possible a few years later.

GERMANY AND ITALY
During the Interregnum
1254-1273
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.
NORTH SEA
FRANCE
Gulf of Lyons
Gulf of Genoa
TYRRHENIAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
SARDINIA
CORSICA
SICILY
KINGDOM OF
POLAND
BOHEMIA
HUNGARY
BAVARIA
SWABIA
SAXONY
BRANDENBURG
POMERANIA
PRUSSIA
LORRAINE
FRANCONIA
HESSE
AUSTRIA
SAVOY
TUSCANY
THE CHURCH
STATES OF
SERVIA
CROATIA
BOSNIA
SLAVONIA
DALMATIA
Rome
Naples
Palermo
Syracuse
Vienna
Prague
Danube
Rhine
Rhone R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Hamburg
Lubeck
Bremen
Oldenburg
Brunswick
Magdeburg
Leipsic
Dresden
Meissen
Breslau
Posen
Stettin
Danzig
Konigsberg
Teutonic Territory
Nuremburg
Munich
Augsburg
Ratisbon
Brunn
Buda
Pest
Constance
Baden
Strasburg
Mentz
Treves
Cologne
Aix-la-Chapelle
Maestricht
Bouillon
Luxemburg
Metz
Besancon
Lyons
Grenoble
Milan
Verona
Venice
Parma
Modena
Bologna
Ferrara
Ravenna
Florence
Pisa
Siena
Leghorn
Nice
Genoa
Trieste
Aquileia
Trevisa
Ancona
Aquila
Civita Vecchia
Ajaccio
Elba
Trapani
Brindisi
Tarento
Gulf of Tarento
Cagliari
Syracuse
Palermo
Flanders
Holland
Zuyder Zee
Meuse
Rhine
Lower Lorraine
Upper Lorraine
Franche Comte
Little Burgundy
Bresse
Savoy
Vienne
Provence
Piedmont
Lombardy
Venetian Republic
March of Verona
March of Ancona
Duchy of Spoleto
Duchy of Benevento
Campania
Terra di Lavoro
Abruzzi
Apulia
Calabria
Sclavinia
Lusatia
Silesia
Moravia
Bohemia
Wallachia
Transylvania
Bessarabia
Courland
Livonia
Esthonia
Finland
Lapland
Sweden
Denmark
Jutland
Zealand
Falster
Laaland
Holstein
Pomerania
Prussia
Territory
Brandenburg
Saxony
Lusatia
Meissen
Thuringia
Hesse
Swabia
Bavaria
Franconia
Lorraine
Flanders
Holland
Brabant
Gueldres
Cleves
Juliers
Westphalia
Hanover
Brunswick
Oldenburg
Bremen
Hamburg
Lubeck
Holstein
Jutland
Denmark
Sweden
Norway
Finland
Lapland
Livonia
Esthonia
Courland
Poland
Prussia
Pomerania
Brandenburg
Saxony
Lusatia
Silesia
Bohemia
Moravia
Austria
Hungary
Bavaria
Swabia
Franconia
Hesse
Thuring

CHAPTER XVI

GERMANY FROM 1273 TO 1520

315. Rudolph of Hapsburg, 1273–1290. — The Holy Roman Empire never recovered from the failure of the Hohenstaufen (§ 234). The anarchy of the "Fist-Law period" (1254–1273) was slightly checked in 1273, however, by the election of *Rudolph of Hapsburg* as emperor. Rudolph was a petty count of a rude district in the Alps, and the princes chose him because they did not fear his power. The king of Bohemia refused to acknowledge him as emperor. Rudolph attacked Bohemia, and *seized from it the duchy of Austria, which has ever since been the chief seat of the Hapsburgs.* He completely abandoned the Italian policy of the earlier emperors, and throughout his reign he displayed much zeal in widening the boundaries of his personal domain. "Sit firm on thy throne, O Lord," once prayed the Bishop of Basel, "or the Count of Hapsburg will shove Thee off." Rudolph gave much energy also to the restoration of order, so far as that task lay within his power. Along the Rhine alone, he demolished over one hundred and forty robber castles, and he once hung twenty-nine robber knights at one execution.

316. The Electoral College. — At Rudolph's death the Electors refused to give the imperial crown to his son; and the next fifty-five years saw five rulers, *each of a different house from his predecessor.*

The method of electing an emperor had varied greatly at different periods. On some occasions, a gathering of great nobles had made the choice in a fairly popular way, while at other times a few princes had settled the matter by private negotiation. Before the end of the Hohenstaufen period, the right of election had fallen to a ring of seven princes. These "Electors" now passed the crown from family to family, and,

at each new election, enriched themselves through extortionate demands upon the candidates.

To end such scandal, the emperor, Charles IV, with the consent of the nobles, issued the Golden Bull (1356). This document remained the fundamental law of the Empire through the rest of its history. It defined exactly how the "college of Electors" should make elections, and *fixed its members* as the *three Archbishops* of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, the *King of Bohemia*, the *Duke of Saxony*, the *Margrave of Brandenburg*, and the *Count Palatine of the Rhine*.

317. The Diet. — At about the same time, the German "national assembly" took form. It was called a *Diet*. In earlier times, it had been merely a gathering of nobles. To this gathering, representatives of the free cities were admitted in the fourteenth century (as had been the case earlier in the French Estates General, the English Parliament, and the Spanish Cortes). Then the Diet came to consist of *three Houses*, — the Chamber of Electors, the Chamber of Princes (the greater nobles of the second rank), and the Chamber of City Representatives. The Diet could do little, however, but pass resolutions, which nobody obeyed unless he chose to do so.

318. The "Hapsburg" Empire. — Finally, in 1438, after a long line of Bohemian emperors, the imperial title came back to the Hapsburgs by the election of Albert, Duke of Austria. From this time to its disappearance in 1806, the title, "Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire," belonged to the *House of Austria*. The form of an election was always gone through, but the choice invariably fell upon the Hapsburg heir.

Albert was followed by the long but uninteresting reign of Frederick III (1440–1493), and then the crown passed to *Maximilian I* (1493–1519), the romantic hero of the Hapsburg race. Maximilian made a noble effort to bring Germany abreast of England and France, but in the end he failed utterly, because of the selfishness of the nobles and the local jealousies between the provinces and because of his own dreamy nature and haughty willfulness. At the close of the Middle Ages, he left the empire what he found it, — a loose confederacy of petty states centered about Austria.

SPANISH KINGDOMS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER XVII

OTHER STATES

319. Spain. — The Mohammedan invasion of 711 (§ 65), separated the course of development in Spain from that of the rest of Europe. For centuries, "Africa began at the Pyrenees."

The wave of Moorish invasion, however, had left unconquered a few resolute Christian chiefs in the remote fastnesses of the northwestern mountains, and Charlemagne recovered part, also, of the northeast (§ 82). In these districts, *Asturia* and the *Spanish March*, several little Christian principalities began the long task of winning back their land, crag by crag and stream by stream. *This they accomplished in eight hundred years of war*, — a war at once patriotic and religious, Spaniard against African, and Christian against Infidel. *The long struggle left the Spanish race proud, brave, warlike, unfitted for industrial civilization, intensely patriotic, and blindly devoted to the church.*

During the eight centuries of conflict, the Christian states spread gradually to the south and east, — waxing, fusing, splitting up into new states, uniting in kaleidoscopic combinations by marriage and war, — until, before 1400, they had formed the three countries, Portugal, Aragon, and Castile. Nearly a century later, the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon united the two larger states, and in 1492 their combined power captured Granada, the last Moorish stronghold. *In the year that Columbus discovered America under Spanish auspices, Spain at home achieved national union and national independence*, and she soon took her place (with her New-World dependencies) as the most powerful European state.

The feudal lords of the many Spanish kingdoms had been the most uncontrollable in Europe. In each petty state they elected their king, and took the oath to obey him in forms like this: "We, who are each of us as good as thou, and who together are far more powerful than thou, swear to obey thee if thou dost obey our laws, and if not, not."

The towns of Spain, too, had possessed charters of liberties of the most extreme character, and in various kingdoms they had sent representatives to the assembly of Estates, or the "Cortes," for more than a century before a like practice began in England. But Ferdinand of Aragon began to abridge all these privileges, and in the next two reigns (§§ 326, 360) *the process was carried so far that Spain became the most absolute monarchy in Europe.*

Map Exercise. — "Castile" was at first merely a line of "castles." It was a "mark state": it shut off Aragon on one side and Leon on the other from any effective contact with the Moors, as Barcelona, Navarre, and Asturia had been shut off still earlier. After this was accomplished, Castile was the state most likely to grow to supremacy. Cf. Wessex in Britain, § 105.

320. Southeastern Europe and the Turks. — While the civilized Mohammedan Moors were losing Spain, barbarous Mohammed Turks were gaining southeastern Europe. They established themselves on the European side of the Hellespont first in 1346. Constantinople held out for a century more, a Christian island encompassed by seas of Mohammedanism. But at *Kassova* (1389), the Turks completed the overthrow of the Servians and other Slav peoples of the Balkan regions, and a few years later a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the Hungarians and Poles. **In 1453,** *Mahomet the Conqueror* entered Constantinople through the breach where the heroic *Constantine Palaeologus*, last of the Greek emperors, died sword in hand.

The Turks were incapable of civilization, in the European sense, and they have always remained a hostile army encamped among subject Christian populations, whom their rule has

THE OTTOMAN DOMINIONS
at the time of
THEIR GREATEST EXTENT
about 1550
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200
Immediate Ottoman Territory
Tributary States
POLAND
RUSSIA
CRIM
Sea of Azof
Caspian Sea
Volga R.
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
ANATOLIA
RUMELIA
BULGARIA
WALLACHIA
SERVIA
BOSNIA
CROATIA
DALMATIA
ALBANIA
LIVADIA
MOREA
ITALY
Adriatic Sea
Vienna
Pressburg
Komorn
Buda
Pest
Stuhlweissenburg
Agram
Belgrade
Hermanstadt
Kaminiets
Jassy
Jedisan
Bersarabia
Tergovist
Rustchuk
Nicopolis
Varna
Tirnova
Sofia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Sinope
Trebizond
Nicea
Brusa
Smyrna
Larissa
Souli
Parga
Prevesa
LEUCADIA
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
Corinth
Argos
CERIGO
CRETE
Candia
RHODES
CYPRUS
Nicosia
Famagusta
Balaklava
Azof
Dniester R.
Prut R.
Danube R.
Drave R.
Sava R.
Morava R.
Sereth R.
Pruth R.
Maritza R.
Seruma R.
Thessaloniga
Drava R.
Slave R.
Bosnia R.
Kossova
Ragusa
Cattaro
Cettinge
Durazzo
Spalato
Serajevo
Widdin
Belgrade
Hermanstadt
Kaminiets
Jedisan
Azof
Sinope
Nicosia
Famagusta
L. Van
L. Urumiah
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45

blighted. A chief factor in their early success was the "tribute of children," organized into the famous fighting force of *Janissaries.*

Says Freeman: "A fixed proportion of the strongest and most promising boys among the conquered Christian nations were carried off, brought up in the Mohammedan faith, and . . . employed in civil and military functions. . . . Out of them was formed the famous force of the Janissaries, who for three centuries formed the strength of the Ottoman armies. . . . *The strength of the conquered nations was turned against themselves.*"

After its capture in 1453, Constantinople became the capital of the Turkish Empire. That empire continued to expand for a century more (until about 1550), and for a time it seemed as though nothing could save Western Europe. Venice on sea, and Hungary by land, were the two chief out-posts of Christendom, and, almost unaided, they kept up ceaseless warfare to check the Mohammedan invaders. For a time, Hungary was conquered, and then Austria took its place as a bulwark for Western Europe.

321. Switzerland began to grow into a political state just before the year 1300. The brave and sturdy peasantry, in their mountain fastnesses, had preserved much of the old Teutonic independence. Some small districts (cantons) in the German Alps had belonged to the Hapsburg counts. When Rudolph of Hapsburg became duke of distant Austria (§ 315), he left these possessions to subordinate officers. These agents oppressed the Swiss by extortion and tyranny; and, *in 1291,* the three "Forest Cantons" — *Uri, Schwyz,* and *Unterwalden* — formed a "perpetual league" for mutual defense against tyranny.

For two centuries, from time to time, the Hapsburgs invaded Switzerland with powerful armies, in order to reduce the mountaineers to subjection; and very soon the league against oppression by the lord's agents became a league for independence, against the lord himself. Freedom was established by two great victories, — *Morgarten* (1315) and *Sempach*

THE SWISS CONFEDERATION
1291-1500
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
The Original Three "Forest Cantons," 1291
The Five Cantons added, 1353-1481
(These Eight are known as the "Old Cantons")
The Five Cantons added, 1481-1513, after Conflict with Burgundy
The Associated Districts
Common Districts
R. Danube
R. Rhine
R. Doubs
R. Aar
R. Rhone
R. Ticiné
R. Inn
R. Adda
R. Adige
Lake Constance
Lake Geneva
Lake Maggiore
Lake Lugano
Lake Como
Ensisheim
Mühlhausen
Freiburg
Ravensburg
Schaffhausen 1501
Constance
THURGAU
Lindau
Bregenz
St. Gall
Toggenburg
Appenzell 1513
Frastenz
Winterthur
Kyburg
Zürich 1351
L. Zürich
Basel 1501
Dornach
Habsburg
Horgen
Zug 1352
Wildhaus
Einsiedeln
Sempach
Kussnach
Morgarten
Nafels
Luzern 1332
Schwyz
Sargans
Gersau
L. Luzern
Glarus 1352
Prattingau
LEAGUE OF 10 JURISDICTIONS
Chur
Davos
Sarnen
UNTERWALDEN
Altdorf
Engelberg
Dissentis
URI
Urseren
St. Gothard Pass
GRISONS
Splugen Pass
Chiavena
Bormio
Locarno 1512
Bellinzona 1390
Sondrio
Valteline 1512
Bern 1353
Thun
Murten
Nekenburg
Granson
L. Neuchâtel
Fribourg 1481
Solothurn 1481
Biel
Besancon
FRANCHE COMTÉ
BASEL
VAUD
Lausanne
Chillon
TO BERN
Sitten
Visp
VALAIS
Martigny
Geneva
SAVOY
MILAN
VENETIA
TYROL
LEAGUE OF GOD'S HOUSE
Münster Thal
Moselle

(1386).[1] Between the two battles, other cantons rebelled against their lords and joined the alliance. The new members — among them Bern, Zurich, and Luzern — were small city-states, wealthier and more aristocratic than the original union.

Soon after Sempach, the constitution of the league was revised. In the new document the confederate cantons claimed to be *states of the Empire*, but all dependence upon feudal lords was expressly rejected. Each canton kept complete control over its own internal affairs. The "Diet," or central congress of representatives, was hardly more than a meeting of ambassadors to manage foreign war and divide the plunder. The union kept this loose form until the French Revolution.

The victories of the Swiss developed a passion for plunder and for fighting; so that, when there were no wars at home, great numbers of Swiss youth became "mercenaries." For centuries they were the most famous soldiery of Europe, and, strangely enough, when the great democratic movements of the French Revolution began, the thrones of European despots were guarded by hirelings from the free Swiss mountains.

322. Scandinavia. — Except for the ninth century invasions (§ 98), and for the brief empire of Knut (§ 157), Scandinavia hardly touched the life of the rest of Europe until the seventeenth century. The story of these northern lands is romantic. The very names of the Norse kings make a portrait gallery, — Eric Broadax, Hakon the Good, Hakon the Old, Olaf the Thickset, Olaf the Saint. But the history for the most part is only a record of meaningless wars, until, in 1397, the three kingdoms, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, were united under Queen Margaret of Denmark, by the *Union of Calmar*.

This treaty had the form of a brief written constitution signed by the principal men of the three nations. It provided that each country should keep its own laws and its internal administration, but that *for foreign affairs* the three should be joined in "perpetual union" under *one* hereditary sovereign.

[1] The myth of *William Tell* belongs to the period of Morgarten, and the myth of *Arnold Winkelried* to that of Sempach. These two stories are good subjects for special reports.

EUROPE
ABOUT THE
Year 1400
Eastern Empire
Mohammedan Powers
Western Empire
Scandinavian Kingdoms
English Dominions
Venetian
Genoese
Burgundian
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
RUSSIA
IRELAND
ENGLAND
SCOTLAND
FRANCE
WESTERN GERMANY
EMPIRE
POLAND
LITHUANIA
HUNGARY
BOHEMIA
SWITZ.
PORTUGAL
LEON AND CASTILE
NAVARRE
ARAGON
SICILY
NAPLES
BOSNA
CRETE
CYPRUS
Ottomans
Trondhjem
Upsala
Edinburg
Dublin
London
Copenhagen
Lubeck
Novgorod
Vladimir
Moscow
Calais
Ghent
Luxemburg
Paris
Rheims
Genesen
Kiev
Krakow
Vienna
Dijon
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Lyon
Bern
Milan
Grenoble
Genoa
Florence
Rome
Naples
Lisbon
Toledo
Valencia
Granada
Adrianople
Constantinople
Thessalonica
Athens
Trebizond
Mauls

In practice, however, *the "Union" made the states of the northern peninsula into dependencies of Denmark.* Sweden soon rebelled, and finally, under her heroic *Gustavus Vasa*, established her independence; but Norway, with occasional rebellions, remained dependent until 1814.

323. The Netherlands (Low Countries) did not form an independent state in the Middle Ages. They were made up of a group of provinces, part of them fiefs of the Empire, part of them French fiefs. The southern portion has become modern Belgium; the northern part, modern Holland. The land is a low, level tract, and in the Middle Ages it was more densely packed with teeming cities than any other part of Europe.

HALL OF THE CLOTHMAKERS' GILD AT YPRES: begun, 1200; finished, 1364.

The inhabitants were a sturdy, independent, slow, industrious, persistent people. Ghent claimed eighty thousand citizens able to bear arms, while Ypres is said to have employed two hundred thousand people in the weaving of cloth. No doubt these numbers are exaggerations; but wealth so abounded that the "counts" of this little district excelled most of the kings of Europe in magnificence. Early in the crusading age the cities had won or bought their liberties. Each province had its Diet, where sat nobles and city representatives.

Many of these cities were built on land wrested from the sea,[1] and they took naturally to commerce. In their markets, the merchants from Italy and the south of Europe met and exchanged wares with the Hansa merchants.

But these Netherland towns were workshops even more than they were trading rooms. "Nothing reached their shores," says one historian, "but received a more perfect finish; what was coarse and almost worthless, became transmuted into something beautiful and good." Matthew Paris, a thirteenth century English chronicler, exclaimed that "the whole world was clothed in English wool *manufactured in Flanders.*"

The need of English wool for the Flemish looms made Flanders the ally of England in the Hundred Years' War. During this period the dukes of Burgundy became masters of Flanders. When Charles the Bold of Burgundy lost his life in trying to extend his dukedom into a kingdom (§ 301), and when Louis XI of France then seized most of his possessions, the Flemish towns wisely chose to remain faithful to Mary, the daughter of Charles.

In return for their fidelity, an Estates General of the provinces secured from that princess a grant of *The Great Privilege*, the "Magna Carta of the Netherlands" (1478). This document promised (1) that the provinces might hold Diets at will; (2) that no new tax should be imposed but by the Estates General; (3) that no war should be declared but by the consent of that body; (4) that offices should be filled by natives only; and (5) that Dutch should be the official language.

Mary married the young Maximilian of Hapsburg (§ 318), and the Netherlands passed to the House of Austria.

For Further Reading. — The only reading advisable for young students on this period (outside England and France for which suggestions have been given) concerns Holland. The best accounts will be found in Griffis' *Brave Little Holland*, Rogers' *Holland*, and the opening pages of *The Student's Motley*.

[1] Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and many other cities to the north were built upon dams, or dikes.

CHAPTER XVIII

CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES: POLITICAL EUROPE

324. "Monarchic States."— In the last chapters we have traced the rise of new powerful monarchies in England, France, Spain, Austria and Bohemia, Sweden and Denmark. Like governments had appeared, too, in Hungary and Poland. Two small lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands, were loosely connected with the Austrian Hapsburg monarchy. And two great lands had no part in the movement: until 1250, Germany and Italy had been the center of interest; but their claim for universal rule had left them broken in fragments. Not for centuries were they to reach this new form of united monarchic government. *Leadership, therefore, passed from them to France, Spain, and England,* — the three countries in which the new movement was most advanced. Germany and Italy became little more than a battle ground for these states.

It is well at this point to look back for a bird's-eye view of the political progress of the Middle Ages. After Charlemagne, Europe had been forced, by military and economic necessities (chapter v), to adopt the feudal organization. But this barbarous anarchic sort of government did not long meet the needs of reviving civilization; and, before 1300, two definite plans at better organization had been tried. And both had failed. (1) The hope for a *universal monarchy* was shattered by the conflict between emperors and popes. (2) The papacy seemed at first to come out of that conflict as a victorious *universal "theocracy"*;[1] but its *political* power soon vanished before the rising English and French monarchies.

[1] *Theocracy* is a government by a priesthood, as in parts of Jewish history

The rise of "monarchic states" is the great change that marks the close, politically, of the Middle Ages. At the moment, it seemed a disaster to many good men, who had their minds fixed on the old ideal of a united Christendom. But, since the days of the old Roman empire, Europe had never known a true union. "Latin Christendom," in its best period of union, had contained several *layers* of society, each spread over all Western Europe — nobles, burgesses, artisans, priests, peasants. These *horizontal* lines of cleavage between classes had been far more disastrous to union than the new cleavage into nations was to be. One class had been more foreign to another in the same land than France to England. French noble and German noble were always ready to make common cause against peasants or townsfolk of *either* country.

The new monarchies were to change all this. Indeed, they had already begun to do so. The real mission of each of them, whether the monarchs saw it yet or not, was *to weld all the classes within its land into one people with a common patriotism.* While this was being done, some old liberties were lost. But, unconsciously, the monarchs were paving the way for a new freedom, a few centuries later, broader and safer than the world had ever known.

325. The Struggle for Italy. — Even in Italy there had been some movement toward unity. Soon after 1300 nearly every city fell under the rule of tyrants. But by 1450 the many petty divisions had been brought under one or another of the "Five Great States," — the kingdom of Sicily in the south, the Papal States in the center, and in the north the duchy of Milan and the so-called republics of Venice and Florence. The movement toward consolidation, however, had not gone far enough to afford security, now that other countries were united at home.

We saw that about 1250 a pope invited a French prince, Charles of Anjou, to become king of Sicily (§ 232). Charles VIII of France now claimed the crown of Sicily and Naples as the heir of the House of Anjou, and, in 1494, he crossed the Alps with a large army to assert his claim. Charles was

ILLUSTRATION FROM A FIFTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT, showing in the foreground Maximilian of Austria, Mary of Burgundy, and their son Philip. The original is in colors.

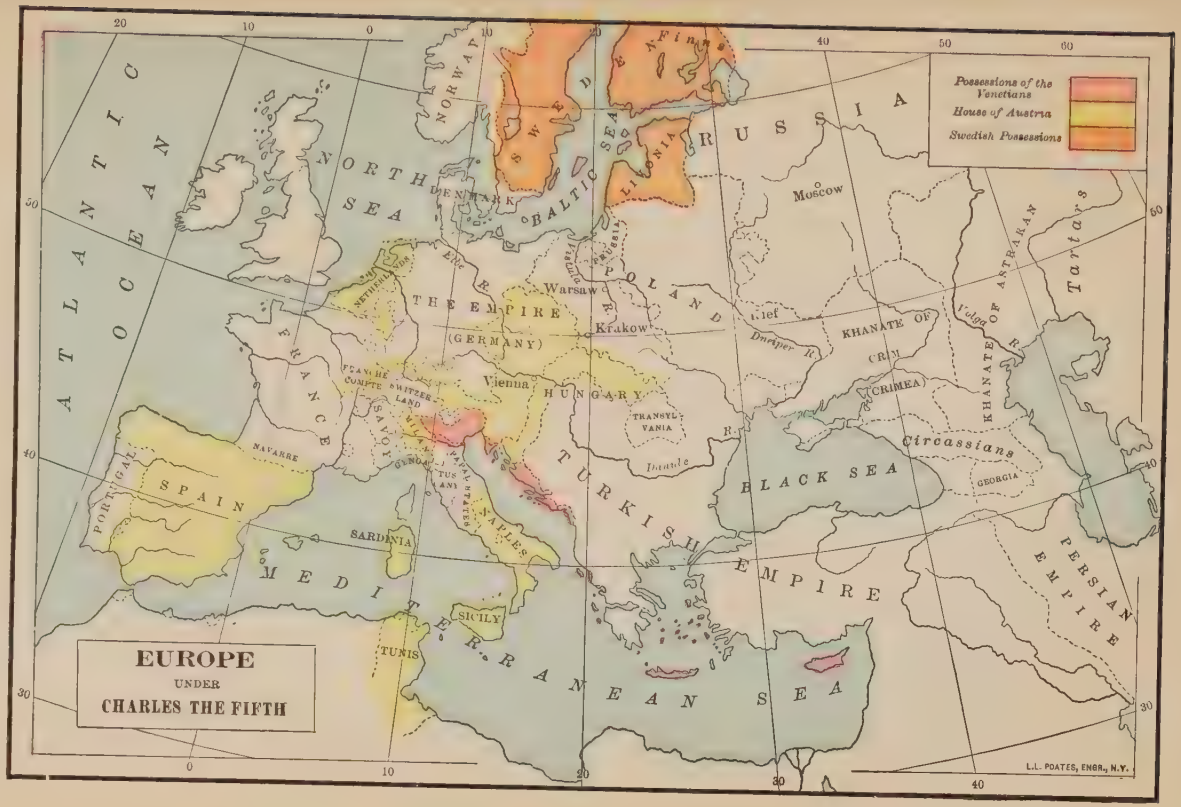
animated by wild dreams of conquest. He marched victoriously from end to end of the peninsula, regulating matters at will, not only in his southern kingdom, but in the northern states as well. However, Italian enemies quickly gathered behind him. Ferdinand of Aragon, also, claimed the kingdom of Sicily; and Venice joined the anti-French party. Charles secured his retreat into France only by a desperate battle. *Spain was left mistress of Sicily and Naples.*

326. The Hapsburg Power. — Ferdinand of Aragon had been building up family alliances to strengthen the power of Spain. One daughter he married to the young English prince, soon to become King Henry VIII (§ 373), and another to Philip of Hapsburg, son of the Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy (§ 323). From this last marriage, in 1500, was born a child, Charles, who was almost to restore a universal empire.

Philip, father of Charles, had been ruler of the rich provinces of the Netherlands through his mother, Mary; and his early death left those districts to Charles while yet a boy. In 1516 Charles also succeeded his grandfather, Ferdinand, as king of Sicily and Naples and as king of Spain, with the gold-producing realms in America that had just become Spain's. Three years later he succeeded his other grandfather, Maximilian, as the hereditary ruler of Austria, with its many dependent provinces. Then, still a boy of 19, Charles became a candidate for the title of emperor, which Maximilian's death had left vacant; and his wealth (or that of his Flemish merchants) enabled him to win against his rivals, Francis of France and Henry VIII of England.

327. Thus Charles I of Spain, at twenty, became also Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. This election gave him a claim to lordship over Germany and the rest of Italy. His hereditary possessions made it seem possible for a while that he might make his claim good — and so more than restore the empire of the first great Charles (Charlemagne).

328. Francis and Charles. — France, at first, was his only apparent obstacle. Francis I had been trying to capture Milan


Possessions of the Venetians
House of Austria
Swedish Possessions
EUROPE
UNDER
CHARLES THE FIFTH
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Finland
RUSSIA
Moscow
DENMARK
LIVONIA
POLAND
Warsaw
Krakow
THE EMPIRE
(GERMANY)
NETHERLANDS
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
NAVARRE
SWITZERLAND
Vienna
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
TURKISH EMPIRE
SARDINIA
SICILY
NAPLES
TUSCANY
GENOA
MILAN
TUNIS
CRIMEA
KHANATE OF ASTRAKAN
KHANATE OF
Circassians
GEORGIA
PERSIAN EMPIRE
Tartary
Volga R.
Dniepr R.
Danube R.
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

—in right of a shadowy French claim; and this brought Francis and Charles into conflict. Compact France was nearly equal in power to all the scattered Hapsburg realms, and Francis found mighty reinforcement from an event which occurred just at this moment in Germany. In 1520 Martin Luther publicly burned a papal bull (§ 353) and started the Protestant Reformation, which was to split Germany at once into opposing camps and to render forever impossible the restoration of the old imperial unity of Christendom, of which Charles perhaps had dreamed.

Gold Coin of Francis I.

This was the political situation when Europe entered the age of the Protestant Revolt (§ 346). Before we enter upon that story, we have yet to treat the *inteliectual* side of the two centuries whose political story we have been tracing in the last five chapters.

REVIEW EXERCISES

1. Fact drills.
   a. Dates. Add to previous lists the following: —

1100–1300, Crusades. 1414, Council of Constance.
1254–1273, Great Interregnum. 1453, Fall of Constantinople.
1381, Peasant Rising in England. 1492, Columbus. Capture of Granada.

   b. Fix other events in connection with the above; such as the Swiss Confederacy (after the death of Rudolph, who becomes emperor 1273, at close of Interregnum), Innocent III, Albigensian heresy, Tartar invasions, etc.
   c. Extend list of terms for brief explanation (cf. pages 130, 213): "take the cross," Dukes of Athens, Teutonic Order, Janissaries, etc. (The list should be a long one for this period.)
2. Review questions presented by class.
3. Map reviews and comparisons.
4. General topics: (*a*) parliamentary assemblies of Europe, — Diets, Estates, Cortes, etc.; (*b*) movements for religious reforms within the church; (*c*) movements for religious reforms that threatened, at least, to act outside the church.

CHAPTER XIX

THE RENAISSANCE (1350–1550)

(A Transition to a New Age)

329. Character of the Renaissance. — The intellectual awakening that followed the crusades (§ 254) had already shown itself before 1300 in the marvelous growth of universities (§ 274); and soon after that date, it began to grow into the far more wonderful movement which we call the Renaissance. The name is a fit one because the change consisted largely in a "rebirth" of an old, long-forgotten way of looking at life. This older way had expressed itself in the art and literature of the ancient Greeks; and naturally the men of the new age were passionately enthusiastic over all remains of the "classical" period. The real characteristic of the Renaissance, however, was not its devotion to the past, *but its joyousness and self-trust in the present.* The men of the Renaissance cared for the ancient culture of Greece and of Rome, because they found in it what they themselves thought and felt.

Between those classical times and the fourteenth century, there had intervened centuries of very different life — which we have been studying. Those "intervening" centuries are called, properly enough, the "Middle Ages." They have *three marks* on the intellectual side. (1) Ignorance was the general rule; and even the learned followed slavishly in the footsteps of some intellectual master. (2) Man *as an individual* counted for little. In all his activities he was part of some gild or order or corporation. (3) Interest in the future life was so intense that many good men neglected the present life. Beauty in nature was little regarded, or regarded almost as a temptation of the devil. Men not only felt it wrong to take delight in

the world, but thought they ought always to think of the terrors of a world to come.

The Renaissance changed all this. (1) For blind obedience to authority and tradition, it substituted the free inquiring way in which the Ancients had looked at things. (2) A new self-reliance and self-confidence marked the individual, and a fresh and lively originality appeared in every form of thought. (3) Men awoke to delight in flower and sky and mountain, in the beauty of the human body, in all the pleasures of the natural world, and also of the world of thought and imagination.

330. Periods. — This transformation — one of the two or three most wonderful changes in all history — began first in Italy about 1350. It was well over in that land by 1550; while it hardly began in England until 1500, and there it lasted through Shakspere's age, to about 1600. For other countries, the movement came between these extreme dates. The whole period was one of transition out of one age into another. Thus it is hard to date it at all, and of course it varied for different places. This chapter, therefore, in places, runs over into the next age.

The Renaissance, too, showed itself most forcefully at different times in different ways. First it manifested itself in art and literature, then in a revival of learning and in scientific study, and finally in a movement for religious reform. Some of these phases were more marked in one country, some in another.

331. Italy was the natural home for a revival in literature and art. Italy's Virgil had been read by a few Italian scholars all down the Middle Ages. The Italian language was nearer the Latin than any other European language was, and more manuscripts of the ancient Roman writers survived in Italy than elsewhere in Western Europe.

Three names are commonly associated with the Italian literary Renaissance, — *Dante* (1265–1321), *Petrarch* (1304–1374), and *Boccaccio* (1313–1375), — all citizens of Florence. The greatest of the three was *Dante;* but after all, Dante's thought belonged to the Middle Ages: it is only in his

independence and self-reliance that he stood for a new era. *Petrarch*, in the next generation, was the champion of a new age. In feeling and aspiration he belonged wholly to the Renaissance, — which he did much to bring to pass. His graceful sonnets are a famous part of Italian literature, but his chief influence upon the world lay in his work as a tireless critic of the medieval system and as an ardent advocate of the old classical ideals. He attacked vehemently the superstitions and the false science of the day; he ridiculed the mighty tomes of the Schoolmen as "heaps of worthless rubbish"; the universities themselves he laughed at as "nests of gloomy ignorance"; and he ventured daringly even to challenge the infallibility of Aristotle, — who, he said, was after all "only a man."

PETRARCH.

But Petrarch did more than merely destroy. It was desirable that the world should recover what the Ancients had possessed of art and knowledge, that it might take up progress again where they had left off. *Petrarch began an enthusiastic search for classical manuscripts*, and his disciples soon made this zeal fashionable throughout Italy.

Among these disciples the most famous was *Boccaccio*, nine years Petrarch's junior. He is widely famed as the writer of the *Decameron*, a collection of a hundred tales. This work made him the father of Italian prose, as Dante was of Italian poetry: but, as in the case of Petrarch, Boccaccio's real worth to the world lay mainly in the impulse he added to the revival of classical learning. He wrote the first dictionaries of classical geography and Greek mythology, and so made it easier for scholars to understand ancient writers; and he brought back the study of Greek to Italy.

332. This new enthusiasm for the classics became known as *humanism* (Latin, *humanitas*, culture). Before 1450, the Humanists had recovered practically all the literary remains we now have of the Latin authors, and a large part of the surviving Greek manuscripts. Oftentimes neglected manuscripts were found decaying in moldy vaults. Many had been mutilated, or had been erased in order that the parchment might receive some monastic legend.[1] Much had been wholly lost; and if the humanistic revival had been a little longer delayed, a great deal that we now possess would never have been recovered.

333. Recovery of the Greek Language. — With all their zeal for Greek manuscripts, and Latin translations of them, most of the early Humanists were ignorant of the Greek language; but after the year 1400, the knowledge of that tongue grew rapidly. Greek scholars were invited to the Italian cities and were given professorships in the universities. The increasing danger in the Greek Empire from the Turk (§ 320) made such invitations welcome, and the high prices paid by princely Italian collectors drew more and more of the literary treasures of Constantinople to the Italian cities. Many a fugitive scholar from the East found the possession of some precious manuscript the key to fortune and favor in Italy.[2] This movement received a sudden, but brief, acceleration when Constantinople fell, in 1453. "Greece did not perish," said an Italian scholar; "it emigrated to Italy."

334. Humanism in the History of Education. — At first, humanism had been stoutly resisted by the universities, but it finally captured them and established a "new education." The earlier "liberal education" had contained no Greek and had given little acquaintance with the Latin authors. The courses in "arts" were now broadened so as to furnish a true classical

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[1] In some cases this later writing has since been carefully removed, and the original writing restored faintly, through chemical processes.

[2] The value of such a manuscript furnishes an essential element in the plot of George Eliot's *Romola*.

training. Medieval Latin was replaced by the refined style of Cicero, and the great works of classical antiquity were studied at first hand. Greek thought and knowledge and the grand and beautiful conceptions of Greek and Latin literature were gradually absorbed into our modern thought and literature, which they still color.

335. Renaissance Art. — Architecture was the one beautiful thing that suffered at the Renaissance. The noble Gothic style was replaced by imitations of the older Roman and Greek styles. But in painting and sculpture there was great gain. These arts were reborn into the world, with the rebirth of a delight in life; and painting, at least, reached a perfection never before known.

This was particularly true in Italy. In that land many remains of ancient art were still preserved. Others, buried in the soil, were now eagerly sought for. After Boccaccio, the new movement became preëminently artistic. And art interested deeply the whole people, not merely a select few. Great popular processions did honor to single paintings, and famous works were produced in an abundance almost inconceivable.

Until about 1450 the paintings were mainly frescoes, or paintings upon freshly plastered ceilings, in churches or palaces. But one of the *Van Eyck* brothers in Holland, about the middle of the fifteenth century, invented new methods of preparing oil paints, so that painting upon canvas became possible. About the same time engraving of copper plates and "woodcuts" came into use.

The new artistic impulse is usually dated from the work of *Giotto*, early in the fourteenth century, but Italian painting culminated in the eighty years from 1470 to 1550. Between these dates came the work of *Leonardo da Vinci*, *Michael Angelo*, *Fra Angelico*, *Perugino*, *Raphael*, *Andrea del Sarto*, *the Bellini*, *Giorgione*, *Titian*, *Tintoretto*, and *Correggio*. *Each town had its able artists*, but nearly all the greatest masters, like most of those just named, belonged to Florence or to Venice. Many of these men practised more than one art. Thus, Michael Angelo was great as architect, engineer, and sculptor, as well as painter, and he was not without fame as a poet.

The great period of Dutch art was to come a little later, between 1600 and 1660, with *Rubens*, *Van Dyck*, and *Rembrandt*. In the same century came the great Spanish painters, *Velasquez* (1599–1660) and *Murillo* (1618–1682). The other great painters of the Renaissance age outside of Italy were the Germans, *Albert Dürer* (1471–1528) and *Holbein* (1498–1543). Neither England nor France produced much in this direction during these centuries. But some of the great Italians — Andrea del Sarto and Leonardo — found their chief patronage in Paris from Francis I, and English sovereigns entertained Holbein, Rubens, and Van Dyck.

336. There was an evil, pagan side to the Italian Renaissance. The men of the new movement, having cast off old restraints and beliefs, fell often into gross and shallow unbelief and into shameless self-indulgence. Delight in beauty sometimes sank into gross sensuality. Religious faith and private morals both declined, and for a time Italian society sank lower than the old Pagan world. The "Men of the Renaissance" were always polished and elegant and full of robust vitality; but many of them went to their goal recklessly by any means, and some of them were monsters of perfidy and cruelty.

337. This side of the Renaissance was typified by the Italian *Condottieri*, — roving captains of bands of soldiers of fortune. These chieftains sold their services to any city with a price to pay, — and then betrayed it, on occasion, or seized it for themselves, if convenient. Such was the source of most of the Italian "tyrants" (§ 325) of the time. Many of them were generous patrons of art and learning; but their marked characteristics were indomitable will, reckless scorn of danger, powerful minds, and absolute freedom from moral scruple — which led them to extremes of cruelty and perfidy whenever such measures seemed useful to them. Like traits show a few years later, in the Spanish conquerors of the New World; — Cortez, Pizarro, Balboa, and their fellows. The scores of English sea-kings of the next century — Raleigh, Drake, Hawkins, Gilbert, Grenville (who fought "the fight of the one and the fifty-three"[1]) — belong to the same order of men *except* that in them cruelty is refined into sternness, and perfidy is re-

[1] Read Tennyson's poem of that name.

placed by lofty honor, through the greater moral earnestness of the Renaissance in the North.

338. The Renaissance was *mainly* artistic and literary in the south of Europe, and mainly scientific and religious in the north. But the intellectual side, too, was born in Italy. The first modern scholar with the scientific spirit (if we except Roger Bacon, § 281) was *Laurentius Valla* (died 1457). Among other works, he edited the New Testament in Greek, and he proved that a long-accepted famous "donation" of power and territory to the popes, by the first Christian emperor, Constantine, was a forged document. Valla was private secretary to Pope Nicholas V (§ 314), who sympathized with his work.

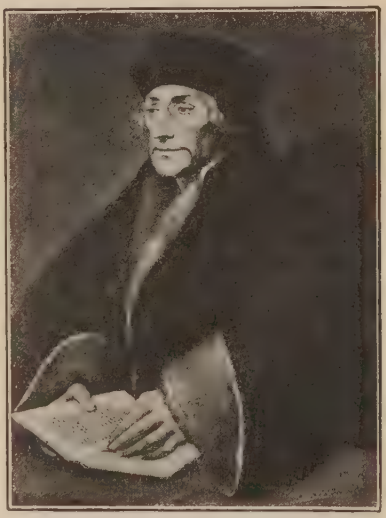
Thus modern science began with "historical criticism," — a careful, scientific study of the *sources* of knowledge about the past, and a critical investigation of documents, which disclosed many forgeries and corruptions. This new historical criticism was akin to the enthusiasm of the early Humanists for the recovery of classical writings; but *it was also related to a fervent religious desire* to remove abuses in the church and get back to the spirit and practices of early Christianity.

339. The Oxford Reformers. — But though born in Italy, *this "New Learning" did find its true home north of the Alps.* Valla's work was continued by *John Colet*, an Englishman who studied in Italy. He brought back to England the study of Greek, and lectured at the University of Oxford on the New Testament, preaching earnestly the need of an orderly reform in religion and church government. The group of his enthusiastic followers are known, with him, as *the Oxford Reformers.* Most important among them were Erasmus (a Hollander) and Sir Thomas More.

Colet became Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in London. There he established the famous St. Paul's School, — a model for the later English "Public Schools" like Eton and Rugby, wholly different from the old church schools. This began a new era in education.

340. The influence of Erasmus was not limited to any one country, but extended throughout Europe; and his name was

probably the most widely respected in that age. In 1516 he published the New Testament *in the original Greek* (with a careful Latin translation). His Greek text (far more correct than Valla's) was carefully revised, and accompanied by many critical notes. Now, for the first time, ordinary scholars could test satisfactorily the accuracy of the common Latin translation (the Vulgate) in use in the church.



Erasmus. After a portrait by Holbein.

Afterward Erasmus edited the writings of many of the early Christian Fathers — to show the character of early Christianity. In another sort of works — as in his famous *Praise of Folly* — with keen and graceful ridicule, he lashed the false learning and foolish methods of the monks and Schoolmen. He has been called "the Scholar of the Reformation." His writings did furnish Luther (§ 347) with much material ready for use against the old religious system; but Erasmus was not himself a revolutionist. Like Valla, Colet, and More, he worked, with beautiful charity and patience and largeness of view, for reform *within* the great mother church.

341. Sir Thomas More was one of the noblest Englishmen of any age. He was a distinguished scholar — his learning brightened by a gentle and pervading humor — and a man of great personal charm. It was at his house that Erasmus wrote his *Praise of Folly*. More's own influence was given to reform in society rather than in religion. In the year that Erasmus published his Greek Testament, More issued his

Description of the Republic of Utopia ("Nowhere"). He portrays, with burning sympathy, the miseries of the English peasantry, and points accusingly to the barbarous social and political conditions of his time by contrasting with them the conditions in "Nowhere" — where the people elect their government (which accordingly is devoted solely to their welfare), possess good homes, work short hours, enjoy absolute freedom of speech, high intellectual culture, and universal happiness, with all property in common. *Utopia* was the first of the many modern attempts to picture, in the guise of fiction, an ideal state of society.

Sir Thomas More. After a copy by Rubens of the portrait by Holbein.

342. The new intellectual movement was marked by a number of new inventions or by the first practical use of them. Four demand special attention.

Gunpowder had been known for some time (§ 290), but about 1500 it was very much improved in quality. Its first serious use was in the wars between Charles V and Francis I, about 1521. This invention gave the final blow to the already dying feudalism.

Printing did more to advance the new order than gunpowder could do to destroy the old. Cheap *paper* (from the Saracens) had been introduced before 1300, to replace costly parchments; but all books had still to be *written* by hand until after 1400. Then engravers made *plates* (engraved blocks of wood), each a page of a book. This made the reproduction of a book much

quicker and cheaper than before. Some such process seems to have been practised by the Chinese centuries earlier. Finally, **John Gutenberg**, about 1450 (at Mainz), invented the process of "casting" separate metal type in molds.

This invention of *movable* type came at a happy moment, when the recovery of ancient manuscripts was just complete. There was much to print; and in less than twenty-five years printing presses were at work in every country in Southwestern Europe. In 1474 William Caxton brought back the new art from the continent to England, issuing for the first book from his press, the *Game and Playe of Chesse.* No previous invention had spread its influence so rapidly. Before 1500, Venice alone had sent out over three thousand editions of famous books. The new process reduced the price of books at once to one-tenth or one-twentieth the old price, and it enormously increased their circulation. It preserved the precious works recovered by the Humanists, and soon spread broadcast the new thought of the Reformation.

The telescope gave knowledge of other worlds.

The mariner's compass enabled Columbus to double the area of the known globe.

343. Geographical Discoveries. — The Ancients had *played* with the notion of sailing around the earth. Aristotle speaks of "persons" who held that it might be possible; and Strabo, a Roman geographer, suggested that one or more continents might lie in the Atlantic between Europe and Asia.

But during the Middle Ages men had come to believe that the known habitable earth was bounded on all sides by an uninhabitable and untraversable world, — on the north by snow and ice, on the south by a fiery zone, on the west by watery wastes stretching down an inclined plane, up which men might not return, and on the east by a dim land of fog and fen, the abode of strange and terrible monsters.[1] The Indian Ocean,

[1] For some of these ideas, see the curious and interesting *Travels* of Sir John Mandeville (thirteenth century).

too, was thought to be a *lake*, encompassed by the shores of Asia and Africa.

The first step toward the discovery of America was to correct these views. This was accomplished in part by a better geographical knowledge of Asia, gained in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Louis IX of France sent Friar Rubruk as ambassador to the court of the Tartar Khan in central Asia; and the friar on his return reported that he had heard of a *navigable ocean east of Cathay* (China), with a marvelously wealthy island, Zipango (Japan).

Monk teaching the Globe. — From a thirteenth century manuscript in the National Library at Paris.

This rumor of an ocean to the east made a leap in men's thought. Friar Bacon in England (§ 281) at once raised the question whether this ocean might not be the same as the one that washed Europe on the west and whether men might not reach Asia by sailing west into the Atlantic. Indeed, Bacon wrote a book to support these conjectures, adding many opinions of the Ancients; and extensive extracts from this volume were copied into a later book, which was to become a favorite of Columbus.

Such speculation implies that scholars understood the sphericity of the earth. The ancient Greeks had had this knowledge of the earth's form, and of its true size, but that knowledge had been lost in the early Middle Ages. Saracenic schools, however, preserved the truth, and some European thinkers had been familiar with it, even in the "Dark Ages."

Moreover, the Mongol emperors (§ 252) opened China to western strangers to a degree altogether new for that land; and, while Mongol dominion lasted, many strangers and mer-

chants visited the East. Among these were three Venetians, the *Polos*, who on their return sailed from Peking through the straits into the Indian Ocean and up the Persian Gulf. *This proved true the rumor of Rubruk regarding an eastern ocean, and proved also that the Indian Ocean was not landlocked.*

Travelers in that age did not often write descriptions of their travels. One of these Polos, however, being captured, soon after his return, in a sea fight between Venice and Genoa, remained a prisoner in Genoa for some years; and the stories that he told of his adventures were written down by one of his fellow captives. Thus was made "The Book of Ser Marco Polo," one of the most widely read books of the Middle Ages.

From this time it was possible to think seriously of reaching India by sailing west. Soon afterward *commercial conditions changed so as to impel men earnestly to try it.*

The Crusades had given a new impulse to trade with the Orient, and many eastern products were become almost necessities of daily life to Europe; but in the fifteenth century, the progress of the Turks threatened the old trade routes. Constantinople, the emporium for the route by the Black Sea, fell into their hands, and each year their power crept farther south in Asia, endangering the remaining route by the Red Sea. Under these circumstances the *question was forced home to Europe whether or not a new route could be found* and the speculations of Bacon and the discoveries of the Polos pointed to an answer.

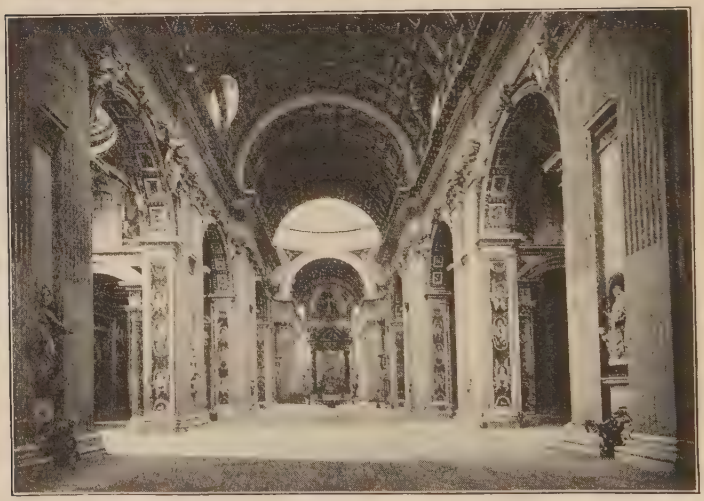
344. The Portuguese, under Prince Henry the Navigator, had already been engaged in building up a Portuguese empire in Africa and in the islands of the Atlantic (Azores, Canary, and Verde[1]); and about 1470 they **began to attempt to reach India** *by sailing around Africa.* In 1846 a Portuguese captain, *Bartholomew Diaz*, while engaged in this attempt, was carried far to the south in a storm, and on his return to the coast he found it *on his left hand* as he moved toward the north. He followed it several hundred miles, well into the Indian Ocean.

[1] The name "Cape Verde" indicates the surprise of the discoverers (1450) at verdure so far south.

Then his sailors compelled him to turn back to Portugal. India was not actually reached until the expedition of Vasco da Gama in 1498, after more memorable voyages in another direction.

345. One of the sailors with Diaz in 1846, when in this way he rounded the Cape of "Good Hope," was a Bartholomew Columbus, whose brother *Christopher* also had sailed on several Portuguese voyages. Now, however, for some years, **Christopher Columbus had devote himself to the more daring theory that India could be reached by sailing west** into the open Atlantic. Portugal, well content with her monopoly of African exploration, refused to assist him to try his plan. Henry VII of England also declined to furnish him ships. But finally, the high-minded Isabella of Castile, while the siege of Granada was in progress, fitted out his small fleet, and *in 1492 Columbus revealed to Europe the "new world" of America.*

For Further Reading. — Students may be encouraged to explore the following works: Adams' *Civilization*, 364–391; Symond's *Short History of the Renaissance;* Froude's *Erasmus;* Fiske's *Discovery of America*, I, ch. iv (on geography); Brooks' *Story of Marco Polo;* Saintsbury's *Flourishing of Romance.* Lübke's *History of Art* is good for the medieval period, and Van Dyke's *History of Painting* is excellent. **Source material** on the age will be found in Ogg's *Source Book*, chs. xxi–xxvi, and in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 524 ff.



St. Peter's, Rome. — The interior view shows the nave (central aisle) as one enters, looking east. On the right of the exterior view is shown the Vatican, the papal residence.

St. Peter's was not completed until far into the seventeenth century, but it owes most of its glory to the work upon it of artists of the late Renaissance period, like Raphael and Michael Angelo. The form of this greatest of churches is that of a cross, surmounted, at the junction of the arms, by a dome 138 feet across, the dominating feature of the building and probably the most famous dome in the world.

PART III

THE AGE OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, 1520–1648

CHAPTER XX

THE REFORMATION ON THE CONTINENT

I. LUTHERANISM — IN GERMANY

346. Most of our recent references to the church (§§ 295, 310, 314) **have involved some mention of abuses** that were growing up within it. All good Christians lamented those abuses. A few wise, broad-minded, genial men, like Erasmus and Colet (§§ 339, 340), strove earnestly to *reform* them. Less patient, more impetuous men broke away from the old church in a revolt, which became "the Protestant Reformation."

347. The revolt began in Germany. That land lacked a strong government to protect it, and so its hard-won, little wealth was drained away to richer Italy by papal taxes of many sorts. Nowhere else was this condition so serious. From peasant to prince, the German people had long grumbled as they paid, and they needed only a leader to rise against papal control.

Martin Luther, son of a Thuringian peasant-miner, became that leader. Luther was a born fighter, — a straightforward man, with a blunt, homely way that sometimes degenerated into coarseness. Erasmus addressed cultivated scholars: Luther spoke to the plain people. As an Augustinian friar, his effective preaching had attracted the attention of Duke Frederick the Wise of Saxony, who made him a professor of theology in the new University of Wittenberg.

348. Luther's revolt began in his opposition to the "sale of indulgences." The pope was rebuilding St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome with great magnificence. To help raise money for that purpose, a German archbishop had licensed John Tetzel, a Dominican, to grant indulgences. The practice was an old one, arising easily out of the doctrine of "penance" (§ 147). The authorized teaching of the church was, that, in reward for some pious act — or for the gift of money for a pious purpose — a sinner *who had truly repented and who had, so far as possible, atoned for his sins*, might have the punishment due *in purgatory* remitted by the church. The ignorant masses, unable to read the Latin documents, often thought that such an "indulgence" was an *unconditional* pardon, — contrary to the doctrine of the church; and some professional "pardoners," who peddled such "letters," encouraged this gross error. Tetzel was a special offender in this way. A rude German rhyme, ascribed to him, runs, "The money rattles in the box; the soul from purgatory flies." More than a hundred years before, the bright-souled Chaucer had given the only bitter lines in his *Canterbury Tales* to the Pardoner with his wallet "bret-full of pardons, come from Rome all hot." The gentle Erasmus had written scathing words against the evil. Now a visit of Tetzel to Wittenberg, with a batch of these papal letters, aroused Luther to more vehement protest.

349. On a Sunday in October, 1517, Luther nailed to the door of the Wittenberg church ninety-five "theses" (statements) against the practice of "selling indulgences," upon which he challenged all comers to debate. That door was the usual university bulletin board where it was customary for one scholar to challenge others to debate. But Luther's act had consequences far beyond the university. The theses were *in Latin*, the regular university language; but the printing press scattered copies broadcast *in German*, and in a few days they were being discussed hotly over all Germany.

350. Soon, however, the matter of indulgences dropped out

of sight. The papal legate in Germany reprimanded Tetzel sternly for his gross mispractice; and the church corrected the abuse.[1] But, meanwhile, Luther adopted more radical opinions; and in 1519 he *denied the authority of the pope, appealing instead to the Bible as the sole rule of conduct and belief*.[2] Then when at last a papal bull ordered him to recant and to burn his heretical writings, *Luther burned instead the papal bull* in a bonfire of other writings of the church, before the town gate *in December, 1520*, while a crowd of students and townsfolk brought fuel. The German friar had declared war upon the all-powerful church.

351. Germany was in uproar. Duke Frederick (§ 347) protected Luther; and so the pope appealed to the young emperor, Charles V (§ 327) to punish the heretic. **Charles called an imperial Diet[3] at Worms** (1521) and summoned Luther to be present, pledging safe conduct. Friends tried to dissuade Luther from going, pointing to the fate of Hus a century before; but he replied merely, "I would go on if there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the housetops." At the Diet he was confronted with scornful contempt by the great dignitaries of the church and of the Empire. But to the haughty

[1] The Council of Trent (§ 361), a little later, condemned "those who assert that indulgences are useless [provided there is also "contrition, confession, and atonement" by the sinner], or who deny the power of the church to grant them. . . . In granting them, however, the Council desires that . . . moderation be observed. . . . And, being desirous of mending the abuses which have crept in, by occasion of which the honorable name of indulgences is blasphemed by heretics, the Council ordains . . . that all evil gains for the obtaining thereof be abolished." In later times the practice of granting indulgences in return for money has been discontinued.

[2] Luther *tried* to substitute one authority for another. But the Bible is capable of many interpretations. His appeal to the Bible as the sole authority meant Luther's understanding of the Bible. In the mouth of another man, however, the same appeal meant that other's understanding of the book. So, *unintentionally*, the Protestant revolt came to stand for *the right of individual judgment*.

[3] The German *Diet* in early times contained only nobles. In the fourteenth century, representatives of the "free cities" were admitted. Then the Diet sat usually in three Houses, Electors (the seven great princes), Princes (of second rank), and City Representatives. It never gained any real place in the government of the Empire.

command that he recant, he answered firmly, "Unless I am proved wrong by Scripture or plain reason . . . my conscience is caught in the word of God. . . . Here I stand. As God is my help, I can no otherwise."

LUTHER'S DEFIANCE AT WORMS, — a modern painting by Von Werner.

352. Charles kept his pledge; but a month later the Diet pronounced against Luther the "ban of the Empire," ordering that he be put to death. The friendly **Frederick of Saxony**, however, **had had him seized**, on his way homeward, **and carried into hiding in the castle of the Wartburg**. Most of his followers mourned him as dead; but in this refuge Luther translated the New Testament into strong and simple German. While he was still in hiding, his teachings were accepted by whole communities. Priests married; nuns and monks left their convents;[1] powerful princes joined the new communion, sometimes from honest conviction, sometimes as an excuse for seizing church lands.

In 1522, Luther left his retreat to guide the movement again

[1] Luther afterward married a nun who had renounced her vows.

in person and to restrain it from going further than he liked. Changes in religion, he urged, should be made only *by the governments*, not by the people: and he preserved all that he could of the old church services and organization, establishing them on essentially the basis on which they still stand in the Lutheran church. **By 1530, that church had won North Germany.**

LUTHER'S ROOM IN THE WARTBURG. — The desk is the one at which he penned his translation of the Bible. The broken plaster commemorates an interesting incident. Believing that Satan had come to tempt him, Luther hurled his ink bottle at the apparition. The ink splashed the plaster; and visitors have picked off pieces of the bespattered wall for souvenirs. Luther's picture, above the desk, is a modern addition to the room.

353. Meantime the revolt against the old church had led to the growth of some **extreme sects of wild fanatics** (one of which claimed to find sanction for polygamy in the Bible); and in 1525 there had been **a great rising of the peasants,**

demanding, "in the name of God's justice," the abolition of serfdom and the right of each parish to choose its own pastor. The peasants in Germany were in a much more deplorable condition than in England, and, when they found arms in their hands, in several places they avenged centuries of cruel oppression by massacres of old masters.

Luther, fearing discredit for his new church, called furiously on the princes to put down this rising with the sword — to "smite, strangle, or stab"; and the movement was stamped out brutally in blood, with ghastly scenes that infinitely surpassed in horror any excesses by the ignorant peasants themselves. The whole peasant class was crushed down to a level far lower than before, — lower than anywhere else in Europe, — where they were to remain helpless for almost three hundred years.

354. In 1529 another Diet reaffirmed the decree of Worms. Against this condemnation **the Lutherans presented a formal protest** — which gave them the name *Protestant*. The year following, in a Diet at Augsburg, the Lutheran princes set forth their beliefs in a written statement, "**the Augsburg Confession**," which is still the platform of the Lutheran church.

Charles V, the young emperor, was a zealous churchman, and if his hands had been free, he would have crushed Lutheranism at its birth. But even while the Diet of Worms was condemning Luther, the Spanish towns were rising in revolt and Francis I of France was seizing Italian territory (§ 328), and very soon Solyman the Magnificent (the Turkish Sultan) invaded Austria. Charles promptly crushed the ancient liberties of the Spanish towns; but the wars against France and the Turk, with only brief truces, filled the next twenty-three years (1521–1544),[1] and **for a generation the new faith was left to grow strong.**

[1] Some features connected with those wars may be assigned for special reports, such as: the Battle of Pavia; the sack of Rome by Charles' *Lutheran* soldiers; the alliance between Francis and the Turkish Solyman; Solyman's invasion of Germany; the ravages of Turkish pirates.

GERMANY
AFTER 1550
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
NORTH SEA
Holland
Friesland
Groningen
East Friesland
County of Oldenburg
Bremen
Arch. of Bremen
Schouwen
County of Zeeland
Flanders
Artois
Hainault
Brabant
Bishopric of Liege
Bishopric of Munster
Duchy of Cleve
Duchy of Berg
Duchy of Juliers
Duchy of Luxemburg
Duchy of Lorraine
Duchy of Burgundy
County of Hoya
County of Ravensberg
Bishopric of Paderborn
Duchy of Westphalia
Landgrav. of Hesse
County of Nassau
Arch. of Frankfort
Elector Palatinate
Bishopric of Spires
Duchy of Wurtemberg
Bishopric of Strasburg
Upper Alsatia
Bishopric of Basel
Swiss Confederation
County of Charolles
Amsterdam
Haarlem
Leyden
Hague
Delft
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Arnhem
Deventer
Zutphen
Zwolle
Kampen
Enkhuizen
Keevorden
Lingen
Diepholz
Minden
Osnabruck
Teckleinburg
Lippe
Paderborn
Dusseldorf
Cologne
Limburg
Aix-la-Chapelle
Maestricht
Liege
Namur
Bouillon
Luxemburg
Longwy
Treves
Ebernburg
Mainz
Darmstadt
Heidelberg
Landstuhl
Zweibrucken
Weissenburg
Hagenbach
Zabern
Baden
Tubingen
Hohenberg
Rottweil
Freiburg
Breisgau
Schaffhausen
Constance
Basel
Zurich
St. Gallo
Kappel
Wildhaus
Einsiedeln
Glarus
Lucerne
Bern
Neuchatel
Lake Constance
Rhine R.
Meuse R.
Moselle R.
Saar R.
Lahn R.
Main R.
Neckar R.
Danube R.
Aar R.
Reuss R.
Limmat R.
Doubs R.
Saone R.
Oise R.
Marne R.
Seine R.
Yonne R.
Loire R.
Ardennes
Vosges
Jura
Dijon
Dole
Besancon
Chalons
Paris
Soissons
Noyon
St. Quentin
Amiens
Cambrai
Arras
Valenciennes
Lille
Tournay
Ypres
St. Omer
Calais
Gravelines
Dunkirk
Ostend
Bruges
Ghent
Ingelmunster
Dendermonde
Mechlin
Alost
Brussels
Louvain
St. Trond
Turnhout
Antwerp
Breda
Bergen op Zoom
Middleburg
Flushing
Stuys
Gertruidenberg
Goch
Wesel
Dortmund
Soest
Recklinghausen
Cleves
Munster
Osnabruck
Teckleinburg
Ravensberg
Minden
Bielefeld
Brunswick
Calenberg
Hanover
Cassel
Fulda
Wetzlar
Gelnhausen
Coblenz
Treves
Trier
Saarbruck
Landau
Spires
Worms
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Laufen
Schaffhausen
Constance
Basel
Zurich
Kappel
Wildhaus
Einsiedeln
Glarus
Lucerne
Bern
Neuchatel
Freiburg
Colmar
Strasburg
Rottweil
Tubingen
Hohenberg
Baden
Zabern
Hagenbach
Weissenburg
Landstuhl
Zweibrucken

12
14
16
52
50
48
Duchy of Mecklenburg
Stettin
Pomerania
Uckermark
Stendal
Priegnitz
County Ruppin
Margraviate of Brandenburg
Neumark
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Netze
Obornik
Posen
Wartha
Altmark
Berlin
Kustrin
Frankfort
Schwiebus
Arch. of Magdeburg
Mittlemark
Lower Lusatia
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Zerbst
Wittenberg
Kotebus
Glogau
Frausta
Duchy of Sagan
Duchy of Silesia
Prin. of Liegnitz
Prin. of Brieg
Torgau
Mühlberg
Upper Lusatia
Merseburg
Leipzig
Electorate of Saxony
Erfurt
Weimar
Zeitz
Dresden
Chemnitz
Zwickau
Zittau
Görlitz
Lebau
County of Glatz
Saxony
Reuss
Plauen
Adorf
KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA
Prague
Bayreuth
Bayreuth
Upper Palatinate
Nuremburg
Altdorf
Schwabach
Pilsen
Peraun
Sazawa R.
Tabor
Margraviate of Moravia
Brünn
Ratisbon
Bishopric of Passau
Bishopric of Bamberg
Ingolstadt
Landau
Duchy of Bavaria
Augsburg
Altdorf
Landshut
Passau
Danube
Arch. of Austria
Linz
Molk
Vienna
Pressburg
Munich
Salzburg
Berchtesgaden
Neustadt
Arch. of Salzburg
Leoben
Bruck
Duchy of Styria
Graz
Gastein
Pinzgau
Hall
Innsbruck
Brenner
County of Tyrol
Duchy of Carinthia
Klagenfurt
Tyrol
Brixen (Bishopric)
Etsch R.
VENICE
Bleiburg
Radkersburg
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

We commonly speak as though social progress of any kind were possible only under a strong and orderly government; but it is a peculiar fact that the two countries destitute of settled government gave Europe the Renaissance and the Reformation. The intense city life in the small Italian states was favorable to the intellectual activity and independence of the Renaissance; and the absence of strong central government was the condition which permitted Lutheranism so long to grow unchecked in Germany.

When Charles *did* find his hands free for Germany, Protestantism was too strong even for his power, and he was forced to accept the *Peace of Augsburg* (1555), which left each prince of the Empire free to choose the religion for his province. (The people were expected docilely to accept the religion of their ruler.)

355. The Protestants in their danger had sought aid from the French king; and France for her reward had seized some German districts, including the city of Metz. Chagrined at the loss, and disheartened by the split within the Empire, **Charles abdicated** his many crowns in 1556. His brother *Ferdinand* became ruler of Austria, and soon after was chosen Emperor (and by marriage he also added Hungary to the Hapsburg realms). Charles' son, *Philip II*, received the Netherlands, Spain, Naples, and Spanish America. **There were now two Hapsburg Houses**, one in Spain, one in Austria. *France feared that she might be crushed between them*, and became eager to take advantage of any chance to weaken them.

II. CALVINISM — IN SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE

While Lutheranism was winning North Germany (and Scandinavia), another form of Protestantism, *Calvinism*, was growing up in Switzerland and, for a time, in France and even in the west of Germany, while the English church had cut itself off from papal authority (§ 364).

356. The Calvinistic movement was started in 1519 (the year *before* Luther burned the papal bull), by *Zwingli*, a priest at Zürich, in Switzerland. Zwingli was far more radical than Luther. Luther *tried to keep everything* of the old worship and doctrine *that he did not think forbidden* by the Bible. But

Zwingli *refused to keep anything* of the old *that he did not think absolutely commanded* by the Bible. He also organized a strict system of church discipline which severely punished gaming, swearing, drunkenness, and some innocent sports.

357. The contrast between Zwingli and Luther appeared clearly in their different attitude toward the Catholic doctrine of *transubstantiation* (§ 148). Catholics believe that the bread and wine of the communion are turned by the sacrament into the actual body and blood of Christ. Luther tried to hold as much of this doctrine as he could, and to keep to a literal use of Christ's words — "This is my body" (*Mark*, xxiv, 23). He taught that the bread and wine were still bread and wine as they seemed, but that the body and blood of Christ were also present, *along with them*, in the communion. "*Con*substantiation" was the term used to signify this doctrine. The followers of Zwingli held that Christ's words were figurative, and that the bread and wine were only *symbols* to remind us of his sacrifice.

It was this distinction between Luther and Zwingli that prevented a union between the two Protestant movements. Zwingli attempted to secure union, and in 1529 a conference was arranged. But Luther stuck stubbornly to his text — "This is my body," and when Zwingli offered his hand in token of amity, Luther refused to take it unless Zwingli would first accept those words literally.

This division illustrates the way in which the Protestant appeal to private judgment was to give rise to a multitude of sects. At first, in particular, these sects were scandalously hostile to one another; and, in Germany, the mutual hatred of Lutherans and Calvinists endangered more than once the whole cause of Protestantism. When the Lutheran princes secured the Peace of Augsburg for themselves, they did not include Calvinists in the toleration they secured. Catholics, of course, pointed to such dissensions as proof of the necessity of trusting to the collective wisdom of the church, rather than to individual judgments.

358. Zwingli's teachings were accepted rapidly by the rich "city cantons" of Switzerland, both German and French, like Zürich and Berne, and finally found their chief center at Geneva.

This city had been a French town in the Alps. It had quarreled with its feudal lord, and, for greater safetly, had joined the Swiss League. Its former lord had been a Catholic bishop; and so rebellious Geneva turned to the doctrines of Zwingli.

But the peasant "forest cantons," the core of the original confederation (§ 321), remained Catholic. In a battle between the two parties, in 1531, Zwingli was killed. Five years after the death of that leader, **John Calvin** (a fugitive from France because of religious heresy) **found refuge at Geneva, took up Zwingli's work,** and soon became there an absolute dictator over both church and government. Geneva became a Puritan "theocracy," "with Calvin for its pope."

A Village Maypole Festival of the sixteenth century, such as Calvin condemned.

359. This remarkable man was a young French scholar of sternly logical mind. He **became the father of Puritan theology** and of the Presbyterian church, with its synods and presbyteries. Undoubtedly he took the law of Moses rather than the spirit of Christ for the basis of his legislation: but his writings influenced profoundly his own and future times. Ardent reformers from all Europe flocked to Geneva to imbibe his teachings, and then returned *to spread Calvinism in their own lands.* From Geneva came the seeds of *Scotch Presbyterianism*, of *the great Puritan movement within the English church* (soon to be treated), of *the leading Protestant movement among the Dutch*, and of the *Huguenot church of France.* It is from the French Calvin,

not the German Luther, that modern liberal Protestantism has sprung. True, Calvin did not believe in democracy, and he taught that for "subjects" to resist even a wicked ruler was "to resist God"; but, in spite of this teaching, in the course of historical movements, Calvinism became the ally of political freedom in Holland, England, and America.

360. One terrible case of persecution, in particular, stains Calvin's fame. *Servetus* was a learned Spanish physician, with intense religious convictions somewhat like those of modern Unitarians. He had had some literary controversies with Calvin; but, to escape from Catholic persecution at home, he fled to Geneva. Calvin's government there seized him, tried him in its own way for heresy, and burned him at the stake.

Incidentally, *this crime put back medical progress for at least fifty years.* The foundation of true medical science lies in a knowledge of the circulation of the blood, as taught in any elementary physiology to-day. But in the time of Servetus it had been believed for centuries that the bright blood of the arteries and the dark blood of the veins were two distinct systems, one from the heart, the other from the liver. Servetus first discovered that the two were one system. He found out how the dark blood is purified in the lungs, and understood fully the work of the heart. He had just published his medical discovery in the same book that contained his theological opinions. His persecutors sought out and burned this volume so zealously that only two copies survived. These were long overlooked, and the discovery in physiology — which would have shown how to save hundreds of thousands of lives — was lost, until made again, independently, in England (§ 393).

It is worthy of note that Catholic Spain early erected a statue in honor of Servetus; and, in 1903, Calvinists all over the world subscribed a fund for the erection of the noble "expiatory monument" which stands in Geneva to mark the spot where he suffered martyrdom.

III. CATHOLICISM KEEPS THE SOUTH OF EUROPE

361. For a time, Protestantism promised to win also the south of Europe; but **Spain, Italy, France, Belgium, Bohemia, and South Germany were finally saved to Catholicism.**

This was *mainly* because the old church quickly purged itself of old abuses. At first Erasmus and other Humanists had been interested in the work of Luther. But when it became plain that that movement was breaking up the unity of Christendom, they were violently repelled by it. Disruption into warring sects, they felt, was a greater evil than existing faults. They continued to work, however, with even greater zeal than before, for *reform within the church.* Such reform ("the Counter-Reformation") was finally carried out by the *Council of Trent* (1545–1563). That great body did not change Catholic forms; but it defined some doctrines more exactly, and infused a greater moral energy into the church.

The new religious enthusiasm within the Catholic world gave birth, also, to several new religious orders. The most important of these was the "Order of Jesus" (Jesuits), founded in 1534 by *Ignatius Loyola*, a gallant Spanish gentleman of deep religious feeling. The Jesuits stood to the friars somewhat as the friars stood to the older monks. Holding fast like the friars to an intensely religious private life, *they represented a further advance into the world of public affairs.* Their members mingled with men in *all* capacities. Especially did they distinguish themselves as *statesmen* and as *teachers.* Their schools were the best in Europe, and many a Protestant youth was drawn back by them to Catholicism; and their many devoted missionaries among the heathen in the New World won vast regions to Christianity and Catholicism.

362. Unhappily less praiseworthy forces had a share in the victory of Catholicism. *Religious wars*, we shall see (§ 377 ff.), in large part kept France, Belgium, and South Germany Catholic; and elsewhere the final success of the Catholic

church in crushing out Protestantism was due in part to *the Inquisition.*

The Inquisition was first organized in the twelfth century for the suppression of the Albigensian heresy (§ 194). When *open* resistance ceased in desolated Languedoc, the pope set up a special court to hunt out and exterminate any *secret* heretics remaining there. Afterward, *this court,* enlarged and reorganized, *became a regular part of the government of the church for suppressing heresy,* and in the sixteenth century it found new prey in Protestantism. In its final form it is commonly known as the *Spanish* Inquisition, though it held sway also in Portugal and Italy.

The court seldom confronted the accused with his accuser, or allowed him witnesses of his choosing; and it extorted confession by cruel tortures, carried to a point where human courage could not endure. The property of the convicted went to enrich the church, and the heretic himself was handed over to the government for death by fire.

Persecution of unbelievers was characteristic of the age. It disgraced every sect, Protestant as well as Catholic. But no Protestant land possessed a device so cruelly effective as the Inquisition.

For Further Reading. — Beard's *Martin Luther,* or (briefer but excellent) Lindsay's *Luther and the German Reformation;* Ward's *The Counter-Reformation;* Robinson's *Readings in European History.* Parkman's histories, especially *Pioneers of New France* (chs. v and vi) and *Jesuits in North America* (ch. ii), contain interesting accounts of Jesuit missionaries. If available, the *Catholic Encyclopedia* should be consulted on "Luther" and "Indulgences."

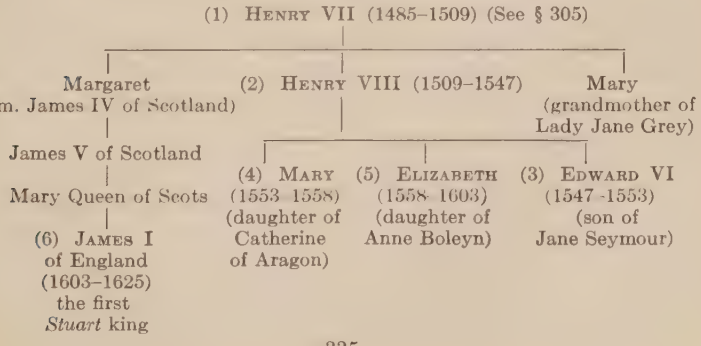
CHAPTER XXI

ENGLAND AND THE PROTESTANT MOVEMENT

363. In England separation from Rome was at first the act of the monarchs rather than of the people, and the motives were personal and political. *Henry VIII* (the second Tudor[1]) had shown himself zealous against Luther, and had even written a book to controvert Luther's teaching, for which the pope had conferred upon him the title, "Defender of the Faith." A little later, however, Henry desired a divorce from his wife, the unfortunate Catherine of Aragon, aunt of Charles V (§ 326) with whom he had lived for nineteen years. Catherine's only child was a girl (Mary), and Henry was anxious for a son. More to the point, he wished to marry Anne Boleyn, a lady of the court.

364. After long negotiation, the pope refused to grant the divorce. Thereupon Henry put himself in the place of the

[1] The following table of Tudor rulers shows also the claim of the first ruler of the next royal family (§ 409). Three of Henry's wives (by whom he had no children) are not shown. One he married the day after beheading Anne Boleyn for alleged immoral conduct. One other was beheaded on like accusation; and one was divorced because homely.


(1) Henry VII (1485–1509) (See § 305)
Margaret
(m. James IV of Scotland)
(2) Henry VIII (1509–1547)
Mary
(grandmother of Lady Jane Grey)
James V of Scotland
Mary Queen of Scots
(6) James I of England (1603–1625) the first Stuart king
(4) Mary (1553–1558) (daughter of Catherine of Aragon)
(5) Elizabeth (1558–1603) (daughter of Anne Boleyn)
(3) Edward VI (1547–1553) (son of Jane Seymour)

pope so far as his island was concerned, and secured the divorce from his own courts. The clergy and people were then forbidden to make any further payments to "the Bishop of Rome" (1532), and an "**Act of Supremacy**" **declared Henry the "only supreme head on earth of the Church of England.**" When parliament passed these laws, the Augsburg Confession had just been put into form; and Calvin was about to take up Zwingli's work.

So far there had been no attack on the religious doctrines of the old church; *and Henry wished none.* But his chief advisers, especially Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had pronounced his divorce, had strong Protestant leanings; and so *some additional measures were secured.* The doctrine of purgatory was declared false; an English translation of the Bible was placed in every church; and parts of the old Latin service were replaced by a new service in English. The use of the English Bible was permitted also to private persons *except* "husbandmen, artificers, journeymen, and women below the rank of gentlewoman" (a gentry title).

365. Most of England accepted these changes calmly, and even the clergy made no serious resistance, as a class, to the overthrow of the pope's power; but **the monasteries were centers of criticism.** Henry determined to root out resistance, and to enrich himself, by their utter ruin; and, at the king's wish, **parliament dissolved the seven hundred such institutions in England.** A little of their wealth was set aside to found schools and hospitals (in place of the work in such lines formerly done by the monasteries themselves), but Henry seized most of the monastic lands for the crown. Then he parceled out parts of them, shrewdly, to new nobles and the gentry. Thousands of influential families were enriched by such gifts, and so became centers of hostility to any reconciliation with Rome.

366. These changes were as far as Henry would go; and, to the close of his long reign, he beheaded "traitors" who recognized papal headship, and burned "heretics" who denied papal

doctrines. In one day, in 1540, three "heretics" and three "traitors" suffered death.

One Protestant martyr was Anne Askewe, a gentlewoman of good family, who was burned for insisting, "The bread of the communion cannot be God." **The most famous among the many noted Catholic martyrs was Sir Thomas More,** the greatest Englishman of the day (§ 341). More had been Henry's chief minister, for a time. He was willing to allow the king's power over the church, so far as all temporal matters were concerned (at the will of parliament); but he could not take an oath denying the pope's authority in spiritual matters. He was beheaded, and his head was impaled to wither on London Bridge.

Every effort had been made to induce More to yield, and he had been plied with argument by subtle logicians. He was a broad-minded man and a statesman, — not disposed to die for a quibble. But conscience, not verbal quibble, was at stake. And when he had taken his stand, and the boat was bearing him down the Thames to prison, he was heard to exclaim, — "I thank the Lord, the field is won!" He had indeed won a supreme victory, not only for his own soul, but *for the spiritual freedom* of all the world.

367. **Henry was succeeded by his son Edward VI** (1547–1553). The new king was a boy of nine, and during his short reign the government was held by a rapacious clique of Protestant lords. Partly to secure fresh plunder from the ruin of the church, this government tried to carry England into the full current of the Protestant movement. Priests were allowed to marry. The use of the old litany, and of incense, holy water, and the surplice, was forbidden. Commissioners to carry out these commands throughout England sometimes broke the stained glass windows of sacred buildings and tore from the pedestals the carved forms of saints. Rebellion was put down cruelly. Several Catholics were burned as heretics and conspirators, — among them Father Forest, who was roasted barbarously in a swinging iron cradle over a slow fire.

During this period, the English Prayer Book was put into substantially its present form, under the direction of Cranmer (§ 375); and articles of faith were adopted which inclined to Calvinism.

368. Henry had had his submissive parliaments fix the order in which his children should succeed him; and so, when Edward died at fifteen, **the throne passed to his elder half-sister, Mary** (1553–1558). Mary was a daughter of Catherine of Aragon (§ 363). She was an earnest Catholic, and naturally she felt an intense personal repugnance for the Protestant movement which had begun in England by the disgrace of her mother.[1] The nation, too, was still overwhelmingly Catholic in doctrine and feeling. The Protestants were active, organized, and influential, but they were few in numbers, and Mary had no difficulty in doing away with the Protestant innovations of her brother's time.

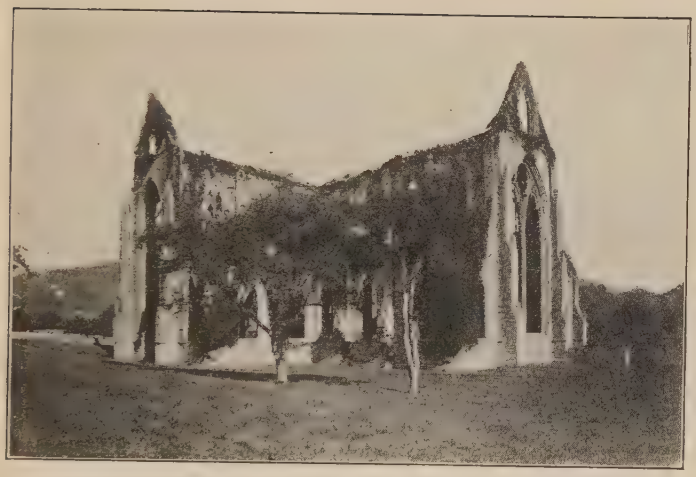
Then, after some delay, she even undid her father's changes. Parliament readily voted the repeal of all anti-Catholic laws, except that it refused stubbornly to restore the church lands. Finally the pope wisely waived this point; *and the nation was solemnly absolved, and received back into the Roman church.*

But Mary destroyed her work (1) *by marrying Philip of Spain,* son of the emperor Charles V, and (2) *by a bloody persecution of Protestants.*

All English patriots dreaded, with much reason, lest little England be made a mere province of the world-wide Spanish rule; and even zealous Catholics shuddered at the thought of the Spanish Inquisition, looming up behind the Queen's hated Spanish bridegroom.

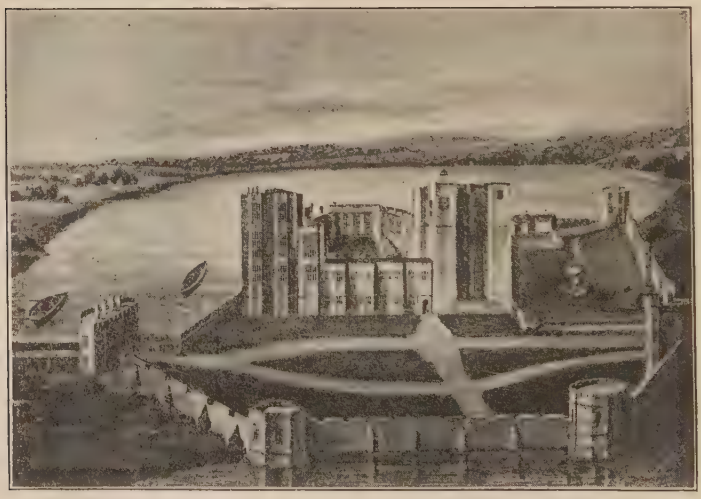
Mary's persecution itself was quite enough to rouse popular fear and hatred. *In a few months,* more than two hundred and seventy martyrs were burned, — nearly half the entire

[1] Mary's own crown, too, had been threatened by Protestantism. To prevent the accession of a Catholic, the Protestant lords had plotted to seat on the throne Lady Jane Grey, a distant relative of the royal family (footnote, page 335). The attempt failed, and Jane Grey, a Protestant girl of lovely character, was beheaded.



Above. — Tintern Abbey To-day.

Below. — Tewksbury Abbey To-day: one of the very few such structures to escape ruin.



Above. — Ruins of Kenilworth Castle To-day.

Below. — Kenilworth in 1620, from a fresco painting of that year. Queen Elizabeth gave this castle to her favorite, the Earl of Leicester, who entertained the Queen there with a splendid pageant described in Scott's *Kenilworth*. The walls inclosed seven acres.

number that suffered death for conscience' sake (avowedly) in all English history. Catholics had died for their faith under both Henry and Edward; but *there had been no such piling up of executions;* and, moreover, most of those victims had been put to death, *nominally*, not for religious opinions, but as detested traitors; and the executions (with a very few exceptions) had taken place not by fire but by the more familiar headsman's ax. England had taken calmly these persecutions by the preceding sovereigns, but it was now stirred to its depths.

The most famous martyrs in Mary's persecution were Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley and Latimer. Latimer had preached in approval of the torture of Father Forest; but now he showed at least that he too knew how to die a hero. "Play the man, Master Ridley," he called out to his companion in martyrdom, as they approached the stake; "we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as, I trust, shall never be put out."

369. Other causes made Mary unpopular. To please her husband (Philip) *she led England into a silly and disastrous war with France*, and then managed it so blunderingly that *England lost Calais* (§ 291), her last foothold on the continent. England had never seemed more contemptible to other nations; and apparently, it was doomed to become the prey of Spain or France. Mary died after a troubled reign of five years. As Henry's parliaments had arranged, she was succeeded by her half-sister, Elizabeth.

370. Elizabeth (1558–1603) was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. From her father, she had a strong body, a powerful intellect, an imperious will, and dauntless courage; and from both parents, a sort of bold beauty and a strain of coarseness. She had grown up in Henry's court among the men of the New Learning, and was probably the best educated woman of her century, — speaking several languages and reading both Latin and Greek. She has been called "a true child of the Renaissance," too, in her freedom from moral scruple.

To Elizabeth, says a great historian, "a lie was simply an intellectual means of avoiding a difficulty."

She was often vacillating in policy; but she was a keen judge of men, and had the good sense to keep about her a group of wise and patriotic counselors. Above all, she had a deep love for her country. After more than forty years of rule, she said proudly, and, on the whole, truly, — "I do call God to witness, never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my subjects' good."

371. And England repaid her love with a passionate and romantic devotion to its "Virgin Queen." Except for her counselors, men knew little of Elizabeth's deceit and vulgarity and weaknesses. They saw only that her long reign had piloted England safely through a maze of foreign perils, and had built up its power and dignity abroad and its unity and prosperity at home, while her court was made glorious by splendid bands of statesmen, warriors, and poets. Except for the Oxford Reformers (§ 339), England had lagged in the Renaissance movement; but now the **Elizabethan Renaissance** gave that land a leading place. Edmund Spenser created a new form of poetry in the *Faerie Queene;* and the splendor of the age found a climax in English drama, with Shakspere as the most resplendent star in a glorious galaxy that contained such other shining names as Marlowe, Greene, Beaumont, Fletcher, and Ben Jonson. Possibly even more important was the scientific progress of Harvey and Bacon (§ 393). Amid the petty squabbles of succeeding reigns, England looked back with longing to "The spacious days of great Elizabeth."

372. When Elizabeth came to the throne, at least two thirds of England was still Catholic in doctrine. Elizabeth herself had no liking for Protestantism, while she did like the pomp and ceremonial of the old church. She wanted neither the system of her sister nor that of her brother, but would have preferred to go back to that of her father. But the extreme Catholic party did not recognize her mother's marriage as valid, and so

denied Elizabeth's claim to the throne. This forced her to throw herself into the hands of the Protestants. She gave all chief offices in church and state to that active, intelligent, well-organized minority, *and the "Elizabethan Settlement"* not only restored all the innovations of Henry's legislation, but also *established the English Episcopal church much as it still stands.*

SHAKSPERE'S THEATER, *The Globe.* — This structure was built in 1599 and was burned in 1613 from a fire caused by discharge of "cannon" in a presentation of the play *Henry VIII.*

(At about the same time, *John Knox* brought Calvinism from Geneva to Scotland, and organized the Scotch Presbyterian church.)

373. Early in Elizabeth's reign, *an "Act of Uniformity"* **had ordered all people to attend the Protestant worship,** under threat of extreme penalties; but for many years this act was not enforced strictly, and Catholics were permitted to have their own services, if concealed by some pretense of privacy. But after Catholic plots against her throne began, Elizabeth adopted stronger measures. Many leading Catholics were fined and imprisoned for refusing to attend the English

church. Under a new law, too, Catholic priests, and others who made converts from Protestantism to Catholicism, were declared guilty of *treason;* and many martyrs suffered torture on the rack and death on the scaffold.

374. England was constantly threatened by the two great powers of Europe, **Catholic France and Spain.** Neither, however, was willing to see the other gain England; and by playing off one against the other, Elizabeth kept peace for many years and gained time for England to grow strong. Gradually it became more and more clear that the real foe was Spain. Then Elizabeth secretly gave aid to the Dutch, who were in rebellion against Philip II of Spain (§ 379), and, for years, English adventurers like Francis Drake sailed away on their own account, half pirate fashion, to attack Spain in the New World.

Finally Philip turned savagely upon England. Drake ruined his first preparations for invasion by sailing daringly into the harbor of Cadiz and burning the Spanish fleet, — "singeing the beard of the Spanish king," as the bold sea-rover described it. But in 1588 **the "Invincible Armada,"** blessed by the pope, at last set sail for England. English ships of all sorts — mostly little merchant vessels hastily transformed into a war navy — gathered in the Channel; and, to the amazement of the world, the small but swift and better handled English vessels completely outfought the great Spanish navy in a splendid nine days' sea fight. As the shattered Spaniards fled around the north of Scotland, a mighty storm completed their overthrow. Spain never recovered her supremacy on the sea, — *and the way was prepared for the English colonization of America.*

375. To the chagrin of Spanish king and Roman pope, the mass of English Catholics had proved more English than papal, and had rallied gallantly to the Queen; and, for young Englishmen, **the splendid struggle made Protestantism and patriotism seem much the same thing.** The rising generation became largely Protestant; and before Elizabeth's death (1603) even

ELIZABETH KNIGHTING DRAKE ON BOARD THE GOLDEN HIND.

the Puritan doctrines from Geneva and from Presbyterian Scotland had begun to spread widely among the people.

376. Ireland, the third part of the British Isles, **remained Catholic.** Henry II had tried to conquer Ireland (§ 168); but, until the time of the Tudors, the English really held only a little strip of land ("the English Pale") near Dublin. The rest of the island remained in the hands of native chieftains, but constant war had rooted out the old beginnings of Irish culture (§ 272).

Henry VIII established English authority over most of the island and destroyed the monasteries, the chief remaining centers of industry and learning. Just before the Armada, Spain tried to use the island as a base against England. Alarmed to frenzy by this deadly peril at their back door, Elizabeth's generals then completed the military subjugation with atrocious cruelties. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children were killed, or perished of famine in the Irish bogs; and great districts of the country were given to English nobles and gentry. Incessant feuds continued between the peasantry and these absentee landlords, and the Irish nation looked on the attempt to introduce the Church of England as a part of the hated English tyranny. As English patriotism became identified with Protestantism, so, even more completely, Irish patriotism became identified with Catholicism.

For Further Reading. - Green's *English People* remains the best general account for this period. Creighton's and Beesly's lives of *Elizabeth* are good short biographies.

CHAPTER XXII

A CENTURY OF RELIGIOUS WARS

377. When Philip II succeeded his father (§ 355) **as king of Spain** and of the Sicilies, and master of the Netherlands, *he was the most powerful and most absolute monarch in Europe.* The Spanish infantry were the finest soldiery in the world. The Spanish navy was the unquestioned mistress of the ocean. Each year the great "gold fleet" filled Philip's coffers from the exhaustless wealth of the Americas. In 1580 the ruling family in Portugal died out, and that throne with its East India empire fell to Spain,[1] so that the Spanish boast that the sun never set upon Spanish dominions became literal fact.

Philip himself was a plodding, cautious toiler, who worked like a clerk day after day in a bare room with a table and two stiff chairs. He was despotic, cruel, unscrupulous, ambitious, and bigoted.

378. The Netherland Revolt. — Charles V had infringed the old liberties of the Netherlands (§ 323), and had set up the Inquisition in that country with frightful consequences. Philip continued his father's abuses, without possessing any of his redeeming qualities in Dutch eyes. He was a foreign master (not a Hollander by birth, like Charles), and he ruled from a distance and through Spanish officers. Finally, Protestant and Catholic nobles joined in demands for reform and especially that they might be ruled by officers from their own people. Philip's reply was to send the stern Spanish general, *Alva,* with a veteran army, to enforce submission. Alva's *Council of Blood* declared almost the whole population guilty of rebellion and deserving of death with confiscation of goods.

[1] Portugal reëstablished her independence in 1640.

THE NETHERLANDS
at the Truce of 1609
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
The Seven United Provinces
The Provinces Retained by Spain
NORTH SEA
EAST FRIESLAND
Embden
Jemmingen
GRONINGEN
Groningen
WEST FRIESLAND
Heiligerlee
OVERYSSEL
R. Ems
PHALIA
Enkhuisen
Alkmaar
Zuyder Zee
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Naarden
Deventer
Leyden
The Hague
Utrecht
Zutphen
Delft
R. Rhine
Doesburg
Brill
Rotterdam
R. Waal
Nimwegen
Dort
Grave
Mook
D. OF CLEVE
SCHOUWEN
Zierickzee
Gertruydenberg
I. OF WALCHEREN
Mid Ilebrg
Breda
Flushing
Goes
Venloo
Sluys
Schelde
Hulst
Turnhout
Ostende
Bruges
Antwerp
Neuss
Rhine
Ghent
Dendermonde
Mechlin
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Ingelmunster
Alost
Cologne
FLANDERS
Ypres
Brussels
Maastricht
St. Trond
Waterloo
Ramillies
Liege
St. Omer
Lille
Gembloux
Namur
Orchies
Mons
ARTOIS
Valenciennes
NAMUR
Arras
Douai
HAINAULT
Cambray
Cateau Cambresis
PICARDY
LUXEMBURG
Luxemburg
R. Oise
R. Aisne
R. Meuse
CHAMPANGE
R. Marne
Paris
BISHOPRIC OF VERDUN
BISHOPRIC OF METZ
LORRAINE
ARCHBISHOPRIC OF TREVES
ARCHBISHOPRIC OF COLOGNE
DUCHY OF JULICH
WEST PHALIA
LIMBURG
BRABANT
LIEGE
R. Meuse
R. Sambre
R. Lys
R. Senne
R. Yssel
R. Rhine
R. Waal
R. Ems
54
53
52
51
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Alva proceeded to enforce this atrocious sentence upon great numbers, — especially upon the wealthy classes, — and in 1568 a revolt began.

379. The struggle between the little disunited provinces and the huge world-empire lasted forty years. In the beginning the conflict was for political liberty, but it soon became also a religious struggle. It was waged with an exasperated and relentless fury that made it a byword for ferocity, even in that brutal age. City after city was given up to indiscriminate rapine and massacre, with deeds of horror indescribable. Over against this dark side stands the stubborn heroism of the Dutch people, hardly matched in history, — a heroism which saved not themselves only, but also the cause of Protestantism and of political liberty for the world.

380. William, Prince of Orange, was the central hero of the conflict. Because he foiled his enemies so often by wisely keeping his plans to himself, he is known as *William the Silent;* and his persistency and statesmanship have fitly earned him the name "the Dutch Washington." Again and again, he seemed to be crushed; but from each defeat he snatched a new chance for victory.

The turning point of the war was the **relief of Leyden** (1574). For many months the city had been closely besieged. The people had devoured the cats and rats and were dying grimly of starvation. Once they had murmured, but the heroic burgomaster (mayor) shamed them, declaring they might have his body to eat, but while he lived they should never surrender to the Spanish butchers. All attempts to relieve the perishing town had failed. But fifteen miles away, on the North Sea, rode a Dutch fleet with supplies. Then William the Silent cut the dikes and let in the ocean on the land. Over wide districts the prosperity of years was engulfed in ruin; but the waves swept also over the Spanish camp, and upon the invading sea the relieving ships rode to the city gates. Dutch liberty was saved.

In memory of its heroic resistance, William offered Leyden exemption from taxes or the establishment of a university. The citizens finely chose the latter; and the University of Leyden, ever since one of the most famous universities in Europe, arose to commemorate the city's deed.

381. English Aid. — Holland had been fighting England's battle as well as her own: only the Dutch war had kept Philip from attacking England. Englishmen knew this; and, for years, hundreds of English volunteers had been flocking to

Dutch Windmills (near Molen). — In the sixteenth century, as now, such windmills in great numbers were used to pump surplus water out of the canals back into the ocean. They are a characteristic feature of that country "where the hulls of ships at anchor on the sea are higher than the steeples of the churches."

join the Dutch army. Elizabeth herself had many times helped the Dutch by secret supplies of money, and now in 1585 she sent a small English army to their aid. This was the immediate signal for the Spanish Armada; and the overthrow of Spain's naval supremacy by the splendid English sea dogs (§ 374) added tremendously to Holland's chances.

382. True, the ten southern provinces of the old Netherlands finally gave up the struggle, and returned to Spanish allegiance.

(They were largely French in race and Catholic in religion. Protestantism was now completely stamped out in them. After this time, they are known as the Spanish Netherlands, and finally as modern Belgium.) But **the seven northern provinces** — Dutch in blood and Protestant in religion — maintained the conflict, and **won their independence as** The United Provinces, or **the Dutch Republic** (Holland).[1]

383. The most marvelous feature of the struggle between the little Dutch state and Spain was that **Holland grew wealthy during the contest**, although the stage of the desolating war. The Dutch drew their riches not from the wasted land, but from the sea; and during the war they plundered the possessions of Spain in the East Indies. The little republic built up a vast colonial empire; and, especially after Spain's naval supremacy had been engulfed with the Armada, the Dutch held almost a monopoly of the Asiatic trade for all Europe. One hundred thousand of their three million people lived constantly upon the sea. Success in so heroic a war stimulated the people to a wonderful activity. Holland taught all Europe scientific agriculture and horticulture, as well as the science of navigation, and in the seventeenth century her presses put forth more books than all the rest of Europe.

384. On the other hand, **Spain sank rapidly into a second-rate power.** The bigot, Philip III, drove into exile the Christianized Moors (*Moriscoes*), the descendants of those Mohammedans left behind when the Moorish *political* power had been driven out. They numbered perhaps a twentieth of the entire population, — and they were the foremost agriculturists and almost the sole skilled artisans and manufacturers. Their pitiless expulsion inflicted a deadly blow upon the prosperity of Spain. For a time the wealth she drew from America concealed her fall, but after the Armada she never played a great part in Europe,

[1] The government consisted of a representative "States General" and a "Stadtholder" (President). The most important of the seven provinces was Holland, by whose name the union was often known.

and, *living on the plunder of the New World*, she failed to develop the industrial life which alone could furnish a true prosperity. Moreover, the Inquisition steadily "sifted out the most flexible minds and the stoutest hearts," until a once virile race sank into apathy and decay.

385. Another religious struggle (1562–1598) **long desolated France** — between the Huguenots (the French Calvinists) and their persecutors. This strife was complicated by personal rivalries between groups of great lords, and, even worse than the other wars of the period, it was marked by assassinations and treacheries — the most horrible of which was the famous *Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day* (August 24, 1572) in which 10,000 Huguenots perished.

386. Their leader, however, young Henry of Navarre,[1] escaped, and, on the death of the childless French king in 1589, he **became heir to the throne**, as Henry IV. Philip of Spain, to prevent his accession, gave aid to the Catholic lords; but now Philip met the third of the great leaders on whom his schemes went to wreck. Henry drove the Spanish army in shameful rout from France in the dashing cavalry battle of *Ivry*. Then, to secure Paris, which he had long besieged (and to give peace to his distracted country), he accepted Catholicism, declaring lightly that "so fair a city" was "well worth a mass."

387. In 1598 Henry's Edict of Nantes *established toleration for the Huguenots*. (1) They were granted full equality before the law. (Before this, the forms of oaths required in law courts had been such as a Protestant could not take, and therefore a Huguenot could not sue to recover property.) (2) They were to have perfect liberty of conscience *in private*, and to enjoy the privilege of *public* worship except in the cathedral cities. And (3) certain towns were handed over to them, to hold with their own garrisons, as security for their rights.

[1] Navarre was a small independent kingdom in the southwest of France. Map after page 290.

HENRY IV. — visited unexpectedly by the stately Spanish ambassador. "Is your Excellency a father?" asked the king; and, being answered in the affirmative, he added, "You will then understand the importance of my finishing this game." A modern painting by Jean Ingres.

RICHELIEU ON THE MOLE AT LA ROCHELLE. — La Rochelle was a Huguenot seaport, and it held out through a desperate eight-months' siege. Richelieu captured it only after shutting it off from the sea by an immense dike, or mole. This painting, by Henri Motte, shows Richelieu in military garb at a critical moment in an attack upon this structure by Huguenot ships.

Henry IV proved one of the greatest of French kings, and he was one of the most loved. With his sagacious minister, the *Duke of Sully*, he set himself to restore prosperity to desolated France. Roads and canals were built; new trades were fostered; and the industry of the French people once more with marvelous rapidity removed the evil results of the long strife.

Henry's son, **Louis XIII**, came to the throne in 1610 as a boy of nine. Anarchy again raised its head; but **France was saved by the commanding genius of Cardinal Richelieu**, the chief minister of the young king. Richelieu was a sincere patriot, and, though an earnest Catholic, his statesmanship was guided by political, not by religious, motives. He crushed the great nobles and he waged war upon the Huguenots to deprive them of their garrisoned towns, which menaced the unity of France. But when he had captured their cities and held the Huguenots at his mercy, he kept toward them in full the other pledges of the Edict of Nantes. At the same time, he aided the German Protestants against the Catholic emperor, in the religious war that was going on in Germany (§ 388), and so secured a chance to seize territory from the Empire for France.

388. The period of the religious wars in the Netherlands and France had been a period of uneasy peace in Germany; but now came in that land the last of the great religious wars — just a hundred years after Luther posted his theses at Wittenberg.

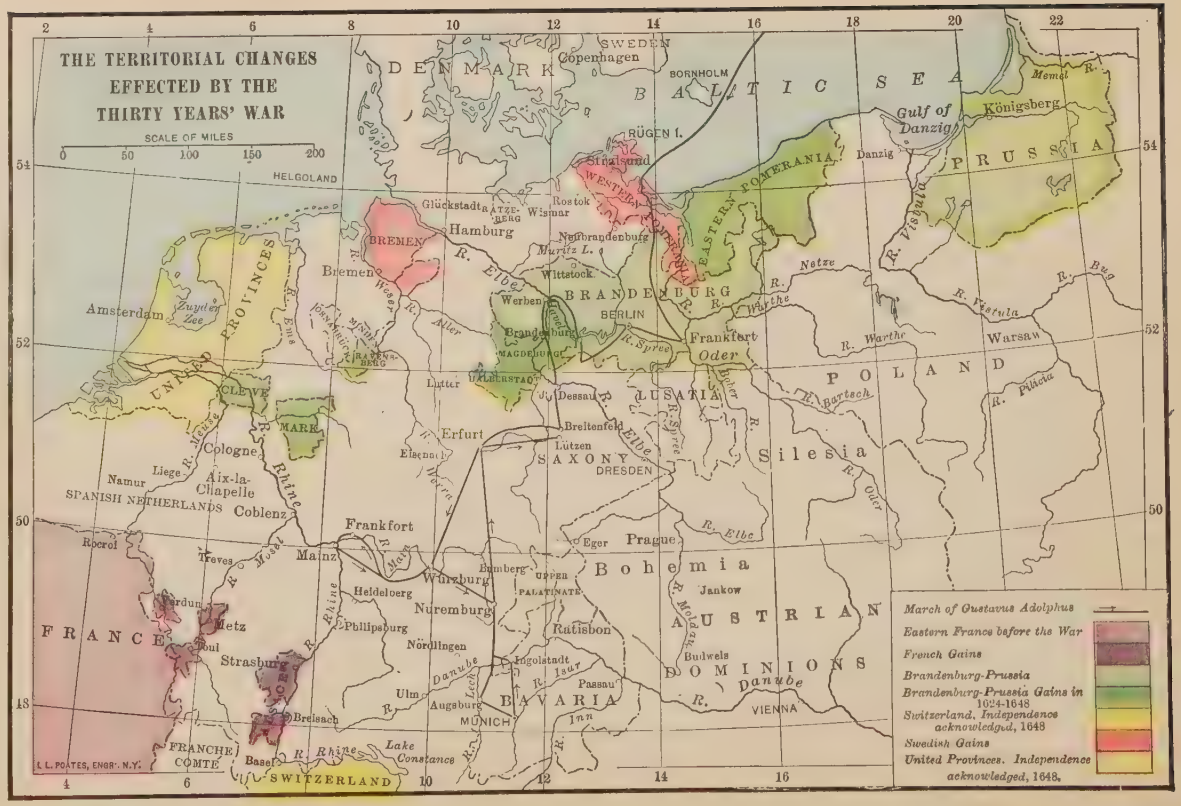
This Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) arose directly out of an attempt by Protestant Bohemia[1] to make itself independent of the Catholic Hapsburg Empire. Bohemian independence lasted only a few weeks; but this was long enough to call all Germany into two armed camps. The Protestant German princes, however, showed themselves disunited and timid; and, had the war been left to Germany, a Catholic victory would soon have been assured. But *all over Europe sincere and religious Protestants felt deeply and truly that the war against the Catholic*

[1] The old Hussite influence inclined Bohemia to Protestantism — until that faith was crushed out by this war.

Hapsburgs was their own war — much as all free peoples felt in the World War when liberty was imperiled by Hohenzollern autocracy. First Denmark (1625–1629) and then Sweden (1630) entered the field in behalf of the Protestant cause; and at last (1635–1648), for more selfish reasons, Catholic France under Richelieu threw its weight also against the Hapsburgs who so long had ringed France about with hostile arms.

The war was marked by the careers of four great generals, — Tilly and Wallenstein on the imperial side, and Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, "the Lion of the North," and Mansfeld, on the side of the Protestants. Gustavus was at once great and admirable; but he fell at the battle of Lützen (1632) in the moment of victory; and thereafter the struggle was as dreary as it was terrible. Mansfeld and Wallenstein from the first deliberately adopted the policy of *making the war pay for itself, by supporting their armies everywhere upon the country;* but during the short career of Gustavus, his blond Swede giants were held in admirable discipline, with the nearest approach to a regular commissariat that had been known since Roman times. (Gustavus' success, too, was due largely to new tactics. Muskets, fired by a "match" and discharged from a "rest," had become an important portion of every army; but troops were still massed in the old fashion that had prevailed when pikemen were the chief infantry. Gustavus was the first general to adapt the arrangement of his troops to the new weapons.)

389. The calamities the war brought were monstrous. Season by season, for a generation, armies of ruthless freebooters harried the land. The peasant found that he toiled only to feed robbers and to draw them to outrage and torture his family; so he ceased to labor, and became himself robber or camp-follower. *Half the population and two thirds the movable property of Germany were swept away.* In many large districts, the facts were worse than this average. In Bohemia, thirty thousand happy villages had shrunk to six thousand miserable ones, and the rich promise of the great University of Prague


THE TERRITORIAL CHANGES EFFECTED BY THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
DENMARK
SWEDEN
Copenhagen
BORNHOLM
BALTIC SEA
RÜGEN I.
Stralsund
WESTERN POMERANIA
EASTERN POMERANIA
Gulf of Danzig
Danzig
Königsberg
Memel R.
PRUSSIA
HELGOLAND
Glückstadt
ÄTZEBERG
Rostok
Wismar
Hamburg
BREMEN
Bremen
Neubrandenburg
Muritz L.
Wittstock
Werben
BRANDENBURG
BERLIN
Brandenburg
MAGDEBURG
Frankfort
Oder
Warsaw
POLAND
Amsterdam
Zuyder Zee
UNITED PROVINCES
CLEVE
MARK
Cologne
Liege
Namur
Aix-la-Chapelle
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Coblenz
Rocroi
Treves
Verdun
Metz
Toul
Strasburg
FRANCE
ALSACE
Breisach
FRANCHE COMTÉ
Basel
SWITZERLAND
Lake Constance
Lutter
Dessau
LUSATIA
Breitenfeld
Lützen
Erfurt
Eisenach
SAXONY
DRESDEN
Silesia
Frankfort
Mainz
Heidelberg
Wurzburg
Bamberg
UPPER PALATINATE
Nuremburg
Philipsburg
Nördlingen
Ratisbon
Ingolstadt
Passau
Ulm
Augsburg
MUNICH
BAVARIA
Eger
Prague
Bohemia
Jankow
AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS
Budweis
VIENNA
R. Elbe
R. Rhine
R. Danube
R. Vistula
R. Bug
R. Netze
R. Warthe
R. Bartsch
R. Pilicia
R. Oder
R. Spree
R. Moldau
R. Isar
R. Inn
R. Lech
R. Main
R. Weser
R. Aller
R. Ems
R. Meuse
R. Mosel
R. Nahe
R. Werra
March of Gustavus Adolphus
Eastern France before the War
French Gains
Brandenburg-Prussia
Brandenburg-Prussia Gains in 1624-1648
Switzerland. Independence acknowledged, 1648
Swedish Gains
United Provinces. Independence acknowledged, 1648.
I. L. POATES, ENGR. N.Y.

was ruined. Everywhere populous cities shriveled into hamlets; and, for miles upon miles, former hamlets were the lairs of wolf packs. Not until 1850 did some sections of Germany again contain as many homesteads and cattle as in 1618.

390. The war was closed by the Peace of Westphalia, — drawn up by a congress of ambassadors from nearly every European power. This treaty contained three distinct classes of stipulations: provisions for religious peace in Germany; territorial rewards for France and Sweden; and provisions to secure the independence of the German princes against the Empire.

a. The principle of the Peace of Augsburg was reaffirmed and extended. Each sovereign prince in Germany was to choose his religion; and his subjects were to have three years to conform to his choice or to withdraw from his realm.[1]

b. Sweden, which was already a great Baltic power, extending around both the east and west shores of that sea (§ 98), *secured also much of the south coast* (with control over German commerce): Eastern Pomerania — with the mouths of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser — was the payment she received for her part in the war. *France annexed most of Alsace,* with some fortresses on the German bank of the Rhine. (The Congress also expressly recognized *the independence of Switzerland and of the Dutch Provinces.*)

c. The Empire lost more than mere territory. The separate states were given the right to form alliances with one another *or even with foreign powers.* The imperial Diet became *avowedly* a gathering of ambassadors for discussion, not for government: no state thenceforth was to be bound by decisions there without its own consent.

391. The religious wars filled a century — from the struggle between the German princes and Charles V (1546) to the Peace

[1] Many of the South German Protestants were then driven into exile by their Catholic lords. This was the first cause of the coming to America of the "Pennsylvania Dutch."

of Westphalia (1648). *They left the Romance South of Europe Catholic, and the Teutonic North Protestant.* France emerged, more united than ever, quite equal in power to any two states of Europe. England and Sweden had both risen into "Great Powers." Two new federal republics had been added to the European family of nations, — Switzerland and the United Provinces; and the second of these was one of the leading "Powers." The danger of a universal Hapsburg empire was forever gone. Spain, the property of one Hapsburg branch, had sunk to a third-rate power; the Holy Roman Empire, the realm of the other branch, was an open sham. Far to the east loomed indistinctly a huge and growing Russian state.

Exercise. — 1. Add dates to previous lists, 1520, 1588, 1648. 2. Review the Reformation by single countries to this period.

For Further Reading. — *The Student's Motley* is an admirable and brief condensation of the American Motley's great history of the Dutch Republic. Willert's *Henry of Navarre* is a brilliant story.

PART IV

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1648-1789

CHAPTER XXIII

SCIENCE AND TRADE

The hundred years of ruinous religious wars and bloody persecution, almost without notice at the time, was also an age of splendid advance in science and in trade, — changes either of which was to modify the life of men and women in the future more than the wars of Wallenstein and Gustavus.

I. SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE

392. The true astronomy of Aristarchus (*Ancient World*, § 320) had long been lost, and all through the Middle Ages men believed the earth the center of the universe with sun and stars revolving around it. **But in 1543 a Polish astronomer, Copernicus, published a book proving that the earth was only one member of a solar system which had the sun for a center.**

From fear of persecution, Copernicus had kept his discovery to himself for many years — until just before his death, when the "religious wars" were just beginning. Those wars themselves checked study and discovery in parts of Europe; and persecution, for a while, repressed scientific discoveries in Catholic countries. At the opening of the Renaissance the popes had been the foremost patrons of the new learning; but now the reaction against the Protestant revolt had thrown control into conservative hands, and the church used its tremendous powers to stifle new scientific discoveries.

393. Still much was done. In Elizabeth's day in England, the physician, **William Harvey**, discovered the truth about the circulation of the blood (cf. § 360) and so made possible modern medicine. And in Italy **Galileo** discovered the laws of falling bodies and of the pendulum (as they are now taught in our textbooks on physics), invented the thermometer, and, taking a hint from a Dutch plaything, constructed the first real telescope. With this, in 1610, he *demonstrated* the truth of Copernicus' teachings by showing the "phases" of the planet Venus in its revolution about the sun. True, Galileo was summoned to Rome by the pope, imprisoned, and forced publicly to recant his teaching that the earth moved around the sun; but, as he rose from his knees, he whispered to a friend — "None the less, it does move."

394. And more important than any specific discovery about the sun or the human body was the discovery of **a new way of finding out truth** about the world. For centuries scholars had tried to learn only by reading ancient *authorities*, and perhaps by *reasoning* a little further, in their own minds, upon what these authorities taught (cf. § 278–80, and, more fully, *Ancient World*, § 230, *c*). But the new discoveries had been made in another way; and now **Francis Bacon**, in England, set forth eloquently the necessity of *experiment* to discover new facts. A true **scientific method** had been discovered. And before 1700, in Italy, France, and England, great *scientific societies* were founded, to encourage scientific investigation.

II. "BUSINESS" BECOMES A FORCE IN LIFE

395. The second great change that marked this otherwise dismal century was the growing influence in human life of what we call *business*. "Business" had been almost unknown and wholly without influence during the early Middle Ages, and during the later centuries of that period it had existed upon a small scale only. How the barbarian invasions and the violence of the "Dark Ages" destroyed the old Roman town

life in Western Europe has been briefly told, and also how after the Crusades a new trade began to build towns anew. But for some centuries, by our standards, these new towns were few and small, even in proportion to the small European population.

396. During the Middle Ages there had been **five special hindrances to trade.** (1) The first has been sufficiently dwelt upon — *the violence of the feudal baron*, who long looked upon the trader as an escaped serf and so as his natural prey. And (2) when the new monarchies checked feudal violence, and when, too, the robber barons gradually learned that it did not *pay* to kill the goose that laid golden eggs, those old land pirates merely softened their methods. The trader, though no longer likely to be robbed of all his goods at one time, was still compelled to surrender parts of them repeatedly in *tolls* at every bridge or ferry or ford, at the gate of every town, at the foot of every castle hill by which the rough pack-horse trail wound its way. The *collection* of such tolls, too, was marked often by all sorts of vexatious delays and by intentional injury to the remaining goods, unless the helpless trader bribed the officials with added goods or coin for their private use.[1] (Such tolls grew up by custom, without sanction from any central government; but neither did any government outside England interfere seriously to abolish them until nearly 1700 A.D. In England this evil never became so serious as on the continent.)

And (3) when the patient trader had carried his diminished wares past all these perils to people who wished to buy, often the would-be customers had no money. Wealth they had, perhaps, in land or in goods, but not in any portable form that the trader could afford to take in pay. *This lack of money was for centuries* (§§ 31, 85, 118) *a serious hindrance.* In Europe the ancient mines of gold and silver were exhausted, and there

[1] At sea the trader's perils were even greater. There were as yet no lighthouses and no charts to mark dangerous reefs, and the waters swarmed with pirates, led often by some neighboring noble.

was no supply of precious metals from which to coin enough money for the rising demands of trade.

Moreover (4), *what little money there was failed to do its proper work*, because of a quaint medieval idea. A large part of it remained in hiding, buried perhaps in the earth for safe keeping. The man who had coin, but who did not need to use it himself, had no inducement, as now, to lend it to some one who did want to use it. *Interest* ("usury") *was unlawful.* The whole Christian world believed that God forbade man to take pay for the use of money. Therefore the Jews (outside this Christian faith) were the only money-lenders of the Middle Ages until almost the close; and they, robbed at every turn themselves by king and baron, loaned only at ruinous rates rising usually to about fifty per cent a year.[1]

To be sure, in the thirteenth century Italian money-lenders (*Lombards*) began in a small degree to supply the place of modern bank loans by a quaint evasion of the belief about usury. They established moneyed colonies in the chief towns of Europe,[2] and loaned money on good security without interest for a short time (a week or a month, perhaps); but, when not repaid on time, they then exacted a heavy *penalty*, previously agreed upon, *for each month's delay.* The Christian world found it convenient to accept this subterfuge, though it was some centuries before the old beliefs and laws against usury were *openly* abandoned. In other respects, too, the Lombards revived for Europe the elementary banking system of the old Roman Empire (*Ancient World*, § 614), which had never wholly died out in Italy and

[1] The Christian world in the most un-Christian spirit despised and persecuted the whole Jewish race on the ground that some of their distant ancestors had persecuted Jesus. In every Western European land, a Jew was compelled by law to wear a special cap or other clothing to mark his race, and to live in a special quarter of the towns in which he was permitted to live at all (the Ghetto). He was forbidden to own land or to enter any trade gild, and so was forced to live by lending money — which increased the popular hatred and led to many massacres in England and France like those which the Jews have had to suffer in recent years in Russia and Poland.

[2] "Lombard Street" in London has remained a great money center.

the Greek Empire. This was a tremendous help to business, though it fell far short of our modern "credit" devices, by which we make one dollar do the work of many.

And (for the fifth medieval hindrance) the gild rules absolutely prevented what we call "wholesale" business in most towns. Those rules (for a "just price" and to prevent monopoly) had been highy beneficial when they were adopted, but now they were obstacles to the new methods called for by the conditions of the new day.

397. Summary of Medieval Trade Growth. — In spite of all such obstacles, trade had grown slowly from the Crusades to Columbus. Even in the Dark Ages, Venice and Genoa and a few other Italian cities had kept some of their ancient trade with the Orient — by fleets of ships that met the Arabian caravans on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean; and after the Crusades this trade spread west from Italy down the Rhine through Germany and France and the Netherlands, and thence across the Channel to England, and, through the Hansa merchants, even to the Baltic lands.

398. This trade, too, had made life over in Western Europe, not merely by bringing in new luxuries and comforts, but much more by stirring men up to *new activities* and by awakening *new energies*. The isolation of the old manor and village life vanished, and its dull apathy went with it. To satisfy desires for the new foreign products, the people of the village must themselves produce more than before, and usually something different from before, in order to have wherewith to buy. So new manufactures were built up; and soon, in many places, the men of the West began to manufacture for themselves the coveted glassware and silks and velvets and fine linens which at first had come only through rare traders. Thus, for the more energetic and stronger of the town people, *life became more hopeful and more strenuous*, as well as vastly more comfortable.

399. Most of these commodities, however, were still supplied by trade with the East, and some things, like sugar, drugs, and spices, could be secured in no other way. How the old routes for this trade were closed in the fifteenth century, and how the

WORKSHOP OF ETIENNE DELAULNE, a celebrated goldsmith of Paris in the sixteenth century. Drawn and engraved by himself.

demand for new routes played a part in the raising of the curtain upon new worlds, east and west, has been told.

Then indeed, after 1500, and especially after 1600, did trade come into its kingdom. The new monarchies stamped out feudal plunder and soon checked feudal tolls; the growing banking system furnished credits and security; and the rich mines of Mexico and Peru poured a steady stream of gold and silver into Spain, whence the needed coin filtered into other parts of Europe to fertilize trade. *The merchants*,[1] each with his retinue of adventurous and loyal ship-captains at sea and of skilled and trusted clerks on land, *rose suddenly into a new*

[1] A *merchant* was a trader with a foreign country.

estate — as distinct from the ordinary burgher as the burgher three centuries before had seemed from the villein. In 1350, a royal inquiry listed only 169 merchants in England. In 1600, twenty times that number were occupied with the Holland trade alone, while large stock-companies of other merchants were trading with Russia, India, and North America. France, Holland, England, Sweden, Denmark, each had its "East India Company," and most of these countries had trading companies chartered by the kings for trade with other distant parts of the earth. Single merchants, too, sometimes owned large fleets for such trade, like Shakspere's Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice.*

Except for land, this class had more wealth by far than the nobles themselves, and they lived in greater comfort. The kings, too, found the merchants a convenient source of revenue, and were inclined to favor them against the less profitable though socially superior nobles. Rising merchant class and decaying noble class hated and feared each other. Indeed, the merchants, alive to new ideas, made the strength of the Reformation everywhere outside of Germany; and the cruelty of the Spanish nobles toward the Dutch Protestants, and of French nobles toward the Huguenots, was due in part to their detestation for these ambitious and detested rivals.

400. A great social change, like the rise of this new business society, is likely to be accompanied, for a time at least, by a sad depression of some other class. This social fact is illustrated by the story of English industry, in this age.

The golden age for English peasants was the half century from 1450 to 1500, just after the disappearance of villeinage. The small farmer lived in rude abundance; and even the farm laborer had his cow, sheep, or geese on the common, his four-acre patch of garden about his cabin, and good wages for his labor on the landlord's fields. Sir John Fortescue (§ 299) boasts of this prosperity, as compared with that of the French peasan-

try: "They [English peasants] drink no water, unless at times by way of penance. They are fed in great abundance with all kinds of flesh and fish. They are clothed in good woolens. . . . Every one, according to his rank, hath all things needful to make life easy and happy."

401. *The large landlords had been relatively less prosperous.* Since the rise of their old laborers out of villeinage, they were "land-poor." They paid high wages, while under the wasteful common field system, crops were small. **But by 1500 a change began which enriched the landlords and cruelly depressed the peasants.** This change was the process of "inclosures" for sheep-raising. There was a steady demand for wool at good prices to supply the Flemish markets, and enterprising landlords began to raise sheep instead of grain. Large flocks could be cared for by a few hands, so that the high wages mattered less; and profits proved so enticing that soon there was a mad rush into the new industry.

But sheep-raising called for large tracts of land. It was possible only for the great landlords; and even these were obliged to hedge in their share of the common "fields." Therefore, as far as possible, they turned out small tenants whose holdings interfered with such "inclosures," and often they inclosed also the woodlands and meadows, in disregard of ancient rights of common pasture (§ 134). Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, lamented these conditions bitterly:

> "A careless and unsatiable cormorant may compass about and inclose many thousand acres within one pale, and the husbandmen be thrust out of their own; *or else by fraud, or violent oppression, or by wrongs and injuries, they be so worried that they be compelled to sell.* . . . They [the landlords] throw down houses; they pluck down towns [villages], and leave nothing standing but only the church, to be made a sheep-house."

Other statesmen, too, bewailed that sheep should take the place of the yeomanry who had won Crécy, and who, Bacon said, were also "the backbone of the revenue"; and the govern-

ment made many attempts to check inclosures. But law availed nothing; nor did peasant risings and riots help. Inclosures went on until the profits of sheep-raising and grain-raising found a natural level.

This came to pass before 1600. The wool market was supplied; the growth of town populations raised the price of grain; and the land changes created a wealthy landed gentry, to take a glittering part in society and politics. But this new "prosperity" had a somber background. Half of the villages in England had lost heavily in population, and many had been wholly swept away. Great numbers of the peasants, driven from their homes, became "sturdy beggars" (tramps); *and all laborers were thrust down to a lower standard of life,* because the cost of food and clothing rose twice as fast as wages. Indeed, the gentleman "justices of the peace," *appointed* by the crown, were given power to fix wages for farm work. And when tramps spread terror through the rural districts, the justices hanged them in batches. In fifty years, in the glorious day of Shakspere and Elizabeth, seventy thousand "beggars" were executed.

402. Meantime, England was becoming a manufacturing country. From the time of the Yorkist kings, the sovereigns had made the towns their special care. Elizabeth welcomed gladly the skilled workmen driven from the Netherlands by the Spanish wars, and from France by the persecution of the Huguenots. Colonies of these foreign artisans were given their special quarter in many an English city, with many favors, and were encouraged to set up there their manufactures, of which England had previously known almost nothing. Soon, English wool was no longer sold abroad. It was worked up at home. These new manufactures gave employment to great numbers of workmen, and finally absorbed the classes driven from the land.

And in turn, this manufacturing fostered commerce. By 1600, England was sending, not merely raw materials as formerly, but her finished products, to distant markets. And

then, by purchase of land and by royal gifts from the confiscated church property, the members of the new merchant class rose into the new gentry, and their capital and energy helped to restore prosperity to the land.

403. The rapid growth of manufactures, too, brought about **a favorable change in the life of the workers. The gild system,** with its vexing rules, broke down in England (though retained much longer on the continent), and **was replaced by the so-called "domestic system."** Manufacturing was still carried on by hand, and mainly in the master's house; but the masters secured freedom from gild control and rapidly introduced improved methods. Nearly two centuries later in Paris a hatter won great popularity by making better hats than his competitors, — mixing silk with his wool; but his jealous gild brothers had his entire stock destroyed, completely ruining him, because he had broken the gild rules requiring that hats should be made of "pure wool." This illustrates only one of the countless outgrown restrictions from which English manufacturers escaped about 1600.

404. Meantime, during the sixteenth century, enough gold and silver from Peru and Mexico filtered into European trade through Spain, to supply the long-needed money. But this very success led men into a *new and mischievous delusion.* For some two hundred years after 1600, every one who thought upon such matters at all, believed that money (instead of being merely a convenient measure for wealth) was itself the only real wealth. **Under the influence of this "Mercantile" theory, the new nations began to build up new barriers against foreign trade** — less hurtful, to be sure, than the old feudal toll system, but harmful enough to curse the world down to the present day. Governments long believed that the only way a country could get rich was not by producing more goods or by saving more of what it had, but by getting more gold and silver *money.*

Each country accordingly sought to avoid bringing in imports

— as though it could always sell without ever buying. Each sought, too, to get colonial possessions in the new worlds that might supply it with gold and silver, or at least with those articles which otherwise had to be imported from foreign lands. And, of course, each tried to keep its colonies from buying from any one but the "mother" country. This false "political economy" was soon to lead to a century of new wars, and still hinders real brotherhood among men.

CHAPTER XXIV

PURITANISM AND POLITICS IN ENGLAND

I. UNDER THE FIRST STUARTS, 1603–1642

405. A summary of preceding changes. — In England the century and a half from 1450 to 1600 (filled by the Wars of the Roses and the Tudor reigns) had seen tremendous changes. (1) *Industry* had been revolutionized both in town and country. (2) On the ruins of the chief *political* forces of earlier times — feudalism and the church — the sovereigns built up a "New Monarchy" (§ 306). (3) The Renaissance created a *new intellectual life*, with the spontaneous energy and abounding self-reliance that we associate with the names of Shakspere and Elizabeth and Raleigh. (4) The Reformation had introduced a new church organization, and now was moving on into that *new religious force* which we call Puritanism.

The first of these four changes was the fundamental one. The new *towns* gave victory to the Yorkists over feudalism; they were the centers of the Renaissance, and the strongholds of the Reformation; and now they became the chief home of this new force that we are next to study.

406. England did not have a strictly "religious" war, like those that devastated France and Germany; but, **for nearly a century after 1600** (as for nearly a century before that date), **the burning questions in politics had to do** with religion. Before 1600, the Church of England had been in conflict with Catholicism: after 1600 its struggles were **with Puritanism.**

Within the established Episcopal church the *dominant* party had strong "High-church" leanings. It wished to restore so far as possible the ceremonial of the old Catholic church, and it taught that the government of the church by bishops had been

directly ordained by God. This party was ardently supported by the royal "head of the church" — Elizabeth, James, Charles, in turn; but, in the nation, it was opposed by a large, aggressive Puritan party.

Puritanism was more than a religious sect. It was an ardent aspiration for reform, personal and social. In politics, it stood for an advance in the rights of the people; in conduct, for a stricter morality; in theology, for the stern doctrines of Calvin; and in church government, for an extension of the movement which had cut off the English church from Rome.

407. In this matter of church government, **two groups of Puritans stood in sharp opposition to each other,** — the influential "Low-church" element within the church, and the despised Separatists outside of it. *The Low-churchmen* had no wish to separate church and state. They wanted one national church — a Low-church church — to which everybody within England should be forced to conform. They desired also to introduce more preaching into the service, to simplify ceremonies, and to abolish altogether certain customs which they called "Romish," — the use of the surplice, and of the ring in marriage, of the sign of the cross in baptism, and (some of them) of the prayer-book. There was even *a subdivision among them inclined to the Presbyterian church government,* as it existed in Scotland (§ 372, close).

The Independents, or "Puritans of the Separation," believed that there should be *no* national church, but that each local religious organization should be a little democratic society, wholly *separate* from the civil government, and even *independent* of other churches. These Independents were the Puritans of the Puritans. To all other sects they seemed mere anarchists in religion. Elizabeth persecuted them savagely, and her successor continued that policy. Some of the Independent churches fled to Holland; and one of them, from Scrooby in northern England, after staying several years at Leyden, founded Plymouth in America (the "Pilgrims" of 1620).

408. Political liberty in England *had fallen low under the Tudors;* but, *after all, Henry VIII and Elizabeth had ruled absolutely, only because they made use of constitutional forms* and because they possessed a shrewd tact which taught them just where to stop. Moreover, toward the close of Elizabeth's reign, when foreign perils were past, men spoke again boldly of checks upon the royal power.

409. Elizabeth was succeeded by James I (James Stuart), already king of Scotland (footnote, p. 335). James was learned and conceited, — "the wisest fool in Christendom," as Henry IV of France called him. He believed sincerely in the "divine right" of kings. That is, he believed that the king, as God's anointed, was the source of law and could not himself be controlled by law. He wrote a pompous and tiresome book to prove this. He and his son after him were despots *on principle.* The nation had been growing restive under the cloaked, beneficient, elastic tyranny of the strong Tudors: naturally it rose in fierce opposition against the noisy, needless, and uncompromising tyranny of the weak Stuarts.

410. Struggle between James and parliament. — There were, as yet, no *organized* political parties. But there was (1) a *court party,* devoted to the royal power, consisting of most of the nobles and of the "High-church" clergy, and (2) an opposition *country party,* consisting of the merchants, the mass of country gentry, and the Puritan element generally. *The issue between the two was promptly stated.* Even before his first parliament met, James I in a famous utterance, summed up his theory: "As it is atheism and blasphemy in a creature to dispute what God can do, so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to question what a king can do." This became the tone of the court party. When parliament assembled, it took the first chance to answer these new claims. The king, as usual, opened parliament with a "speech from the throne." As usual, the Speaker of the Commons replied; but, in place of the usual thanks to his majesty, he reminded James bluntly that in Eng-

land the royal power was limited. "New laws," said the Speaker, "cannot be instituted, nor imperfect laws reformed . . . by any other power than this high court of parliament." The Commons backed up this speech by a long paper, asserting that the privileges of Englishmen were their inheritance "no less than their lands and goods."

James seldom called parliaments after this, and only when he had to have money. Fortunately, the regular royal revenues had never been much increased, while the rise in prices and the wider duties of government called for more money than in former times. *Both Elizabeth and James were poor.* Elizabeth, however, had been economical and thrifty. James was careless and wasteful, and could not get along without new taxes.

411. Thus parliament was able to hold its own. It insisted stubbornly on its control of taxation, on freedom of speech, and on its right to impeach the king's ministers. In the parliament of 1621, the Commons expressed dissatisfaction with a marriage that James had planned for his son Charles with a Spanish princess. James roughly forbade them to discuss such "high matters of state." "Let us resort to our prayers," said one of the members, "and then consider this great business." The outcome of the consideration was a resolution, "(1) that the liberties, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright of the subjects of England; and (2) that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, the state, the church, the defense of the realm, the making and maintenance of laws, and the redress of grievances, which happen daily within this realm, are proper subjects for debate in parliament; and (3) that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, *every member of the Commons . . . has freedom of speech* . . . to bring to conclusion the same."

James tore out this page of the records and dissolved parliament. But Prince Charles was personally insulted by the Spanish court, where he had gone to visit the princess; and in

the last year of James' life the prince succeeded in forcing him into war with Spain — to the boundless joy of the nation.

412. In March, 1625, in the midst of shame and disgrace because of mismanagement of the war, James died. In May, **Charles I** met his first parliament. He quarreled with it at once, dissolved it, and turned to an eager prosecution of the war, trusting to win the nation to his side by glorious victory. Ignominious failure, instead, forced him to meet his second parliament in 1626.

413. It is now that **Sir John Eliot** stands forth as leader of the patriots. Eliot *stood for the control of the king's ministers by parliament.* Everything else, he saw, was likely to prove worthless, if the executive could not be held responsible. The *king's person* could not be so held, except by revolution, but *his ministers* might be *impeached;* and, under fear of this, they might be held in control. So Eliot persuaded the Commons to impeach the Duke of Buckingham, the king's favorite and the instrument of much past tyranny. Charles stopped the proceedings by casting Eliot into prison — in plain defiance of parliamentary privileges — and dissolving parliament.

414. The king fell back upon "benevolences" (§ 306). Henry VIII, absolute as he was, had renounced that practice. Now Charles revived and *extended* it, ordering *his sheriffs in the county courts to ask benevolences from all taxpayers.* But county after county refused to give a penny, often with cheers for parliament.

Then the king tried a "forced loan." This was a tax thinly disguised by the false promise to repay it. The king's party used both force and persuasion. Pulpits, manned now by the anti-Puritan party, rang with the cry that to resist the king was eternal damnation. As a patriot of the time put it, the "High-church" clergy "improved the highwayman's formula into 'Your money or your life *eternal.*'" And Charles made use of more immediate penalties. Poor freeholders who refused to pay were "pressed" into the navy, or a tur-

bulent soldiery was quartered in their defenseless homes; and two hundred English gentlemen were confined in disgraceful prisons, to subdue their obstinacy. One young squire, John Hampden, who had based his refusal to pay upon a clause in Magna Carta, was rewarded with so close an imprisonment that, his kinsman tells us, "he never did look the same man after." [1]

415. *The forced loan raised little revenue:* and with an armament poorly fitted out, Buckingham sailed against France (with which his blundering policy had brought England into war). For the third time in four years an English army was wasted to no purpose; and sunk in debt and shame, **Charles met his third paliament in 1628.** Before the elections, the imprisoned country gentlemen were released, and *some seventy of them* (all who appeared as candidates) *sat in the new parliament*, in spite of the royal efforts to prevent their election.

Charles asked for money. Instead of giving it, the Commons debated the recent infringements of English liberties and some way to provide security in future. The king offered to give his *word* that such things should not occur again, but was reminded that he had already given his *oath* at his coronation. **Then parliament passed "the Petition of Right,"** a document that ranks with Magna Carta in the history of English liberty. This great law first recited the ancient statutes, from Magna Carta down, against arbitrary imprisonment, arbitrary taxation, quartering of soldiery upon the people in time of peace, and against forced loans and benevolences. Then it named the frequent violations of right in these respects in recent years. And finally it declared all such infringements illegal.

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[1] Equal heroism was shown by hundreds of unknown men. George Radcliffe wrote from his prison to his "right dear and loving wife" (who was eager to have him submit in time to have Christmas with her), "Shall it be thought *I* prejudice the public cause by *beginning* to conform, which none yet hath done of all that have been committed [imprisoned], save only two poor men, a butcher and another, — *and they, hooted at like owls among their neighbors?*"

After evasive delays, Charles felt compelled to give his consent, in order to get money (and accordingly the "petition" became a great statute); but at once, in a recess of parliament, he broke the provisions regarding taxes. Parliament reassembled in bitter humor. Heedless of the king's plea for more money, it turned to punish the officers who had acted as his agents in recent infringements of the law. The Speaker stopped this business by announcing that he had the king's command to adjourn the House.[1]

416. There followed a striking scene. The Speaker was thrust back into his chair and held there;[2] the doors were locked against the king's messenger; and **Eliot in a ringing speech moved a series of resolutions** which were to form the platform of the liberal party in the dark years to come. Royalist members cried, Traitor! Traitor! Swords were drawn. Outside, an usher pounded at the door with a message of dissolution from the king. But the bulk of the members sternly voted the resolutions, declaring *traitors to England* (1) any one who should bring in innovations in religion without the consent of parliament, (2) any minister who should advise the illegal levy of taxes, (3) any officer who should aid in their collection, and (4) every citizen who should voluntarily pay them.

And in the moment's hush, when the great deed was done, Eliot's voice was heard once more, and for the last time, in that hall: "For myself, I further protest, as I am a gentleman, if my fortune be ever again to meet in this honorable assembly, where I now leave off, I will begin again." Then the door swung open, and the angry crowd surged out. Eliot passed to the Tower, to die there a prisoner four years later. But Eliot's friends remembered his words; and, when another parliament did meet, where he had left off, *they began again*.

[1] The king could *adjourn* the parliament from time to time, or he could *dissolve* it altogether, so that no parliament could meet until he had called for new elections. In the case above, it was plain that Charles' adjournment was a trick: he would follow adjournment at once by a dissolution.

[2] If the Speaker left the chair, business was at an end.

417. First, however, England passed through a gloomy period. **No parliament met for eleven years** (1629–1640), and the king's edicts were the only law. Charles sought, too, ingeniously to find new ways to get money, and his lawyers invented the device of "ship-money." In time of invasion, seaboard counties had now and then been called upon by earlier kings to furnish ships for the national navy. Charles stretched this custom into a precedent for collecting a "*ship-money* tax" from *all* England in *time of peace.*

John Hampden (§ 414) refused to pay the twenty shillings assessed upon his lands, and the famous *ship-money case* went to the courts (1637). The slavish judges decided for the king — as had been expected. The king's friends were jubilant, seeing in the new tax "an everlasting supply on all occasions"; but Hampden had won the moral victory he sought. The twelve-day argument of the lawyers attracted wide attention, and the court in its decision was compelled to state the theory of despotism in its naked hideousness. It declared that there was *no power to check the king's authority* over his subjects, — their persons or their money, —"For," said the Chief Justice, "*no act of parliament makes any difference.*" If England submitted now, she would deserve slavery.

418. The chief servants of the crown during this period were Archbishop Laud and Thomas Wentworth. Wentworth had been one of the leaders in securing the Petition of Right, but soon afterward he passed over to the side of the king and became Earl of Strafford. His old associates looked upon him as a traitor to the cause of liberty.

Laud was an extreme High-churchman and a conscientious bigot. He reformed the discipline of the church and ennobled the ritual; but he persecuted the Puritan clergy cruelly, with imprisonment and even by the cutting off of ears. As a result of this and of the political discouragement, that sect founded the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Practically all the immigration this colony received before the American Revolution,

came in the ten years 1630–1640, while Charles ruled without parliament.)

419. In 1638 Laud tried to force Episcopacy on Presbyterian Scotland. (Scotland had been joined to England when her King James had become king of England, but each country had its own parliament, laws, and church. The union was "personal," and consisted in the fact that the two countries had the same king.) But when the clergyman of the great church at Edinburgh appeared first in surplice, prayer-book in hand, Jenny Geddes, a servant girl, hurled her stool at his head, crying, — "Out, priest! Dost say mass at my lug [ear]!" The service broke up in wild disorder, and there followed a strange scene in the churchyard where stern, grizzled men drew blood from their arms, wherewith to sign their names to a "Solemn Oath and Covenant" to defend their own form of religion with their lives. This Covenant spread swiftly over all Lowland Scotland, and the Covenanters rose in arms and crossed the border.

420. Charles' system of absolutism fell like a house of cards. He could get no help from England without a parliament; and (November, 1640) he called **the Long Parliament**. The great leaders of that famous assembly were the Commoners *Pym, Hampden, Sir Harry Vane,*[1] and, somewhat later, *Cromwell.* Pym took the place of Eliot, and promptly indicated that the Commons were the real rulers of England. When the Lords tried to delay reform, he brought them to time by his veiled threat: he "should be sorry if the House of Commons had to save England *alone.*"

The Scots remained encamped in England; so the king had to assent to parliament's bills. Parliament first made itself safe by a law *that it could be dissolved only by its own vote.* Then it began where Eliot had left off, and sternly put into action the principles of his last resolutions. Laud, who had "brought

[1] Vane had lived in Massachusetts and had been governor there.

in innovations in religion," and Wentworth, who had advised and helped carry out the king's policy, were condemned to death as traitors. The lawyers who had advised ship-money, and the judges who had declared it legal, were cast into prison or driven into banishment. And forty committees were appointed, one for each county, to secure the punishment of the lesser officers concerned in the illegal acts of the government. These measures filled the first year,[1] and so far the Commons had been united.

421. But now a split began. Moderate men among the reformers (such as the broadminded Hyde and the chivalrous Falkland) thought enough had been done. To do more, they feared, would mean revolution and anarchy. So they drew nearer to the king. On the other hand, more far-sighted leaders, like Pym and Hampden, saw the necessity of securing safeguards for the future, since the king's promises were worthless; and a small extreme "Root and Branch" party, led by Vane and Cromwell wanted to overthrow Episcopacy.

422. Pym brought matters to a head by introducing a Grand Remonstrance, — a series of resolutions which appealed to the country for support in further measures against the king, proposing, in particular, that the king's choice of ministers (his chancellor, and so on) should be subject to the approval of parliament. After an all-night debate, marked by bitter speech and even by the drawing of swords, the Commons adopted the Remonstrance *by the narrow majority of eleven votes*, amid a scene of wild confusion (November 22, 1641). Said Cromwell, as the House broke up, "If it had failed, I should have sold all I possess to-morrow, and never seen England more."

423. Charles tried to reverse this small majority by destroying Pym, Hampden, and three other leaders, on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the invading Scots. No doubt

[1] The trial of Laud came later, but he was already a prisoner.

they had been technically guilty of treason. But such "treason" against Charles was the noblest loyalty to England. The Commons paid no attention to the king's charges; and *so Charles entered the House in person, followed to the door by a body of armed cavaliers, to seize* "**the five members.**"

News of his coming had preceded him; and, at the order of the House, the five had withdrawn. But **the despotic attempt, and weak failure, consolidated the opposition.** London rose in arms, and sent trainbands to guard parliament. And parliament now demanded that the king give it *control of the militia and of the education of the royal princes.* Charles withdrew to the conservative North, and unfurled the standard of civil war (1642).

For Further Reading. — Green's *English People* (or his *Short History*) is thrillingly interesting for this and the following periods.

II. THE GREAT REBELLION AND THE "REVOLUTION"

424. The Civil War. — Many men who had gone with parliament in its reforms, now chose the king's side rather than open rebellion. The majority of the gentry sided with the king, while in general the merchant and manufacturing classes, the shopkeepers, and the yeomanry fought for parliament. At the same time, the struggle was a true "civil war," dividing families and old friends. The king's party took the name "**Cavaliers**" from the court nobles; while the parliamentarians were called "**Round Heads,**" in derision, from the cropped hair of the London 'prentice lads. (The portraits of Cromwell and Vane, pp. 377, 378, show that Puritan *gentlemen* did not crop their hair. Short hair was a "class" mark.)

At first Charles was successful. Shopboys could not stand before the chivalry of the "Cavaliers." But *Oliver Cromwell*, a colonel in the parliamentary army, had raised a troop known as *Ironsides*. He saw that the only force parliament could oppose to the habitual bravery of the English gentleman was the religious enthusiasm of the extreme Puritans. Accord-

Charles I Orders the Speaker of the Commons to Point Out the Five Members. — (The Commons are in uproar; but note that in the king's presence they have removed their hats, which they usually wore; cf. pp. 377, 385.) A painting by the American artist, Copley.

Cromwell Visiting Milton, finds him composing music. — This painting by David Neal represents an event in the lives of these neighboring country gentlemen before the days of the Long Parliament.

ingly, he drew his recruits from the Independents of the east of England, — mostly yeoman farmers. They were men of godly lives, who fell on their knees for prayer before battle, and then charged with the old Hebrew battle psalms upon their lips. By this troop the great battle of Marston Moor was won. Then Cromwell was put in chief command. He reorganized the whole army upon this "*New Model*"; and the victory of *Naseby* (1645) virtually closed the war.

425. When the war began, many Episcopalians in parliament withdrew to join the king. This left the Presbyterians almost in control. Before long this party was strengthened still further by the need of buying the aid of Presbyterian Scotland. *Then parliament made the English church Presbyterian.* Soon, it began to *compel* all men to accept this form of worship. On this point, **the Presbyterian parliament and the Independent "New Model" quarreled.** Charles, now a prisoner, tried to play off one against the other. "Be quite easy," he wrote his wife, "as to the concessions I may grant. When the time comes, I shall know very well how to treat these rogues; and, instead of a silken garter [the badge of an honorary order of knighthood] I will fit them with a hempen halter."

But now the real government of England was in the army. A council of officers, with Cromwell for its head, prepared plans; and the whole army "sought the Lord" regarding them in monster prayer-meetings, and quickly stamped out the royalist and Presbyterian risings. Then, under order from the council of officers, *Colonel Pride "purged" the House of Commons* by expelling 143 Presbyterians. After "Pride's Purge" (December, 1648), parliament rarely had an attendance of more than sixty — out of an original membership of some five hundred. This "Rump" were all Independents, and their leader was Vane. (Pym and Hampden had died some time before.)

426. *This remnant of parliament,* backed by the army, *abolished monarchy and the House of Lords,* and brought "Charles

Stuart, that man of blood," to trial for treason to England. Charles was executed, January 20, 1649, dying with better grace than he had lived. Then the "Rump Parliament" abolished Presbyterianism as a state church, and **declared England a republic**, under the name of **the Commonwealth**. "*The people,*" said a famous resolution, "*are, under God, the original of all just power;* and the Commons of England in parliament assembled, being chosen by the people, have the supreme power in this nation."

CHARLES I. — The Van Dyck portrait.

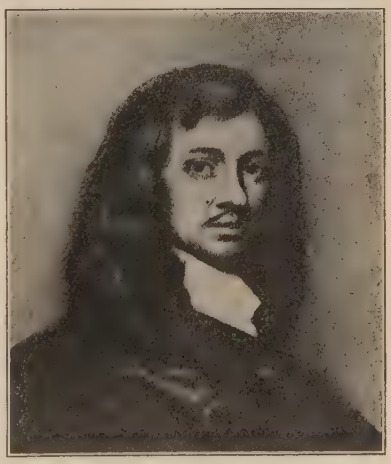
The Scots were not ready for such radical measures, and they were offended by the overthrow of Presbyterianism. So they crowned the son of the dead king as Charles II, and invaded England. Cromwell crushed them at Worcester, and the young "King of Scots" escaped to the continent.

The Rump ruled four years more, but it was only the shadow of the parliament chosen thirteen years before. Cromwell urged a new parliament. Finally the Rump agreed to call one, but planned, secretly, to give places in that body to all its own members *without reëlection*. Learning of this scheme, Cromwell hurried to the House with a file of musketeers and dissolved it in a stormy scene. "Come," he said, "I will put an end to your prating. You are no parliament! I say, you are no parliament!" His old friend, Vane, reproached his violence loudly. Cromwell turned with savage contempt:

"Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" And after his officers had led the Speaker

GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH, 1651, — the British Isles on one side, the House of Commons on the reverse.

from the chair, Cromwell added to the remaining members, — "It's you that have forced me to this. I have sought the Lord, night and day, that he would slay me rather than put me upon the doing of this work."



HARRY VANE.

427. The real trouble was that, though the Independents had won control by the discipline of their army, they were after all only a small fraction of the nation. Cromwell tried for a while to get a new parliament that would adopt a constitution, but the assemblies proved dilatory and fractious; and finally the *army officers* drew up a constitution. This "Instrument of Government" of **the Protectorate** *made Cromwell practically a dictator*, under the title Lord Protector (1653).

Cromwell's rule was stained by shameful cruelties in Ireland; but in other respects it was wise and firm. He made England once more a Great Power, peaceful at home and respected abroad; and he gave freedom of worship to all *Protestant* sects, — a more liberal policy in religion than could be found anywhere else in that age except in Holland and in Roger Williams' little colony just founded in Rhode Island. At the best, however, this government was a government of force. The noble experiment of a republic had failed miserably in the hands of its friends; and, on Cromwell's death, the nation, with wild rejoicings, welcomed back Charles II in *"the Restoration" of 1660.*

CROMWELL. — Lely's portrait.

428. This is a good point at which to note **the slow growth of religious freedom.** The Puritan Long Parliament, *in 1641* (while still led by broad-minded men like Pym, Hampden, and Hyde), demanded from Charles I certain reforms in the church; but it protested that it *did not favor religious toleration:* "We do declare it to be far from our purpose to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the church, to leave private persons or particular congregations to take up what form of divine worship they please. *For we hold it requisite that there should be thoughout the whole realm a conformity to that order which the laws enjoin.*" (That is, even people who no longer thought any one religion essential to salvation did think *one form essential* to good order in society.)

True, in that same year, Lord Brooke (a Puritan nobleman with *Independent* convictions) wrote nobly: "*The individual should have liberty.* No power on earth should force his practice. One that doubts with reason and humility may not, for aught I see, be forced by violence. . . . Fire and water may be restrained; *but light cannot.* It will in at every cranny. Now to stint it, is [to-morrow] to resist an enlightened and inflamed multitude. *Can we not dissent in judgment, but we must also disagree in affection?*"

Only a few rare spirits, however, reached this lofty view. The world was not ready for religious freedom.

429. With the Restoration, the great age of Puritanism closed. The court, and the young cavaliers all over the land, gave themselves up to shameful licentiousness.[1] *The established church became again Episcopalian,* as it has since remained. In the reaction against Puritan rule, the new parliament passed *many cruel acts of persecution. All dissenters* — Catholic and Protestant — were excluded from the right to hold municipal office; and all religious worship except the Episcopalian was punished with severe penalties.

430. In spite of all this, **the political principles for which the early Puritan parliaments of Charles I had contended were victorious.** Charles knew he could never get another parliament so much to his mind as the one that had been elected in the fervor of welcome at his restoration; and so he shrewdly kept that "Cavalier Parliament" through most of his reign — till 1679. But even this parliament insisted strenuously on parliament's sole right to impose taxes, regulate the church,

[1] But, in just this age of defeat, Puritanism found its highest expression in literature. *John Milton,* years before, had given noble poems to the world — like his *L'Allegro* — but for many years he had abandoned poetry to work in Cromwell's Council and splendidly to champion the Puritan cause and freedom of speech in prose pamphlets. Now, a blind, disappointed old man, he composed *Paradise Lost.* And *John Bunyan,* a dissenting minister, lying in jail under the persecuting laws of the new government, wrote *Pilgrim's Progress.*

and control foreign policy; and Charles' second parliament adopted the great Habeas Corpus Act, which still secures Englishmen against arbitrary imprisonment — such as had been so common under Charles' father. (The *principle* of this act was older than Magna Carta; but the law of Charles' time first provided *adequate machinery*, much as we have it in America to-day, *to enforce the principle.*)

Charles II was careless, indolent, selfish, extravagant, witty. He is known as the "Merry Monarch." One of his courtiers described him in jesting rhyme as a king "who never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one." There is reason to think, however, that beneath his merry exterior Charles was nursing plans for tyranny far more dangerous than his father's; but he died suddenly (1685) before he was ready to act.

431. Real political parties first appeared toward the close of this reign. Charles had no legitimate son; and his brother and heir, James, was a Catholic of narrow, despotic temper. The more radical members of parliament introduced a bill to exclude him from the throne; and their supporters throughout England sent up monster petitions to have the bill made law. The Catholics and the more conservative part of parliament, especially those who believed that parliament had no right to change the succession, sent up counter-petitions expressing horror at the proposal. These "Abhorrors" called the other petitioners *Whigs* (Whey-eaters), a name sometimes given to the extreme Scotch Calvinists with their sour faces. The Whigs reviled their opponents as *Tories* (bog-trotters), a name for the ragged Irish rebels who had supported the Catholic and royal policy in the Civil War.

The bill failed; but the rough division into parties remained. In general, *the Whigs believed in the supremacy of parliament*, and sought on every occasion to limit the royal authority; while *the Tories* sustained the royal authority and *wished to prevent any further extension of the powers of the people.*

432. James II (1685–1688) lacked his brother's tact. He arbi-

trarily "suspended" the laws against Catholics, tried to intimidate the law courts, and rapidly increased the standing army. It was believed that *he meant to make the established church Catholic;* and this belief prepared England for revolution. The Whig leaders called for aid to *William of Orange*, the Stadtholder of Holland, who had married James' daughter Mary. William landed with a handful of troops. James found himself utterly deserted, even by his army, and fled to France.

433. The *story* of this **Revolution of 1688** is not a noble one. Selfishness and deceit mark every step. William of Orange is the only fine character on either side. As Macaulay says, it was "an age of *great measures* and *little men*"; and the term "glorious," which English historians have applied to the Revolution, must be taken to belong to results only.

Those results were of mighty import. A Convention-Parliament declared the throne vacant, drew up the great Declaration of Rights, the "third great document in the Bible of English Liberties" (stating once more the fundamental liberties of Englishmen), and elected William and Mary joint sovereigns *on condition of their assenting to the Declaration.* The supremacy of parliament over the king was once more firmly established. *The new sovereigns*, like the old Lancastrians (and like all English sovereigns since), *had only a parliamentary title* to the throne. (The next regular parliament enacted the Declaration of Rights into a "Bill of Rights.")

William III was a great-grandson of William the Silent. He ranks among England's greatest kings, but he was a foreigner and unpopular. (He spoke only his native Dutch, not English.) His reign was spent mainly in war against the overshadowing might of Louis XIV of France. While Stadtholder of Holland, William had already become the most formidable opponent of Louis XIV's schemes; and now the French king undertook to restore James II to the English throne. This began the "Second Hundred Years' War" between France and England. With slight intervals, the struggle lasted from

1689 to 1815. The story will be told in future chapters. Now it is enough to note that the long conflict turned the government's attention away from reform and progress at home. Just in the first years, however, some great steps forward were taken — which were properly part of the Revolution.

Religious reform was embodied in the *Act of Toleration* of 1689, in which, at William's insistence, parliament granted freedom of *worship* to *Protestant* dissenters (though even these most favored dissenters from the English church did not yet secure the right to hold office or to enter the universities). The chief gains in *political* liberty come under four heads.

a. Judges were made independent of the king (removable only by parliament).

b. A triennial bill ordered that a new parliament should be elected at least once in three years. (In 1716, the maximum term was made *seven* years, and in 1911 it was reduced to *five*.)

c. Parliament adopted the simple device of granting money for government expenses only for a year at a time (instead of for the lifetime of the sovereign), and *only after all other business had been attended to.* Thenceforward, parliaments have been assembled each year, and they have practically fixed their own adjournments.

d. The greatest problem of parliamentary government (as Sir John Eliot had seen) was to control the "king's ministers" and make them really the ministers of parliament. Parliament could remove and punish the king's advisers; but such action could be secured only by a serious struggle, and against notorious offenders. Some way was wanted to secure ministers acceptable to parliament *easily* and *at all times.*

This desired "cabinet government" was secured indirectly through the next century and a half; but the first important steps were taken in the reign of William. At first William tried to unite the kingdom, and balance Whigs and Tories, by keeping the leaders of both parties among his ministers. But he was much annoyed by the jealousy and suspicion which par-

liament felt toward his measures, and by the danger of a deadlock between king and parliament at critical times. Then a shrewd political schemer suggested to the king that he should choose *all* his advisers and assistants from the Whigs, who had a majority in the House of Commons. Such ministers would have the confidence of the Commons; and that body would support their proposals, instead of blocking all measures. William accepted this suggestion; and a little later, when the Tories for a time secured a majority, he carried out the principle by replacing his "cabinet" with leading Tories. *This was the beginning of ministerial government*, or of "responsible ministries."

III. THE CABINET IN THE NEXT CENTURY

434. William, however, was a powerful ruler. He was not a tyrant in any way; but he believed in a king's authority, and *he succeeded for the most part in keeping the ministers the "king's ministers"* — to carry out his policy. *Queen Anne*, Mary's sister (1702–1714), tried to maintain a similar control over her ministry. But, like William and Mary, she too died without leaving children; and the crown passed by a new **Act of Settlement** to a great-grandson of James I, the German *George I*, who was already Elector of Hanover.[1] (This law, like the earlier one providing for the succession of Anne, excluded nearer heirs because they were Catholics.)

Neither George I nor his son George II spoke English; and so far as they cared for matters of government at all, they were interested in their German principality rather than in England. **During the half-century (1714–1760) of these stupid German Georges, the government of England was left to the group of ministers** — who began now to be the ministers ("servants") of parliament rather than of the king.

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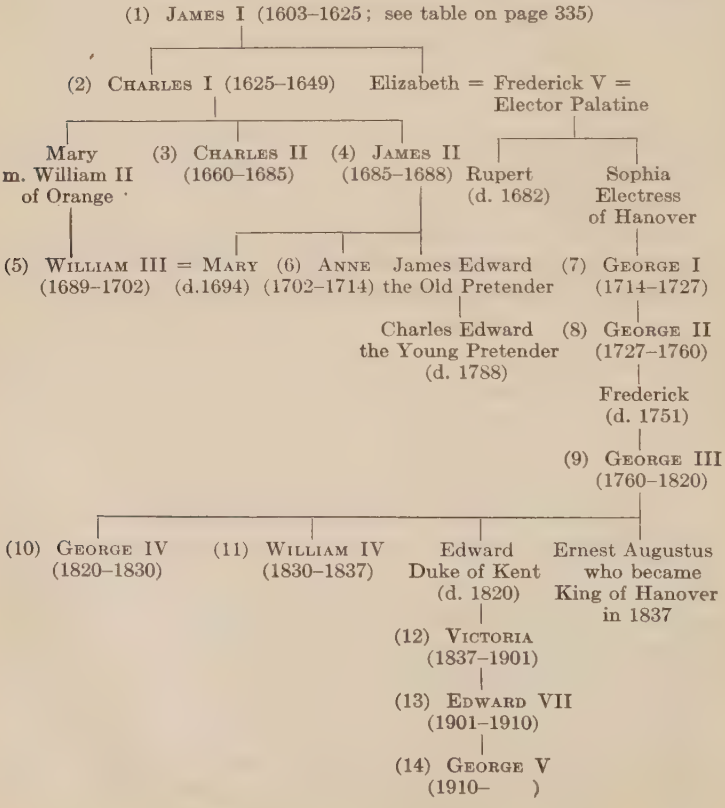
[1] Hanover was given a vote in the imperial electoral college in 1691. The table on the following page shows the relationship of the Hanoverians to the Stuarts.

Unhappily, parliament itself did not yet really represent the nation. Walpole, Prime Minister from 1721 to 1742, *ruled largely by unblushing corruption.* Said he cynically, "Every man has his price." During his rule, *it was not a parliamentary majority that made the ministry, but the ministry that made the parliamentary majority.* (The same method, used only a little less shamelessly, was the means by which the ministers of George III in the next generation managed parliament and brought it to drive the American colonies into war.)


(1) James I (1603–1625; see table on page 335)
(2) Charles I (1625–1649)
Elizabeth = Frederick V = Elector Palatine
Mary m. William II of Orange
(3) Charles II (1660–1685)
(4) James II (1685–1688)
Rupert (d. 1682)
Sophia Electress of Hanover
(5) William III (1689–1702)
= Mary (d.1694)
(6) Anne (1702–1714)
James Edward the Old Pretender
(7) George I (1714–1727)
Charles Edward the Young Pretender (d. 1788)
(8) George II (1727–1760)
Frederick (d. 1751)
(9) George III (1760–1820)
(10) George IV (1820–1830)
(11) William IV (1830–1837)
Edward Duke of Kent (d. 1820)
Ernest Augustus who became King of Hanover in 1837
(12) Victoria (1837–1901)
(13) Edward VII (1901–1910)
(14) George V (1910–)

White's Chocolate House, — a painting by William Hogarth in 1733. Hogarth was a "pictorial satirist," who portrayed strikingly the follies of his age. Several of his paintings picture tavern life. "White's" was the most celebrated resort in London. (Some fifty years later it grew into the first *private* "Club.")

There was a separate gambling room at White's in Hogarth's time, but here the dice are represented in use also in the public room. The picture is the sixth in a famous series, known as *The Rake's Progress*. The central figure in front is the leading character of the series, — now cursing frenziedly at the completion of his financial ruin. At the small table to the left, a well-known nobleman is writing an I. O. U., to secure more gold from a waiting usurer. On the further side, another money lender is counting gold into the hand of an eager borrower. All these gamblers are so absorbed in their gaming that they have failed to notice flames that have broken out — so that a street "watch," with staff and lantern, has just rushed in to arouse them to the danger. One other feature of the time is symbolized by the portrait of a noted highwayman (in riding boots and with pistol and mask protruding from his pocket) seated by the fireplace, so lost in thought that the boy with the glass cannot get his attention. Such "gentlemen of the road" were not unknown in London taverns.

435. English Society. — English upper-classes in the eighteenth century were artificial and dissipated. The middle class was hearty, bluff, and wholesomely honest; but it was also exceedingly rude and coarse and immodest. Modern refinement of feeling had hardly appeared. England was not immoral. Compared with other lands, she was a moral country. But there was little moral earnestness. The age of Puritanism had vanished. The established Episcopalian church had many "fox-hunting parsons," who neglected their duties, or made them empty forms, while they sought the companionship of the neighboring squires in sports and in drinking bouts.

House of Commons. — From part of a painting by Hogarth in 1730. (For an account of the artist, see Plate opposite.) The figures in the foreground are Sir *Robert Walpole* and the Speaker (Onslow). Several other faces also are portraits. Note the wigs, the cocked hats (worn by all members except when addressing the House), and the *quill* pen in the hand of the clerk. The representation of the hall is perhaps the best we have of the old hall in which the Commons sat before the erection of the present Parliament buildings.

436. About 1738, a protest against this lack of moral earnestness grew into the great Methodist movement. The founder was *John Wesley*. While a student at Oxford, some years earlier, Wesley had established a religious society among his fellow-students; and these young men were nicknamed Methodists, because of their regular habits. Wesley became a clergyman of the established church; but he soon came to place special emphasis on the idea of sudden and

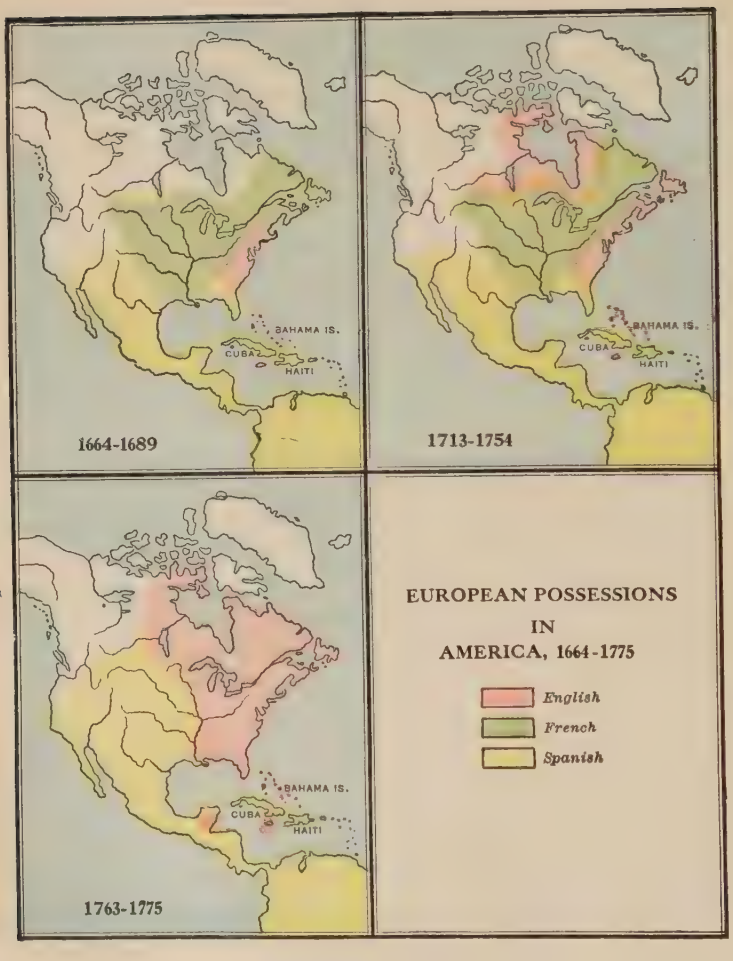
absolute "conversion" from sin. Aided by his brother Charles and by the powerful preacher Whitfield, he journeyed through England, holding great "revivals" in vast open-air meetings, preaching the love of Christ and its power to save from sin.

Wesley was a man of wonderful spirituality; but his fellow-clergy for the most part were shocked at his method and refused to take him into their pulpits, and his converts came almost wholly from the lower classes. Much against the wish of the original leaders, the movement finally was organized as a dissenting "Methodist church." But Wesley's work went further than merely to found a new church, mighty as that church has become. The greatest result of the Methodist movement in England was found in the revivifying and spiritual quickening that followed within the established church and throughout all English life.

437. Meantime "England" was becoming "Great Britain." James I (1603) had joined Scotland and England under one crown. In 1707 this "personal union" was made a true consolidation by "the Act of Union," adopted by the parliaments of both countries. Scotland gave up her separate legislature, and became part of the "United Kingdom," with the right to send members to the English parliament and to keep her own established Presbyterian church. Halfway between these two dates, Cromwell completed the conquest of Ireland. And that same seventeenth century had seen another and vaster expansion of England and of Europe, to which we now turn.

For Further Reading. — It is desirable for reading students to continue Green at least through the Revolution of 1688. George MacDonald's *St. George and St. Michael* and Scott's *Woodstock* are good stories of the Civil War, from different angles; and Blackmore's *Lorna Doone* and Sabatini's *Captain Blood* deal with the period of the Revolution.

Exercise. — Seventeenth century English history is especially important for American history. Note the dates, 1603, 1629–1640, 1648–1660, 1688. Observe that the "personal union" with Hanover ceased in 1837, when a woman became sovereign of England (cf. note on p. 384).


BAHAMA IS.
CUBA
HAITI
1664-1689
BAHAMA IS.
CUBA
HAITI
1713-1754
BAHAMA IS.
CUBA
HAITI
1763-1775
EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS
IN
AMERICA, 1664-1775
English
French
Spanish

CHAPTER XXV

EXPANSION OF EUROPE INTO NEW WORLDS

438. Columbus and Da Gama (pp. 321–322) had doubled the size of the known earth, added a new stir to European thought, and *revolutionized the distribution of wealth in Europe.* **The center of historical interest shifted westward once more.** The Mediterranean, for two thousand years the one great highway between Europe and the Orient, gave way to the Atlantic and the "passage round the Cape." The cities of Italy lost their leadership both in commerce and in art, while vast gain fell to the seaboard countries on the Atlantic.

439. For a hundred years, it is true, direct gains were confined to the two countries which had begun the explorations. Portugal built up a rich empire in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific, and an accident gave her Brazil. Otherwise, **the sixteenth century in America belongs to Spain.** The story of her conquests is a tale of heroic endurance, marred by ferocious cruelty. Not till twenty years after the discovery did the Spaniards advance to the mainland of America for settlement; but, once begun, her handful of adventurers swooped north and south. By 1550, she held all South America (save Portugal's Brazil), all Central America, Mexico, the Californias far up the Pacific coast, and the Floridas.

Nor was Spain content with this huge empire. She was planning grandly to occupy the Mississippi valley and the Appalachian slope in America, and to seize Holland and England in Europe; but in 1588 she received her fatal check in the ruin of her Invincible Armada.

440. For a time **France seemed most likely to succeed Spain as mistress in North America.** In 1608 Champlain

founded the first permanent French colony at Quebec. Soon canoe-fleets of traders and missionaries were coasting the shores of the Great Lakes and establishing stations at various points still known by French names. Finally, in 1682, after years of gallant effort, La Salle followed the Mississippi to the Gulf, setting up a French claim to the entire valley. From that time

La Salle Taking Possession of the Mississippi Valley (under the name *Louisiana*) for France. — This picture, exhibited by Marchand at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904, is faithful to La Salle's account. The act was performed at the mouth of the river, with legal attestation; and to it are traced land titles over much of the valley to-day.

New France consisted of a colony on the St. Lawrence, in the far north, and the semi-tropical colony of New Orleans, joined to each other by a thin chain of trading posts and military stations along the connecting waterways.

441. It is easy to point out certain French advantages in the race with England for North America. At home French statesmen worked steadily to build a French empire in the New

World, while the English government for the most part ignored English colonies. The thought of such empire for their country, too, inspired French explorers in the wilderness — splendid patriots like Champlain, Ribault, and La Salle. France also sent forth the most zealous and heroic of missionaries to convert the savages. Moreover, the French could deal with the natives better than the stiffer, less sympathetic English could; and the French leaders were men of far-reaching views.

442. But the *mass* of French colonists had three vital weaknesses as colonists. They lacked *homes*, *individual enterprise*, and *political life*.

a. Except for a few leaders and missionaries, the settlers were either unprogressive peasants or reckless adventurers. For the most part *they did not bring families*, and, if they married, they took Indian wives. Agriculture was the only basis for a permanent colony; but these colonists turned instead to trapping and the fur trade, and adopted Indian habits. Population did not grow rapidly — despite the French king's zeal in sending out wives for the settlers. When the final struggle with England began for America, in 1756, France, with three times as many inhabitants as England, had only a twentieth as many colonists in America.

b. Paternalism smothered private enterprise. New France was taught to depend, not on herself, but on the aid and direction of a government three thousand miles away. Trade was shackled by silly restrictions, and hampered by silly encouragements. The rulers did everything. "Send us money to build storehouses" ran the begging letters of the colonial governors to the French king. "Send us a teacher to make sailors. We want a surgeon." And so, at various times, requests for brickmakers, iron-workers, pilots. New France got the help she asked; but she did not learn to walk alone.

c. Political life, too, was lacking. France herself had become a centralized despotism; and, in New France, as a French writer (Tocqueville) says, "this deformity was seen as though mag-

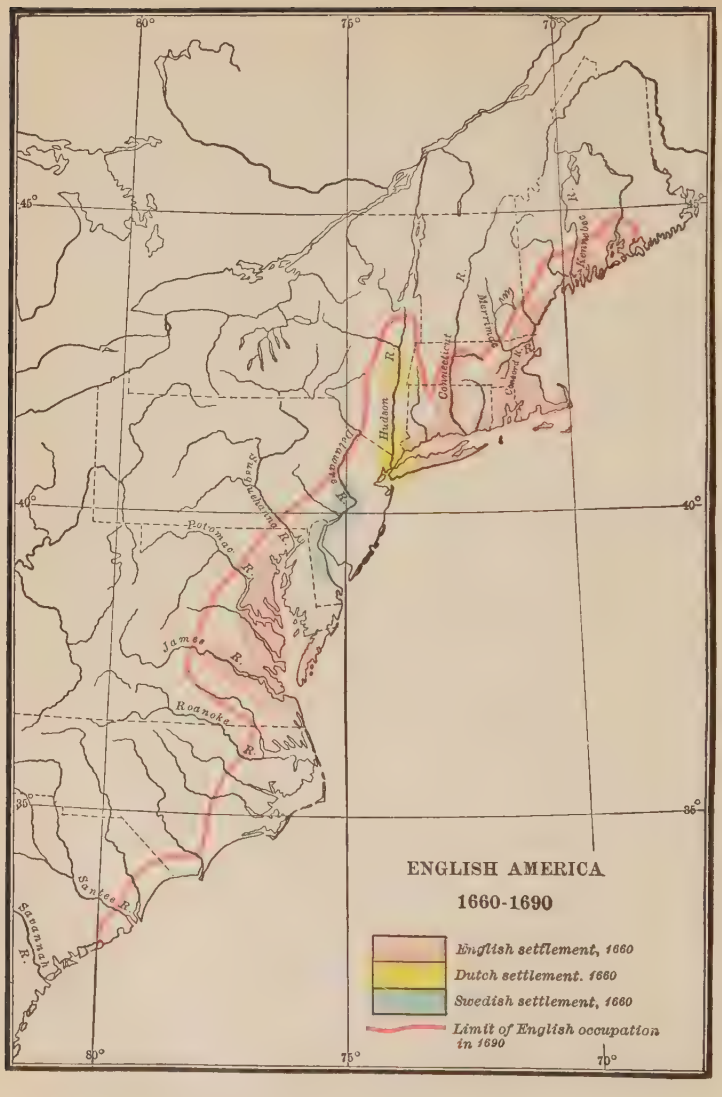
nified by a microscope." No public meetings could be held without special license from the governor; and, if licensed, they could do nothing worth while. The governor's ordinances (not the people) regulated pew rent, the order in which dignitaries should sit in church, the number of cattle a man might keep, the pay of chimney sweeps, the charges in inns, and so on. "It is of greatest importance," wrote one official, "that the people should not be at liberty to speak their minds."

Worse than that — the people had no minds to speak. In 1672, Frontenac, the greatest governor of New France, tried to introduce a colonial assembly, with power at least of discussion. The home government sternly disapproved this mild innovation, reminding Frontenac that at home the kings had done away with the old States General (§ 196), and directing him to remember that it was "proper that each should speak for himself, and no one for the whole." The plan fell to pieces; *the people cared so little for it that they made no effort to save it.* To such men, if not cruelly oppressed, it would matter little whether their ruler across the Atlantic dwelt in Paris or in London.

443. Very different was the fringe of English colonies that grew up on the Atlantic coast, never with a king's subsidies, often out of a king's persecution, and asking no favor but to be let alone.

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Elizabeth's reign was half gone, England entered openly on a daring rivalry with the overshadowing might of Spain. Out of that rivalry English America was born — by the work not of sovereigns, but of individual adventurous patriots. Reckless and picturesque freebooters, like Drake and Hawkins, sought profit and honor for themselves, and injury to the foe, by raiding the wide-flung realms of New Spain, while the more far-sighted Gilbert and Raleigh strove to "put a byt in the anchent enemy's mouth" by establishing English colonies in America.

These first attempts came to nothing because the energies


ENGLISH AMERICA
1660-1690
English settlement, 1660
Dutch settlement. 1660
Swedish settlement, 1660
Limit of English occupation in 1690
80°
75°
70°
45°
40°
35°
Kennebec R.
Merrimac R.
Connecticut R.
Hudson R.
Delaware R.
Susquehanna R.
Potomac R.
James R.
Roanoke R.
Santee R.
Savannah R.

of the nation were drained by the exhausting struggle with the might of Spain in Europe. Then James became king, and sought Spanish friendship; but Englishmen, beginning to fear lest their chance for empire was slipping through their fingers, insisted all the more that England should not now abandon Virginia, — " this one enterprise left unto these days."

Moreover, England needed an outlet for " crowded " population [1] and the more enterprising of the hard-pressed yeomanry were glad to seek new homes beyond seas. This class furnished most of the manual labor in the early colonies. But captains and capitalists, too, were needed; and a new condition in England just after the death of Elizabeth turned some of the best of the middle class toward American adventure. Until James made peace with Spain (1604), the high-spirited youth, and especially the younger sons of gentry families, fought in the Low Countries for Dutch independence (§ 381) or made the " gentlemen-adventurers " who under commanders like Drake paralyzed the vast domain of New Spain with fear. Now these men sought occupation and fortune in colonizing America, still attacking the old enemy, and in his weakest point.

Such were the forces in English life that established Virginia, early in the reign of James I. Toward the close of that same reign, *Puritanism was added to the colonizing forces*, and, before the Long Parliament met, there was a second patch of English colonies on the North Atlantic shore. After this, the *leading* motive for colonization was a desire to win a better home or more wealth, though late in the century, religious persecution in England played its part again in founding Pennsylvania. And so, from one cause or another, at the time of the " Revolution of 1688," the *English settlements in America had expanded into a broad band of twelve great colonies, reaching from the Penobscot to the Savannah, with a total population of a quarter of a million.*

[1] Only a tenth of the present population, but more than the island could support under the crude industrial system of that date. Cf. § 401.

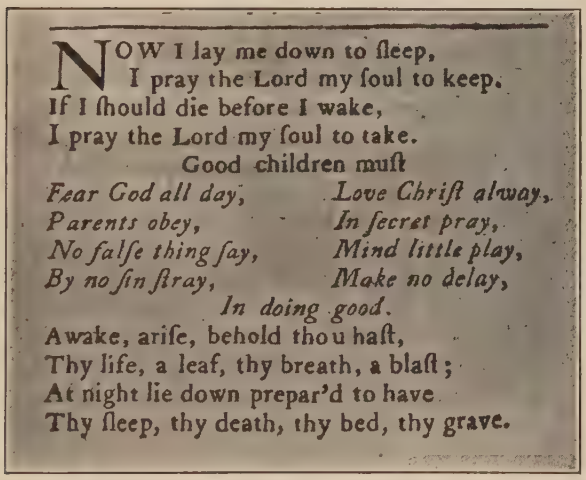
444. These colonies all enjoyed the English Common Law, with its guarantees for jury trial, freedom of speech, and other personal liberties (such as were known in no other colonies for two hundred years), and they all possessed their own self-governing representative assemblies, modeled on the English parliament.

Moreover, not all England, but only *the more democratic part of English life, was transplanted to America.* No hereditary nobles or monarch or bishop ever made part of colonial America. And that part of English society which did come was *drawn toward still greater democracy by the presence here of unlimited free land.* When the Puritan gentlemen, who at first made up the governing body in Massachusetts colony, tried to fix wages for carpenters by law, as the gentry did in England (§ 401), the New England carpenters simply ceased to do carpenter work and became farmers. Thus wages rose, spite of aristocratic efforts to hold them down. Free land helped to maintain equality in industry, and so in politics; and **the English colonies from the first began to diverge from the old home in the direction of even greater freedom.**

445. In the next chapter we shall see how the story of American colonization merged with the story of European wars. Early in the seventeenth century it became plain that France and England were the real rivals for North America. Armed struggle began in 1689 (with the wars between William III and Louis XIV; § 433), and continued, with brief truces, until 1763, when Wolfe conquered the great Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham.

All American students know that romantic story for the New World. But it must be remembered, too, that the struggle in America had been really a war not between Montcalm and Wolfe, but between two kinds of colonization. Man for man, the French settlers were better woodsmen and Indian fighters than their English rivals; but they could not build a state so well. If Montcalm had won, and then occupied New

York and Boston, he could never have held them — not as long as the far less despotic King George could a few years later. But Wolfe's one victory settled the fate of the continent. The lack of political vitality and of individual enterprise in industry was the fatal weakness of New France. The opposite qualities made England successful. Says John Fiske: *"It is to the self-government of England, and to no lesser cause, that we are to look for the secret of that boundless vitality which has given to men of English speech the uttermost parts of the earth for an inheritance."*



NOW I lay me down to ſleep,
I pray the Lord my ſoul to keep.
If I ſhould die before I wake,
I pray the Lord my ſoul to take.
Good children muſt
Fear God all day, Love Chriſt alway,
Parents obey, In ſecret pray,
No falſe thing ſay, Mind little play,
By no ſin ſtray, Make no delay,
In doing good.
Awake, ariſe, behold thou haſt,
Thy life, a leaf, thy breath, a blaſt;
At night lie down prepar'd to have
Thy ſleep, thy death, thy bed, thy grave.

A Page from *The New England Primer.* The first New England Textbook not made up *wholly* of passages from the Bible. The first edition appeared in 1680. This "evening prayer" appeared in the second edition, shortly after. The book held its place long after America became independent, and the important place it held in colonial life indicates one reason why English America prospered.

CHAPTER XXVI

DESPOTS AND WARS OF GREED

I. THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV, 1643–1715

446. The "Balance of Power" Idea. — Now we turn again to the continent of Europe, which we left last some chapters back, on page 352. Toward the close of the "religious" Thirty Years' War, we saw Catholic France aid Protestant Germany and Holland to break the power of Catholic Austria and Spain. Statesmen had begun to make it their chief object to keep any one country from becoming too strong for its neighbors' safety; and these wars and alliances to destroy or to maintain the *Balance of Power* were the mark of the next hundred years — complicated soon by commercial greed for the control of the new worlds.

447. For long after 1648, France, more than any other country, endangered the unstable "Balance." In 1643 the throne of that country fell to **Louis XIV**. During the early years of this reign, *Colbert*, the great minister of the king, introduced economy into the finances, encouraged new manufactures, removed many of the absurd tolls that vexed trade, built roads and canals, and watched zealously over the growth of New France in America. But in 1667 Louis began a series of wars that filled most of the next forty years. During that half-century, despotic France threatened freedom for the world, as Spain had done a century before, and as Hohenzollern Germany has recently been threatening it.

448. In the first twelve years of war, Louis sought to seize territory on his northeastern frontier. **The Dutch Republic was his chief obstacle.** The Dutch intrusted their government to William of Orange (afterward William III of England;

EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1740)
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
Boundary of Holy Roman Empire
Austrian
Papal
Prussian
Savoy (Kingdom of Sardinia)
Spanish Bourbons
Venetian
Turkish
Great Britain
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
RUSSIA
POLAND
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
TURKISH EMPIRE
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
Papal States
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Bohemia
Bosnia
Servia
Wallachia
Moldavia
Belgrade
Bukharest
Jassy
Crimea
Corsica
Sardinia
Minorca
Majorca
Balearic Is.
Gibraltar
Malta
Crete
Morea
Algiers
Morocco
Netherlands
Bavaria
Saxony
Prussia
Brandenburg
Hanover
Hesse
Swabia
Lorraine
Burgundy
Provence
Languedoc
Gascony
Navarre
Milan
Piedmont
Tuscany
Naples
Sicily
Sardinia
Hungary
Transylvania
Dalmatia
Croatia
Carniola
Styria
Tyrol
Bohemia
Moravia
Silesia
Galicia
Lithuania
Livonia
Courland
Finland
Ukraine
Volga R.
Dnieper R.
Vistula R.
Danube R.
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Ebro R.
Duero R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Po R.
Adige R.
Arno R.
Tiber R.
Oder R.
Weser R.
Ems R.
Meuse R.
Moselle R.
Main R.
Inn R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Theiss R.
Pruth R.
Dniester R.
Don R.
Kuban R.
Terek R.
Kur R.
Aras R.
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Nile R.
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Lake Ladoga
Lake Onega
Lake Peipus
Lake Ilmen
Lake Constance
Lake Geneva
Lake Lucerne
Lake Zurich
Lake Neuchatel
Lake Maggiore
Lake Como
Lake Garda
Lake Trasimeno
Lake Bolsena
Lake Bracciano
Lake Albano
Lake Nemi
Lake Fucino
Lake Balaton
Lake Neusiedler
Lake Plattensee
Lake Wener
Lake Vetter
Lake Mälar
Lake Hjelmar
Lake Wenern
Lake Vattern
Lake Ladoga
Lake Onega
Lake Peipus
Lake Ilmen
Lake Aral
Lake Baikal
Lake Tchad
Lake Victoria
Lake Tanganyika
Lake Nyassa
Lake Rudolf
Lake Albert
Lake Edward
Lake Kivu
Lake Mweru
Lake Bangweolo
Lake Ngami
Lake Chad

§ 433). With grim determination William finally let in the North Sea to drive out the French armies. Meantime he toiled ceaselessly in building up against France an alliance of European powers, until Louis was compelled to accept peace with only slight gains of territory from the Spanish Netherlands.

449. During ten years of truce that followed, Louis continued to seize bits of territory along the Rhine — including the "free city" of Strassburg. But the important event of this period was his treatment of the Huguenots. In 1685 **he revoked the Edict of Nantes**, and tried to compel the Huguenots to accept Catholicism. Dragoons were quartered in the Huguenot districts, and terrible persecutions fell upon those who refused to abandon their faith. Protestantism did finally disappear from France. But, though Louis tried to prevent any heretic from leaving France alive, tens of thousands (perhaps 300,000 in all) escaped to Holland, Prussia, England, and English America. The effect on France corresponded in a measure to the effect of the expulsion of the Moriscoes (§ 384) on Spain.

In America the Huguenots went mainly to the Carolinas, but some old Virginia families trace their origin to this immigration. In New York John Jay and Alexander Hamilton were both of Huguenot descent. And in Massachusetts the Huguenot influence is suggested by the names of Paul Revere, Peter Faneuil, and Governor Bowdoin.

Before or after this persecution, great numbers of Huguenots would gladly have emigrated to French America. They would have brought families; they were the most skillful artisans and agriculturists of France; and, in their own communities, they had begun to develop some political life. That is, they would have corrected the three great weaknesses in French colonization (§§ 442, 445). But the government of Louis, which lavished huge sums of money on undesirable colonists, and which wasted this more costly human wealth in dungeon and on scaffold, rigidly refused to let such "heretics" escape to the wilderness. Thus religious bigotry, after all, was the chief factor that lost France her chance for world empire.

450. Louis began a second series of wars in 1689 (§ 433). As before, the French armies were invincible in the field; but, as before, William checked Louis by building up a general Euro-

pean alliance. England had now taken Holland's place as the center of opposition to French despotism. Louis fought mainly to get more Rhine territory; *but this time he kept no gains.* This war is known in American history as "King William's War." *The struggle had widened from a mere European war into a Titanic conflict between France and England for world-empire.*

Next, Louis eagerly seized a chance to put one of his grandsons on the vacant Spanish throne, as Philip V, exclaiming exultantly, "The Pyrenees no longer exist." But Europe united against France and Spain in the "War of the Spanish Succession," known in American history as "Queen Anne's War." In this struggle, for the first time, success in the field lay with the Allies. The English *Marlborough* and the Hapsburg *Prince Eugene* won terrible victories over the armies of France, at *Blenheim* in Bavaria, and at *Ramillies, Oudenarde,* and *Malplaquet* in Belgium, the suffering battleground of the rival kings.

451. The Peace of Utrecht (1713) left Philip king of Spain, but he had to renounce for himself and his heirs all claim upon the French throne. *France gained no territory in Europe,* and in America *she lost Newfoundland and Nova Scotia to England. England also acquired command of the Mediterranean,* by securing from Spain the fortress of *Gibraltar* and the island of *Minorca. Spain lost all her European possessions outside her own peninsula,* ceding her *Netherland provinces, the kingdom of Sicily and Naples,* and *the great Duchy of Milan* in North Italy, *to Austria.*

452. Louis XIV dazzled the men of his age, and won the title of the Great King (*Grand Monarque*); **but his wars exhausted France.** At the close of his reign, the industry of France was declining under a crushing taxation, of which *more than half went merely to pay the interest on the debt he had created.* Intellectually, however, France was now the acknowledged leader of Europe. The court of Louis XIV was the model on which every court in Europe sought to form itself. French thought,

French fashions, the French language, became the common property of all polite society.

"*I am the state*" is a famous saying ascribed to Louis XIV. Whether he said it or not, he might have done so with perfect truth. So might almost any monarch of his day, outside of

GIBRALTAR, — seen from the Spanish shore. The cliff is lined with concealed batteries.

England. Louis called the English parliament "an intolerable evil." If England and Holland had not withstood his ambitious dreams of empire, free government would *then* have perished from the earth.

II. THE RISE OF RUSSIA

453. Early Russian history is a blank or a mass of legends. We know that before the year 900, there was a prince at Moscow ruling over the Russian Slavs from Novgorod to Kiev. Toward the close of the next century, Greek Christianity was introduced

from Constantinople, and Greek civilization began slowly to make progress among the Russians. But about 1200, a great military leader appeared among the heathen Tartars who peopled the vast plains to the East. Taking the title *Genghis Khan* (Lord of Lords), he organized the scattered nomad tribes into a terrible fighting machine, and set out to conquer the world. The ancient Scythian invasions were repeated upon a larger scale and with greater horrors. Genghis turned fertile countries into deserts and populous districts into tombs. In 1223 the rising Christian state of Russia was crushed, and the Mongol empire reached from Peking and the Indus to Crimea and the Dnieper.

The death of the Great Khan (1227) recalled his son to Asia; but ten years later the assault on Europe was renewed. Moscow was burned, and northern Russia became a tributary province. Again Western Europe was saved only by the death of a Mongol emperor. Soon after, the huge Tartar empire fell into fragments. But the whole Russian realm has felt ever since the baleful influence of the long Tartar dominion.

454. In 1480 a tributary Russian prince threw off the Tartar yoke, and one of his near successors, *Ivan the Terrible*, took the title *Tsar* ("Caesar"). Under this Ivan, by 1550, when the religious wars were beginning in Western Europe, Russia reached from the inland Caspian northward and westward over much of the vast eastern plain of Europe, stretching even into Asiatic Siberia. But it had no seacoast except on the ice-locked Arctic, and no touch with Western Europe. Tartars and Turks still shut it off from the Black Sea; the Swedes shut it from the Baltic (§ 390 *b*); and the Poles prevented any contact with Germany. The Tsars imitated the Tartar khans in their rule and court; and the Russian people were Asiatic in dress, manners, and thought.

455. To make this Russia a *European* Power was the work of Peter the Great. Peter was a barbaric genius of tremendous energy, clear intellect, and ruthless will. Early in his reign

the young Tsar decided to learn more about the Western world which he had admired at a distance. In Holland, as a workman in the navy yards, he studied shipbuilding. He visited most of the countries of the West, impressing all who met him with his insatiable voracity for information. He inspected cutleries, museums, manufactories, arsenals, departments of government, military organizations. He collected instruments and models, and gathered naval and military stores. He engaged choice artists, goldbeaters, architects, workmen, officers, and engineers, to return with him to Russia, by promises, not well kept, of great pay.

Church of St. Basil, Moscow, built about 1575, in the reign of Ivan the Terrible (§ 454). The building was painted brilliantly, in all the colors of the rainbow. It shows Oriental and Byzantine influence.

With these workmen Peter sought to introduce Western civilization into Russia. The manners of his people he reformed by edict. He himself cut off the Asiatic beards of his courtiers and clipped the bottoms of their long robes. Women were ordered to put aside their veils and to come out of their Oriental seclusion. Peter "tried to Europeanize by Asiatic methods." He "civilized by the cudgel." *The upper classes did take on a European veneer. The masses remained Oriental.*

456. Peter was more successful in starting Russia on her march toward the European seas, to get "windows to look out upon Europe." On the south, he himself made no permanent

advance, despite a series of wars with Turkey; but he bequeathed his policy to his successors, and, from his day to the opening of the World War, Constantinople was a chief goal of Russian ambition. The "Baltic window" Peter himself secured, by victory over Charles XII of Sweden, winning the east coast of the Baltic *as far north as the Gulf of Finland.* This district had been colonized, three centuries before, by German nobles (map after 248), and German civilization was strongly implanted there. In this new territory Peter founded St. Petersburg, recently renamed *Petrograd.*

457. The next important acquisition of territory was under the Empress Elizabeth, daughter of Peter, who seized **more of Finland from Sweden.** Toward the close of the century, under Catherine II, Russia made great *progress on the south along the Black Sea,* and *on the west at the expense of Poland* (§ 466). This last change can be understood only in connection with the rise of Prussia.

III. PRUSSIA IN EUROPE — ENGLAND IN NEW WORLDS

458. Brandenburg was a little district in the northeast of Germany which became prominent in the twelfth century as a bulwark against the Slavs. About 1200, the ruler became one of the Electors of the Empire. In 1415, the first line of Brandenburg Electors ran out; and **Frederick of Hohenzollern,** a petty count in the Alps (like the Hapsburgs a century and a half before), ***bought* Brandenburg from the Emperor.**

Shortly after 1600 the Elector of Brandenburg fell heir to two considerable principalities, — the duchy of Cleves on the extreme west of Germany, and the *duchy of Prussia outside the Empire* on the extreme east. (Prussia was the name of a Slav and Lett district which the Teutonic Knights had conquered in the fourteenth century from the heathen Slavs, and which they held as vassals of the king of Poland. Map after 248.)

459. Toward the close of the Thirty Years' War, Frederick William, "**the Great Elector,**" came to the throne of Branden-

THE FRENCH IN HEIDELBERG IN AN EARLY CAMPAIGN OF LOUIS XIV — a painting by Fedor Dietz. By the order of Louis, the French armies deliberately depopulated large districts. A striking passage of Macaulay tells the fate of one Rhine province: "The commander announced to near half a million human beings that he granted them *three days' grace*. . . . Soon the roads and fields were black with innumerable men, women, and children, fleeing from their homes. . . . Flames went up from every market place, every parish church, every county seat." Many of these fugitives finally came to America.

The Great Elector Welcoming Huguenot Refugees, — a modern painting by Hugo Vogel.

burg — a coarse, cruel, treacherous, shrewd ruler. The Protestants were getting the upper hand in the war. Frederick William joined them, and, at the Peace of Westphalia he secured eastern Pomerania, bringing *Brandenburg to the sea.*

The "Great Elector" now crushed out all local assemblies of nobles in his provinces, and all local privileges. Then he built up an army among the largest and best in Europe, much more costly than his poor realms could well support. He was shrewd enough, however, to see the need of caring for the material welfare of his subjects, if they were to be able to support his selfish plans; and so *his long reign* (1640–1688) *marks the beginning of the boasted Hohenzollern policy of "good government."* He built roads and canals, drained marshes, encouraged better agriculture, and welcomed to his realms, with their manufactures, the Huguenot fugitives from France.

460. Frederick, son and successor of the Great Elector, was besought by Austria to join the alliance against Louis XIV (§ 450). In reward for his aid, he then secured the Emperor's consent to his changing the title "Elector of Brandenburg" for the more stately one of "**King in Prussia**" (1701). The second king of Prussia, Frederick William I, was a rude "drill sergeant," memorable only as the stupid father of Frederick the Great. He did, however, expend what intellect he had, and what money he could wring from his subjects, in enlarging the Prussian army; and he had a curious passion for collecting *tall* soldiers from all over Europe.

461. Frederick II ("the Great") ascended the Prussian throne in 1740. In the same year the Hapsburg Emperor, Charles VI, died without a male heir, and Frederick **began his long reign by an unjust but profitable war.** The Emperor Charles had secured pledges from the powers of Europe, *including Prussia,* that his young daughter, Maria Theresa, should succeed to his Austrian possessions. But now, with his perfectly prepared army, *without having even declared war,* on a trumped-up claim, Frederick seized the Austrian province of Silesia.

This treacherous act was the signal for a general onslaught to divide the Austrian realms. Spain, France, Savoy, Bavaria, each hurried to snatch some morsel of the booty. But Maria Theresa displayed courage and ability, and she secured aid from Holland and England. This "War of the Austrian Succession" closed in 1748. Frederick had shown himself greedy and unscrupulous, but also the greatest general of the age. He kept Silesia. *Prussia now reached down into the heart of Germany, and had become the great rival of Austria.*

462. Much more important, though less striking, was the contest outside Europe. In America a New England expedition captured the French fortress of Louisburg. In India the French leader, Dupleix, captured the English stations. The treaty of peace restored matters to their former position, both in America and Asia, but *the war made England and France feel more clearly than ever before that they were rivals for vast continents.* Whether Prussia or Austria were to possess Silesia, whether France or Austria were to hold the Netherlands, were questions wholly insignificant in comparison with the mightier question as to what race and what political ideas should hold the New Worlds.

463. In 1756 Austria began a war of revenge. Maria Theresa had secured the alliance of Russia, Sweden, and even of her old enemy, France. Four great armies invaded Prussia from different directions, and Frederick's throne seemed to totter. His swift action and his military genius saved his country, in the victories of *Rossbach* and *Leuthen*. And the next year England entered the struggle as his ally. England and France had remained practically at war in America and India through the brief interval between the two European wars. Braddock's campaign in America (1754) took place during this interval; and now that France had changed to Austria's side, England saw no choice but to support Prussia.

In America this "Seven Years' War" is known as the "French and Indian War." The struggle was literally world-

wide. Red men scalped one another by the Great Lakes of North America, and Black men fought in Senegal in Africa; while Frenchmen and Englishmen grappled in India as well as in Germany, and their fleets engaged on every sea. Still the European conflict in the main decided the wider results. William Pitt, the English minister, who was working to build up a great British empire, declared that in Germany he would conquer America from France. He did so. England furnished the funds, and her navy swept the seas. Frederick and Prussia, supported by English subsidies, furnished the troops and the generalship for the European battles. The striking figures of the struggle are (1) Pitt, the great English imperialist, the directing genius of the war; (2) Frederick of Prussia, the military genius, who won Pitt's victories in Germany; (3) Wolfe, who won French America from the great Montcalm; and (4) Clive, who established England's supremacy in India.

464. **The treaty of peace, in 1763,** *left Europe without change.* But *in India* the French retained only a few unfortified trading posts. *In America,* England received Florida from Spain, and Canada and the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley from France. France ceded to Spain the western half of the Mississippi Valley, in compensation for the losses Spain had incurred as her ally; and, except for her West Indian islands, *she herself ceased to be an American power.* Spain still held South America and half North America; but her vast bulk was plainly decaying day by day. Holland's wide colonial empire, too, was in decline. *England stood forth as the leading world-power.*

465. The next chapter in this series of wars was **the American Revolution.** The English colonial system in America had not been cruel or tyrannical, nor had it *seriously* hampered industry. Indeed, it was far more liberal than the colonial policy of any other country of the age. But the clumsy English government did *interfere* constantly and irritatingly in American affairs long after the Americans were quite able to take care of themselves. After Canada fell to England (§ 464), so that

the English colonists to the south no longer feared French conquest, they swiftly grew more resentful of ignorant interference from across the Atlantic. The freest people of the time, they were ready for more freedom; and an especially tactless lot of ministries in England from 1765 to 1775 finally drove them into a war for independence.

The war resulted in creating a free American republic — which was soon to react mightily upon the Old World — and in teaching England to improve her system of government for her remaining colonies. At the moment, however, the rulers of France, Holland, and Spain felt that the importance of the struggle lay in the chance it offered for them to revenge themselves on England by helping the best part of her empire to break away; and so the struggle became European and Asiatic also.

England lost most of her old empire in America, but she had gains to show as well. Says Theodore Roosevelt (*Gouverneur Morris,* 116):

"England, hemmed in by the ring of her foes, fronted them with a grand courage. In her veins the Berserker blood was up, and she hailed each new enemy with grim delight, exerting to the full her warlike strength. Single-handed she kept them all at bay, and repaid with crippling blows the injuries they had done her. In America, alone, the tide ran too strong to be turned. But Holland was stripped of all her colonies; in the East, Sir Eyre Coote beat down Hyder Ali, and taught Moslem and Hindoo alike that they could not shake off the grasp of the iron hands that held India; Rodney won back for his country the supremacy of the ocean in that great sea-fight where he shattered the splendid French navy; and the long siege of Gibraltar [1] closed with the crushing overthrow of the assailants. So, with bloody honor, England ended the most disastrous war she had ever waged."

466. Just before the American Revolution began, **Russia, Prussia, and Austria united to murder the old kingdom of Poland** and to divide the carcass. The anarchy of Poland gave its neighbors a pretext. The population consisted of about

[1] Cf. § 451. Spain now made a desperate effort to retake that fortress.

THE LAST RALLY OF TIPPOO SAHIB, — the Indian leader in the final struggle against England in the eighteenth century. From a drawing by a French artist, Émile Bayard.

PRUSSIA AT THE DEATH OF FREDERICK THE GREAT
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100
Prussia at the Accession of Frederick II.
Additions by Frederick II.
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
SWEDEN
RUGEN
SWEDISH POMERANIA
POMERANIA
1648
WEST PRUSSIA
1772
EAST PRUSSIA
1618
ERMLAND
1772
Tauroggen
Niemen
Königsberg
Lübeck
Wismar
Stettin
Peene
NETZE
1772
Netz
Thorn
Vistula
Bug
Warsaw
GREAT POLAND
POLAND
LITTLE POLAND
Sandomierez
Krakow
GALICIA
EAST FRISLAND
1744
UNITED NETHERLANDS
Weser
Elbe
HANOVER
Aller
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Potsdam
Frankfort
Spree
Küstrin
Kunersdorf 1742
Schweibus
Züllichau
Hanover
Hastenbeck
Münster
CLEVE
1624
MARK
Jülich
Cologne
Aachen
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
Rhine
THE EMPIRE
Main
Mainz
Treves
FRANCE
Dessau
Kottbus
Torgau
Leipzig
Rossbach
Hubertsburg
Kesselsdorf
Dresden
Pirna
Maxen
Freiberg
Saale
Glogau
Oder
Hennersdorf
Liegnitz
1742
Leuthen
Breslau
SILESIA
Hohenfriedberg
Burkersdorf
Mollwitz
Schweidnitz
Brieg
Sohr
Glatz
1742
Neisse
Kosel
Jagerndorf
Teschen
Eger
Elbe
Moldau
Kolin
Czaslau
Chotusitz
BOHEMIA
BAYREUTH
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

twelve million degraded serfs, and one hundred thousand selfish, oligarchic nobles. The latter constituted the government. They met in occasional Diets, and, when the throne became vacant, they elected the figurehead king. Unanimous consent was required for any vote in the Diet, — *each noble possessing the right of veto.*

Under such conditions, the Powers of Europe had begun to play with Poland at will. Catherine II of Russia determined to seize a large part of the country. Frederick II persuaded his old enemy, Austria, to join him in compelling Catherine to share her prey. *The First Partition*, in 1772, pared off a rind about the heart. *The Second and Third Partitions* (1793, 1795), which "assassinated the kingdom," had not even the pretext of misgovernment in Poland. The Poles had undertaken sweeping reforms, and the nation made a gallant defense under its hero-leader Kosciusko; but the giant robbers wiped Poland off the map. *Russia gained far the greatest part of the booty, and she now bordered Germany on the east, as France did on the west.*

467. Frederick II's reign doubled the size of Prussia — but at the terrible cost of frontiers made only of fortresses and bayonets. Frederick had shown himself a greedy robber and a military genius. With brutal cynicism he avowed absolute freedom from moral principle where a question of Prussia's power was at stake. Success, he declared, justifies any means. This faithlessness he practiced, as well as taught; and his success made this policy the creed of later Hohenzollerns.

468. But there was another side to Frederick's life, which, more properly than his wars or his diplomacy, earns him his title of "the Great." Most of his forty-six years' reign was passed in peace, and he proved a father to his people. The beneficent work of the Great Elector was taken up and carried forward vigorously. Prussia was transformed. Wealth and comfort increased by leaps, and the condition of even the serfs was improved. Unlike all the earlier Hohenzollerns, Frederick

was also a patron of literature — though he admired only the artificial French style of the age — and he was himself an author.

Frederick is a type of the "crowned philosophers," or "benevolent despots," who sat upon the thrones of Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century, just before the French Revolution. Under the influence of a new enlightened sentiment, government underwent a marvelous change. It was just as autocratic as before, — no more *by* the people than before, — but despots did try to govern *for* the people, not merely for themselves.

469. Frederick's genius and tireless energy accomplished something for a time; but **on the whole the monarchs made lamentable failures.** Possibly the most interesting of the philosophic despots of this age was Joseph II of Austria (son of Maria Theresa); and he died disheartened, dictating the epitaph, "Here lies a king who designed many benefits for his people, but who was unable to accomplish any of them." One man was powerless to lift the inert weight of a nation. The clergy and nobles, jealous for their privileges, opposed and thwarted the royal will. Except in England and France, there was no large middle class to supply friendly officials and sympathy. The kings, too, wished no participation by the people in the reforms: everything was to come from above. When the "benevolent despots" had to choose between benevolence and despotism they always chose despotism.

Further Reading upon the subject of the last chapter may profitably be confined to the struggle for the New Worlds. The student should read Parkman's Works, especially his *Montcalm and Wolfe* and his *Half Century of Conflict.* The following biographies, too, are good: Wilson's *Clive,* Bradley's *Wolfe,* Morley's *Walpole.*

Exercise. — 1. Fact Drills: *a. Dates* with their significance: 1713, 1740, 1763, 1783. *b. Six important battles* between 1500 and 1789. 2. Review by countries, with "catch-words," from 1500. 3. Make a brief statement to express the changes in territory and in the relative power of the different European states for 1648–1787.

PART V

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

You must teach that the French Revolution was an unmitigated crime against God and man. — KAISER WILHELM II to teachers of history.

The Revolution was a creating force, even more than a destroying one. — FREDERIC HARRISON.

CHAPTER XXVII

FRANCE (AND EUROPE) BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

470. The " benevolent despots " had failed to reform society: now in France the people were to try for themselves. In that country the people were better off than anywhere else on the continent. They had risen far enough to see the possibility of rising further. But even there **the social arrangements were atrocious**. One per cent of the twenty-five million people were " privileged " drones (nobles and clergy), owning much more than half of all the wealth. Ninety-four per cent were cruelly oppressed workers, robbed of youth and life by crushing toil and insufficient food. Between these extremes came a small ambitious " middle class," fairly prosperous and intelligent, but excluded from political influence, bearing a ruinous taxation, and bitterly discontented. This class (much larger than in any other continental country) was to furnish the ideas and most of the leaders for the Revolution.

471. The privileged nobles no longer rendered service to society. They had become mere spenders and courtiers, — largely *absentee* landlords, not even living on their estates. **The higher clergy** (bishops and abbots) were the younger sons of the same noble families. They, too, squandered their immense

revenues at court in idle luxury or vice, turning over their duties to subordinates on paltry pay. (The Revolution found the village priests mostly on the side of the people.)

472. Over much of France **the peasants lived in hideous misery.** Famine was chronic in that fertile land, as in Russia in more recent years. *Taxation and feudal extortion discouraged farming.* A fourth of the land lay waste. Of the rest, the tillage was little better than a thousand years before, with a yield a third less than in England. And if crops failed in one province, starvation followed (because of poor roads, and high tolls, and poverty, and the government's carelessness) although neighboring provinces might possess abundance. One royal official describes how, even in ordinary times, "the children *very commonly* die" because of the coarse bread of bran and acorns on which they fed.

True, conditions varied greatly in different parts of France. In some districts the peasants were fairly prosperous, and as a whole they were far ahead of the peasants in Germany or Italy or Spain or Austria. They played a part in the Revolution **because** *they had already progressed far enough to feel discontent.* Serfdom lingered in Alsace and Lorraine, — regions seized from Germany not long before (§§ 390 *b*, 449 ff.). Elsewhere the peasants had risen into villeinage somewhat like that in England before the uprising of 1381, four centuries before.

473. Even when the peasant owned his garden spot, **he owned it subject to many ancient feudal obligations.** He could not sell it without paying for his lord's consent, or sell any of his crop except in the lord's market, with tolls for the privilege. Commonly, he could still grind his grain only at the lord's mill, leaving one sixteenth the flour, and he could bake only in the lord's oven, leaving a loaf each time in pay. Under no circumstances might he injure the rabbits or pigeons or deer that devoured his crop. On penalty of death, he might not carry a gun, even to kill wolves. He could not enter his own field to till it, when the pheasants were hatching or the rabbits were

young. Year after year the crops were trampled by huntsmen or devoured by game.

474. Added to all this was **the frightful royal taxation.** Louis XIV, we have seen, left France burdened with a huge war debt. The dissolute Louis XV wasted as much in vice as his predecessor had wasted in war, while much of the rest of the revenue was given away in pensions to unworthy favorites, or stolen by corrupt officials. (All receipts from taxation were subject to the king's order — as if they had been merely his private banking account. No report was made to the nation, but some facts leaked out. On the eve of the Revolution, three maiden aunts of the king were receiving yearly nearly half a million dollars in our values merely for *their food* — most of which amount, of course, went to enrich dishonest stewards.)

475. Emptied in these shameful ways, the treasury was filled in ways quite as shameful. The clergy were wholly exempt from taxation by law; and the nobles escaped from some taxes by law, from others by bribery and intimidation. Said the richest man in France frankly — "I *make arrangements* with the officials, and pay only what I wish." Full payment was made only by those least able to pay.

Various clumsy devices, too, made the *collection* needlessly burdensome. Two of the many direct taxes were especially offensive in this respect. (1) Roads and canals were built and kept up by forced unpaid labor (the corvée). At the call of an official the peasant must leave his own work for this, no matter how critical the time. (2) The main revenue came from a tax assessed upon peasant villages *only* and fixed each year *arbitrarily* by the government. On one occasion, an official wrote: "The people of this village are stout, and there are chicken feathers before the doors. The taxes here should be greatly increased next year." So, too, if a villager lived in a better house than his neighbors, the officials made him pay a larger share of the common village tax. So the peasants con-

cealed jealously what few comforts they had, and left their cottages in ruins.

It is estimated that a peasant paid half his income in *direct taxes to the government.* Feudal dues and church tithes raised these payments to four fifths his income. And from the remaining fifth, he had not only to support his family but also to pay various *indirect* taxes. The most famous of these was the *gabelle,* the tax upon salt,[1] which raised the price of salt to four, ten, or twenty times its first value. Every family was compelled by law to purchase from the government at least seven pounds a year for each member over seven years of age, and thousands of persons every year were hanged or sent to the galleys for trying to evade this law. (Even then, only a fifth of the amount collected ever reached the treasury. Like the tax on candles, fish, flour, and other necessities, the salt tax was "farmed" to collectors, who paid the government a certain amount and then took for their profit what they could get above that amount.)

Another class of vexatious taxes were the still remaining tolls on goods required *not only at the frontier* of France, but again and again, at the border of each province and even at the gate of each town. Fish, so great a necessity in a Catholic country, paid *thirteen times their first cost* in such tolls on their way to Paris from the coast.

476. The government was a centralized despotism (§ 25, note). Directly about the king was a *Council of State.* Subject to the king's approval, it fixed taxes, drew up edicts, and ruled France. Its members were appointed by the king, and held office only at his pleasure. At the head of each province was a governor appointed by the king. Subject to the royal power, he was an unchecked despot. In the parish the mayor or syndic was sometimes chosen by the people, sometimes ap-

[1] The man who *sold* the salt paid the tax to the government. The man who bought salt had of course to pay back the tax in a higher price. A tax collected in this way is called an ***indirect*** **tax.**

pointed by the governor; but in either case the governor could remove him at will. The parish assembly could not meet without the governor's permission, and it could not take any action by itself. Had the wind damaged the parish steeple? The parish might *petition* for permission to repair it, — at their own expense, of course. The governor would send the petition, with his recommendation, to the Council of State at Paris, and a reply might be expected only after long delays, when perhaps the damage was beyond repair.

477. Personal liberty, too, was wholly at the mercy of this arbitrary government. Any man might be sent to prison without trial, merely by a "letter" with the royal seal. Not only were "*letters of the seal*" used to remove political offenders: they were also *sold*, to private men who wished to get rid of rivals. The government of Louis XV issued 150,000 such letters. Usually the imprisonments were for a few months; but sometimes the victim was virtually forgotten and left to die in prison. Arthur Young, an English traveler in France just before the Revolution, tells of an *Englishman* who had been kept in a French prison thirty years, although not even the government held a record of the reason.

478. This despotic government was clumsy and inefficient. France was still a patchwork of territories which the kings had seized piece by piece. Each province had its own laws and customs, its own privileges, and its partial exemptions from certain taxes. The shadows of old local governments had lost their power *for action*, but remained powerful to *delay and obstruct* united action. Voltaire (§ 480) complained that in a journey one changed laws as often as he changed horses.

479. "A revolution requires not only abuses but also ideas." In France the combustibles were ready, and so were the men of ideas, to apply the match. **Science had upset all old ideas about the world outside man.** The telescope had proved that other planets like our earth revolved around the sun, and that myriads of other suns whirled through boundless space. The

English *Newton* had shown how this vast universe is bound together by unvarying "laws." The microscope had revealed an undreamed-of world of minute life in air and earth and water all around us; and air, earth, water (and fire) themselves had changed their nature. The Ancients had taught that they were the "original elements" out of which everything else was made up; but the French *Lavoisier*, founder of modern chemistry, had lately decomposed water and air into gases, and shown that fire was a union of one of these gases with earthy carbon. **Tradition and authority had been proved silly in the world of matter**: *perhaps they were not always right in the world of human society.*

480. English writers, enjoying freedom of speech and of the press, had *begun* a revolt against the authority of the past; but their speculations were now carried much farther by French writers, who quickly spread their influence over all Europe. **About 1750 there began an age of dazzling brilliancy in French literature and scholarship.** Never before had any country seen so many and so famous men of letters at one time. Of the scores, we can mention only two.

Voltaire had already won his fame in 1750, and he ruled as the intellectual monarch of Europe for thirty years more. He came from the middle class. As a young man, he had been imprisoned for libel by a "letter of the seal"; and a dissipated noble, angered by a witticism, had hired a band of ruffians to beat him nearly to death. Some years of exile he spent in England, where, he says, he "learned to think." He had biting satire, mocking wit, keen reasoning, and incisive, vigorous style. He railed at absentee bishops of licentious lives; he questioned the privileges of the nobles; and he exposed pitilessly the iniquity of the gabelle and of the "letters of the seal." The church seemed to him the chief foe of human progress; and in his invective against its abuses he sometimes confused it with Christianity itself. Most of his work was destructive; but there was no chance to build up in Europe until much of

the old was torn down. Voltaire's lifelong exposure of the folly and wrong of religious persecution had much to do with creating the free atmosphere in which we live to-day. Says our American Lowell, "We owe half our liberty to that leering old mocker."

Voltaire and his fellows admired the constitutional monarchy of England; but they looked for reform from some enlightened despot, rather than from free government. One alone among them stood for democracy. This was *Rousseau*. He wrote much that was absurd about an ideal "state of nature" before men "invented governments"; but he taught, more forcefully than any man before him, the sovereignty of the whole people. His famous book (*The Social Contract*, 1762) opens with the words, "Man was born free, but he is now everywhere in chains"; and it argues passionately that it is man's right and duty to recover freedom. Rousseau's moral earnestness and enthusiasm made his doctrine almost a religion with his disciples.[1]

VOLTAIRE. — The bust by Houdon.

481. In 1774 the dissolute but able Louis XV was succeeded by **the well-disposed but irresolute Louis XVI**. This prince had a vague notion of what was right and a general desire to do

[1] Some years before the French Revolution began, the ideas, and even some of the phrases, of Rousseau began to have a powerful influence in America. Rousseau, however, drew these ideas to a great extent from John Locke and other English writers of the seventeenth century, and we cannot always tell whether reference to natural equality in a document of the American Revolution is affected by Rousseau or directly by the older English literature.

it, but he lacked moral courage and energy. The queen was Marie Antoinette, daughter of the great Maria Theresa of Austria. She was young and high-spirited but ignorant and frivolous.

482. Reform began, and finally the Revolution began, because the royal treasury was bankrupt. Louis called to his aid *Turgot*, a successful Provincial governor already famous as a reformer. This officer now cut down ruthlessly the frivolous expenses of the court, and abolished the corvée, the remaining tolls on commerce, and the outgrown gild system. He *planned* more far-reaching reforms — to recast the whole system of taxes so that the rich should pay their share, and to abolish feudal dues. But the courtiers grumbled, and the queen cast black looks upon the reformer who interfered with her gayeties; and so after a few months the weak king dismissed the man "with a whole *pacific* Revolution in his head."

Still in 1776 Louis called to the helm *Necker*, a successful banker and another reformer. Necker was not a great statesman like Turgot, but he had liberal views and a good business head. His difficulties, however, were tremendously augmented in 1778 when Louis joined America against England (§ 465). The new expense of this war made it plainly impossible (on the old plans) to pay even the interest on the national debt. Necker suggested sweeping reform in taxation, along Turgot's lines; but the loud outcry of the nobles caused the king to dismiss him also from office (1781). *Necker, however, had let the nation know just how it was being plundered.* He had *published* a "report" on the finances, showing who paid the taxes and how much, and how the revenues were wasted. This paper was read eagerly and angrily by the middle class.

For a few years more the king's ministers kept the government and the court going by borrowing unscrupulously with no prospect of paying. But the time came when not even the king's promise could induce any one to lend. Taxes must yield more; and Louis learned at last the teaching of Turgot

and Necker — that *the only way to raise more money by taxes was to tax those who had more wherewith to pay.* The privileged orders, however, had not learned this lesson. When the king begged, and finally ordered, them to give up their exemptions, they tried to evade the issue by arguing that the only authority with rightful power to impose *new* taxes was the States General. Unwittingly they had invoked a power that was to destroy them. The almost forgotten States General had not met since 1614. Now the middle class took up the cry for it until the name rang through France. In August of 1788 the king surrendered. He recalled Necker and called a States General.

For Further Reading. — Source material may be found in Robinson's *Readings.* Of modern accounts the student should read either Shailer Mathews' *French Revolution,* 1–110, or Mrs. Gardiner's *French Revolution,* 1–32.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE REVOLUTION IN PEACE

483. For the election of the States General, the government marked France off into many districts. The nobles of each district came together and chose certain delegates from their "order"; the clergy did likewise; and all other taxpayers in the district were allowed to vote for an electoral college, which then chose delegates for their class — "the third estate."

484. There had been vehement discussion as to **how the Estates General should vote.** Anciently the three orders sat in separate "houses," each having one vote. Under that arrangement, nobles and clergy (representing only a fraction of the nation) would have two thirds the power. Accordingly there was a loud demand from the middle class, and from liberal nobles like Lafayette (recently returned from America), (1) that the third estate should have as many delegates as the other two orders combined, and (2) that the three estates should sit and act as one body. The king finally granted the "double representation" (300 nobles, 300 clergy, 600 of the third estate); but at once tried to make this concession worse than useless by requiring the three orders to act as three separate units.

485. May 5, 1789, Louis formally opened the States General at Versailles — the favorite royal residence, twelve miles southwest from Paris. His address made it plain that he expected the estates to grant him new taxes, and promptly disperse. After this address the nobles and clergy withdrew from the hall (as the king desired) and "organized" as separate chambers; but the third estate, with skillful generalship, insisted at first that it could not act while so many "*deputies of the nation*" were absent, and sent pressing invitations to the others

to join in one assembly so as to get at work "to save France." **This deadlock continued for many weeks.** Finally (June 17) when further delay was plainly dangerous, the third estate voted that even without the "absent" delegates its members practically represented the nation. Accordingly, still inviting the other delegates to join, *it organized as a "National Assembly." This was a revolution. It changed a gathering of feudal "Estates" into an assembly representing the nation as one whole. Nothing of this kind had ever been seen before on the continent of Europe.*

486. Two days later, the National Assembly was joined by half the clergy and by a few nobles. But the next morning the Assembly found sentries at the doors of their hall, and carpenters within putting up staging, to prepare for a "royal session." Plainly the king was about to interfere. The delegates adjourned to a tennis court near by, and there with stern enthusiasm they unanimously took the memorable "Tennis Court Oath" *never to separate until they had established a constitution.*[1]

487. **The idea of a written constitution had come from America.** Six years earlier, Franklin, our minister to France, had published French translations of the constitutions adopted by the new American States. The pamphlet had been widely read, and much talked about. The instructions[1] of delegates to the Assembly had commonly called for a constitution. To make one became now the chief purpose of the Assembly. That body, indeed, soon became known as *the Constituent Assembly.*

488. **Now king and Assembly clashed.** Louis summoned the three estates to meet him and ordered them to organize as *separate bodies* and to vote certain *specified* reforms. When he left the hall, the nobles and higher clergy followed. *The new "National Assembly" kept their seats.* There was a moment

[1] Nearly every gathering for choosing delegates to the Assembly had drawn up a statement of grievances and had suggested reforms, for the guidance of its representatives. These *cahiers* (kä-yā′) are the most valuable source of our knowledge of France before the Revolution. See *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 5, for examples, or, more briefly, in Robinson's *Readings*.

of uncertainty; but Mirabeau, a noble who had abandoned his order, rose to remind the delegates of their great oath. The royal master of ceremonies, reëntering, asked haughtily, if they had not heard the king's command to disperse. "Yes," broke in Mirabeau's thunder; "but go tell your master that *we are here by the power of the people*, and that nothing but the power of bayonets shall drive us away." Then, on Mirabeau's motion, the Assembly decreed the inviolability of its members: "Infamous and guilty of capital crime is any person or court that shall dare pursue or arrest any of them, *on whose part soever the same be commanded.*"

489. The king's vacillation prevented conflict. Paris was rising in arms, and when the regular troops were ordered to fire on the mob, they rang their musket butts sullenly on the pavement, muttering, "We are the army *of the Nation!*"[1] The next day forty-seven nobles joined the Assembly, and in a week *the king ordered the rest to do so.*

490. The courtiers still planned a counter-revolution, and **again won over the weak king.** *To overawe the Assembly* (and probably to seize liberal leaders) *he assembled near Paris several regiments of German and Swiss mercenaries*, who could be depended upon to obey orders. On Mirabeau's motion the Assembly bluntly requested the king to remove this threat. Louis answered by dismissing and exiling Necker, who had opposed the court policy.

491. This was on the evening of July 11. About noon the next day, the news was whispered on the streets. *Camille Desmoulins*, a young journalist, pistol in hand leaped upon a table in one of the public gardens, exclaiming, "Necker is dismissed. It is a signal for a St. Bartholomew of patriots. To arms! To arms!" By night the streets bristled with barricades against the charge of the king's cavalry, and the crowds

[1] Some of these regiments had served recently in America. Arthur Young (§ 477) had already declared, — "The American revolution has laid the foundations for another one in France."

were sacking gunshops for arms. *Three regiments of the French Guards joined the rebels,* and two days later **the revolutionary forces attacked the Bastille.**

The Bastille was the great "state prison" for political offenders and victims of "letters of the seal." Thus it was a detested symbol of the "Old Régime." It had been used as an arsenal, and the rebels went to it at first only to demand arms. Refused admission and fired upon, they made a frantic attack.

FALL OF THE BASTILLE. — A drawing by Prieur.

The fortress was virtually impregnable; but after some hours of wild onslaught, it surrendered to an almost unarmed force, — "taken," as Carlyle says, "like Jericho, by miraculous sound." The anniversary of its destruction is still celebrated in France as the birthday of political liberty, like our July 4.

492. This rising of Paris saved the Assembly. The most hated of the courtiers fled from France in terror. The king visited Paris, sanctioned all that had been done, sent away his troops, *accepted the tricolor* (red, white, and blue), the badge of the Revolution, *as the national colors,* and recalled Necker.

The fall of the Bastille became a signal, too, for mob-rule over all France. In towns the mobs demolished *local* "bastilles." In the country the lower peasantry and bands of vagabonds plundered and demolished castles. Each district had its carnival of plunder.

493. Such disorders, in extreme form, lasted, however, only for a few weeks. The king could not restore order, because the machinery of the government had collapsed; but everywhere **the middle class organized to put down anarchy** — and so really saved the Revolution. All over France the electoral colleges (§ 483) had met from time to time to keep in touch with their delegates or to send them instructions: and now, in the failure of the royal government, *these representative bodies made themselves into local governments.* Their first act in each district was to organize the middle-class inhabitants into armed patrols to restore order. (This militia became permanent — sanctioned soon by the National Assembly as "National Guards," with Lafayette as supreme commander.)

494. Meantime, on the evening of *August 4*, the report of a committee on the disorders throughout the country had stirred the Assembly deeply. A young noble, who had served in America with Lafayette, declared that the commotion was all due to the special privileges of his class, and, with impassioned oratory, he moved their instant abolition. One after another, in eager emulation, the liberal nobles followed, each proposing some sacrifice for his order, — game laws, dovecotes, tithes, exclusive right to military office, and a mass of sinecures and pensions, — and each proposal was promptly voted, with enthusiastic applause. The work was done hastily, but it was noble and necessary, and *it has never been undone.* **August 4 ended feudalism, and established legal equality in France.** (This removal of abuses was one reason why anarchy was so easily suppressed.)

495. **"The March of the Women."** — After these fruitful three months (May 5–August 4, 1789), the Assembly spent two

French Peasants in 1789, Marching to Murder "Aristocrats." — A painting by a contemporary Russian artist, Paul Swedomsky.

Above. — Fountains in the Versailles Gardens.

Below. — The Palace of Versailles. — The palace and park (and the road from Paris) were built by Louis XIV at enormous expense, and remained the favorite royal residence as long as France had kings.

years more in revolutionizing France and in drawing up a new constitution. Once more only it was endangered by the king. Early in October he again collected troops near Versailles, and at a military banquet (it was reported) young officers, to win the favor of court ladies, trampled upon the tricolor. The Paris mob (still loyal to the king) began to demand that Louis should come to Paris, to be near the Assembly and away from evil counselors. One riotous expedition to bring him to the capital was turned back by the National Guards; but thousands of the women of the market place then set out on a like attempt, in a wild, hungry,[1] haggard rout, followed by the riffraff of the city.

Lafayette permitted the movement to go on, until there came near being a terrible massacre at Versailles; but his tardy arrival, late at night, with twenty thousand National Guards, restored order. The king yielded to the demands of the crowd and to the advice of Lafayette; and the same day a strange procession escorted the royal family to Paris, — the mob dancing in wild joy along the road before the royal carriage, carrying on pikes the heads of some slain soldiers, and shouting jocularly, "Now we shall have bread, for we are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy."

The king's brothers and some 150,000 nobles fled from France, — and soon were trying in foreign lands to stir up war against their country. Nearly a fourth of the Assembly, too, withdrew, declaring that that body was no longer free. And it is true that from this time mobs in the galleries and in the streets did sometimes intimidate conservative speakers. *During the rest of its life, danger to the Assembly came from this source,* not from the court.

496. One man in the Assembly never hesitated to oppose the mob, and often won it to his side. **Mirabeau** was the great

[1] France was in the grip of famine when the States General met — due to a succession of poor harvests; and the general confusion had prevented a rapid recovery.

man of the National Assembly. He was a profound statesman, with marvelous oratory and dauntless courage. (Unhappily his arrogance made him enemies among close associates: both Necker and Lafayette hated him.) Mirabeau thought the revolution had gone far enough, and he wished to preserve the remaining royal power so as to prevent anarchy. He urged the king to accept the new constitution in good faith and to surround himself with a liberal ministry acceptable to the Assembly. Indeed, as the mob grew more and more violent, Mirabeau wished Louis to leave Paris (where he was practically a prisoner) and appeal to the country provinces against the capital. But while the king hesitated, Mirabeau died suddenly, broken down by work and dissolute living.

497. "Massacre of the Champs de Mars." — Then Louis did try to flee, not to French provinces, but to *Austria*, to raise war against the reforms of the Revolution. The plot failed. The royal family got out of Paris (Louis disguised as a valet), but, through the king's indecision, they were recognized and brought back. Then followed another popular rising — with much excuse — to induce the Assembly to dethrone the king and set up a republic. Crowds of workingmen with women and children flocked out to the Champs de Mars (an open space near the city where the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille had just been celebrated) to sign a petition for this action. The municipal authorities forbade the gathering; and finally Lafayette's National Guards dispersed the jeering but unarmed mob with deadly volleys.

This massacre marks a sharp division between the working class and the middle class. For the time, the latter carried the day. September 14, 1791, Louis took a solemn oath to uphold the new constitution, and was restored to power.

498. The Constitution of 1791 opened with a noble "Declaration of the Rights of Man" — suggested no doubt by the Bills of Rights in some of the American state constitutions. It pro-

claimed: (1) "Men are born equal *in rights*, and remain so"; (2) "Law is the expression of the will of all the people; every citizen has a right to share in making it; and it must be the same for all." And so on, through a number of provisions. Frenchmen were declared equal before the law, and equally eligible to public office. Hereditary titles and all special privileges were abolished. Jury trial, freedom of religion, and freedom of the press were established. The great Declaration has justified the boast of the Assembly that it should serve as "an everlasting war cry against oppressors."

The Declaration of Rights cared for *personal* liberties. The arrangements concerning the government secured a very large amount of *political* liberty. (1) The *Central government* was made to consist of the king and a Legislative Assembly of *one* House elected anew once in two years. The king could not dissolve the Assembly, and his veto could be overridden if three successive legislatures so decided. (2) For *local government*, the historic "provinces," with their troublesome peculiar privileges, were swept away. France was divided into 83 "departments" of nearly equal size. Each "department," and each of the "communes" (villages or towns) of which it was made up, chose a council and an executive with very complete control over local affairs. (3) The *franchise* was given to all taxpayers, but the higher elective *offices* were open only to men of considerable wealth. This device of *graded property qualifications* secured control to the middle class. (The same device was common in America. None of our states then had manhood suffrage.)

499. Church and state had always been united in France, and the new constitution made them even more so. The government assumed the duty of paying the clergy and keeping up the churches, and *clergy of all grades were made elective*. Unfortunately they were required to take an oath of fidelity to the constitution in a form repulsive to many sincere Catholics. Only four of the old bishops took the oath; and two thirds of the parish priests, including the most sincere and conscientious

among them, were driven into opposition to the Revolution. The greatest error of the Assembly was in so arraying religion against patriotism.

Great good, however, followed from one other feature of this arrangement. The nation took possession of the church lands — one fifth of all France — and sold them. In the outcome, *the lands passed in small parcels into the hands of the peasantry* and the middle class, and so laid the foundation for future prosperity. France became a land of small farmers, and the peasantry rose to a higher standard of comfort than such a class in Europe had ever known.

Exercise. — 1. Point out both direct and indirect ways in which the American Revolution helped prepare for the French Revolution. 2. Compare the methods of the middle class and the nobles of France in 1789 with those of corresponding classes in Russia in 1917. 3. Compare the "suspensive" veto (§ 498) with the American plan of getting rid of the old "absolute" veto. Which plan is in use to-day in the most free governments? 4. Can the franchise provision of the Constitution of 1791 be reconciled with the Declaration of Rights?

For Further Reading. — The best one-volume history of the Revolution is that by Shailer Mathews. Next comes Mrs. Gardiner's, more conservative and less interesting. There are excellent treatments in H. Morse Stephens' *Revolutionary Europe, 1789–1815*, and in Rose's *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*. The best of the larger works in English is H. Morse Stephens' *History of the French Revolution*. Carlyle's *French Revolution* remains the most powerful and vivid presentation, but it can be used to best advantage after some preliminary study upon the age. Among the biographies, the following are especially good: Belloc's *Danton*, Willert's *Mirabeau*, Blind's *Madame Roland*, and Morley's "Robespierre" (in *Miscellanies*, I). For fiction, Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities* and Victor Hugo's *Ninety-Three* are notable. Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents* contains interesting source material, like the Tennis Court Oath and many of the "decrees" referred to in this and following chapters.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE REVOLUTION IN WAR TIME

500. As the constitution directed, France at once chose a **Legislative Assembly** (September, 1791) of nearly 750 members. The great bulk of the nation had accepted the Revolution enthusiastically; but they considered it over, and they had not learned the need of ceaseless vigilance in politics. A very large part therefore took no part in the election. At first, however, about two thirds the delegates seemed to represent this part of the nation. Their leaders were known as *Constitutionalists* (supporters of the constitution as it stood). *Outside*[1] the Assembly, this party was led by Lafayette, now the most influential man in France.

A small minority of the nation would have preferred a more liberal constitution — with manhood franchise and perhaps a republican government. These few "radicals" won a third of the seats in the Assembly because of their organization in "Jacobin" clubs.[2] (No other party had any organization whatever.) The most prominent leaders of this group were called the *Girondists* (because several of them came from the Gironde Department). They were hot-headed, eloquent young men given to lofty speaking of fine sentiments, but not fit for swift and decisive action.

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[1] The old Assembly had generously but unwisely made its delegates ineligible to the following one. Thus the Legislative Assembly was made up of inexperienced men.

[2] A radical club which sprang up in Paris in the fall of 1789 took this name from its meeting place. Soon it established daughter societies in other cities, and kept up close correspondence with them on political matters. These daughter clubs showed a disciplined obedience to the mother society.

One small section of extreme Jacobins — only about a dozen, known as the *Mountain* because of their elevated seats at one side of the gathering — held men of a different stamp. Here sat Marat and Danton. Marat was a physician of eminence, with a sincere pity for the poor. He was jealous and suspicious, however, and became half-crazed under the strain of the Revolution. As early as 1789 his paper ("The Friend of the People") began to preach assassination of aristocrats. *Danton* was a lawyer of Paris. He became prominent early in the Jacobin clubs, and his rude eloquence and his control over the mob won him the name "the Mirabeau of the Market Place." He was a man of rugged and forceful nature and a born leader, — with little patience for the fine speechifying of the Girondists where deeds were needed.

Outside the Assembly there was a third leader of this radical group. Before the Revolution, *Robespierre* had been a precise young lawyer in a provincial town. He had risen to a judgeship — the highest position he could ever expect to attain — but he had resigned his office *because he had conscientious scruples against imposing a death penalty* upon a criminal. He was an enthusiastic disciple of Rousseau. He was narrow, dull, envious, pedantic; but logical, incorruptible, sincere. In the preceding Assembly, Mirabeau had said of him, — "That man is dangerous; he will go far; *he believes every word he says.*"

501. The new Assembly, still with tremendous problems at home to solve, found itself at once **forced into foreign war.** The emigrant nobles (§ 495), breathing vengeance, were gathering on the Rhine frontier under the protection of German princes, raising and drilling mercenary troops. They had secret sympathizers within France; and in the early winter a treasonable plot to betray to them the key to France, the great fortress of Strassburg, all but succeeded. The danger was real. The Assembly sternly and promptly condemned to death all Emigrants who should not return to France before a certain date; *but the king vetoed the decree.*

ROUGET DE LISLE SINGING THE *Marseillaise* for the first time before the Mayor of Strassburg.

Moreover, the king's Hapsburg brother-in-law, the Emperor Leopold, had already sent to the sovereigns of Europe a circular note, calling for common action against the Revolution, inasmuch as the cause of Louis was "*the cause of kings.*" The Revolution stood for a new social order. Its cause was "the cause of peoples"; and the kings felt that they must crush it before it spread.

The Legislative Assembly properly demanded of Leopold that he disperse the armies of the Emigrants and that he apologize for his statements. Leopold replied with a counter-demand for a change in the French government such as to secure Europe against the spread of revolution. This insolent attempt of a German potentate to dictate the policy of the French people aroused a natural tempest of scorn and wrath; and (April, 1792) France declared war.

502. The royal vetoes. The French levies at once invaded Belgium (then an Austrian province, § 451), but were rolled back in defeat. The German powers, however, were busy robbing Poland (§ 466), and a few weeks more for preparation were given France. During these weeks, the Assembly decreed the banishment of all priests who refused to take the oath to the constitution (many of whom were spies), and it provided for a camp of twenty thousand chosen patriots to guard the capital. *Louis vetoed both Acts.*

In spite of this treasonable veto, a *volunteer* camp was established, beginning with a band of youth from Marseilles who marched to Paris in response to a call from the Marseilles' representative there,—"Send us six hundred men who know how to die!" A few days earlier, a young French officer in imperilled Strassburg (§ 501) had composed a stirring battle song to inspire his fellow citizens. The Six Hundred from Marseilles chanted this greatest of war songs as they marched into camp; and Paris, hearing it first from them, gave it its name, *The Marseillaise.* (See cut opposite.)

503. By June, France was girdled with foes. The Empire, Prussia, and Savoy (a powerful state in North Italy) were in

arms. Naples and Spain were soon to join. Sweden and Russia both offered to do so, if they were needed. In July a Prussian army, commanded by old officers of Frederick the Great, crossed the frontier; and two Austrian armies, one from the Netherlands and one from the upper Rhine, converged upon the same line of invasion. The French troops were outnumbered three to one. Worse still, the army was demoralized by the resignation of many officers *in the face of the enemy*, and still more by a justifiable suspicion that many of those remaining sympathized with the invaders. Within France, too, were royalist risings and plots; and the king was using his veto to prevent effective resistance. The queen — whom the Paris mob now styled "the Austrian Woman" — had even betrayed the French plan of campaign.

504. Brunswick, the Prussian commander, counted upon a holiday march to Paris. July 25 he **issued a famous proclamation** declaring (1) that the allies entered France to restore Louis to his place, (2) *that all men taken with arms in their hands should be hanged*, and (3) that, if Louis were injured, he would "inflict a memorable vengeance" by delivering up Paris to military execution.

505. This bluster, with its threat of Prussian "frightfulness," **was fatal to the monarchy**. France rose in rage. But before the new troops marched to the front, *they insisted upon guarding against enemies in the rear.* Louis must not be left free to paralyze action again, at some critical moment, by his veto. Constitutionalists and Girondists alike stood by the king, but *the Jacobin radicals carried their point by insurrection.* Led by Danton, they forcibly displaced the middle-class municipal council of Paris with a new government; and this "*Commune of Paris*" prepared an attack upon the Tuileries for *August 10.* After confusing his guards with contradictory orders, the king and his family fled to the Assembly, leaving the faithful Swiss regiment to be massacred.

Bloody from this slaughter, the rebels forced their way into

the hall of the Assembly. Two thirds of the deputies had fled, and **the "rump" of Girondists and Jacobins now decreed the deposition of Louis**, and the immediate election, by *manhood suffrage*, of a Convention to frame a new government. Lafayette (commander of the French army on the Rhine) tried to lead his troops against Paris to restore the king. He found his army ready, instead, to arrest him; and so he fled to the Austrians — by whom he was cast into prison, to remain there until freed years later by Napoleon's victories.

506. The September Massacres. — The rising of August 10 had been caused by the fear of foreign invasion and of treason at home. Three weeks later the same causes led to one of the most terrible events in history. The "Commune of Paris," under Danton's leadership, had packed the prisons with three thousand "suspected" aristocrats. Then came the terrifying news of the shameful surrender of Longwy and Verdun, — two great frontier fortresses guarding the road to Paris. The new Paris volunteers hesitated to go to the front, lest the numerous prisoners recently arrested should now break out and avenge themselves upon the city. So, while Danton was hurrying recruits to meet Brunswick, the frenzied mob attacked the prisons, organized rude lynch courts, and on September 2, 3, and 4, massacred a thousand of the prisoners with only a farce of a trial.

Whether the Jacobin leaders had a secret hand in *starting* these atrocious executions, we do not know. Certainly they did not try to stop them; but neither did any other body of persons. Says Carlyle: "Very desirable indeed that Paris had interfered, yet not unnatural that it stood looking on in stupor. Paris is in death-panic . . . gibbets at its door. Whosoever in Paris hath heart to front death finds it more pressing to do so fighting the Prussians than fighting the slayers of aristocrats." The Jacobins, however, did openly *accept* the massacres, when committed, as a useful means of terrifying the royalist plotters. When the Assembly talked of punishment, Danton excused

the deed. "It was necessary to make our enemies afraid," he cried. ". . . Blast my memory, but let France be free."

507. Freed for the moment from internal peril, **France turned upon her foes splendidly.** September 20 the advancing Prussians were checked at *Valmy;* and November 9 the victory of *Jemmapes,* the first real pitched battle of the war, opened the Austrian Netherlands to French conquest. Another French army had already entered Germany, and a third had occupied Nice and Savoy. These successes of raw French volunteers over the veterans of Europe called forth **an orgy of democratic enthusiasm.** The new National Convention (September 21, 1792; see § 505) became at once, in Danton's phrase, "a general committee of insurrection for all nations." It ordered a manifesto *in all languages,* offering the alliance of the French nation to all peoples who wished to recover their liberties; and French generals, entering a foreign country, were ordered "*to abolish serfdom, nobility, and all monopolies and privileges, and to aid in setting up a new government upon principles of popular sovereignty.*" One fiery orator flamed out, — "Despots march against us with fire and sword. We will bear against them Liberty!"

Starving and ragged, but *welcomed by the invaded peoples,* the French armies sowed over Europe the seed of civil and political liberty. *The Revolution was no longer merely French.* It took on the zeal of a proselyting religion, and spread its principles by fire and sword.

508. France at large had not willed the deposition of Louis, but it now ratified that deed. When the new Convention met, the Constitutionalist party had disappeared. The great majority of the delegates were followers of the Girondists; but on *the Mountain* sat Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, with a somewhat larger following than before. *On its first afternoon* **the Convention declared monarchy abolished, and enthusiastically established "The French Republic, One and Indivisible."**

The radicals were bent also upon punishing Louis. They

were convinced of his treason, and they wished to make reconciliation with the old order of things impossible. Said Danton: "The allied kings march against us. Let us hurl at their feet, as the gage of battle, the head of a king." The Girondists wished to save Louis' life, but they were intimidated by the galleries; and "Louis Capet" was condemned to death for "treason to the nation."

509. Then the Convention proposed **a new constitution** for the Republic. This document was extremely democratic. It swept away all the checks of indirect elections and property qualifications, and made all citizens "equally sovereign." Further, it made all acts of the legislature subject to a "referendum." This *Constitution of the Year I*[1] was itself submitted to such a referendum, and *was adopted by the nation.* No country had ever had so democratic a constitution. *Nor had any great nation ever before adopted its government by direct vote of the people.*

The constitution, however, never went into operation. The Convention suspended it, declaring that *France was in danger*, and that the government must be left free from constitutional checks until war was over. (This was one of the first demonstrations in history of the fundamental truth that war is a despot's game, and that democracies can play it successfully only by ceasing, for the time, at least, to be democracies.)

510. New perils ushered in a revolutionary despotism. France was indeed in danger. The execution of the king was one factor in deciding England, Spain, Holland, Naples, and Portugal to join the war against France, and it offended many French patriots. Dumouriez, an able but unscrupulous general, who had succeeded Lafayette as the chief military leader, tried to play traitor in the spring of 1793 by surrendering Belgian fortresses to the Austrians and by leading his army to Paris to restore the monarchy. *His troops refused to follow him*, and

[1] The Convention established for the time a new Revolutionary calendar, — a good topic for a student to report upon.

he fled to the enemy; but Belgium was lost for a time and once more the frontier was open to attack.

Ever since the Convention met, dissension had threatened between the Gironde majority and the Mountain. The Mountain was supported by the masses of Paris; but, outside the capital, the Girondists were much the stronger, and they now took the moment of foreign danger to press the quarrel to a head. They accused Marat of stirring up the September massacres, and persuaded the Convention to order his trial. Then they were mad enough to charge Danton with *royalist* conspiracy.

Danton, who was straining his mighty strength to send reinforcements to the front, pleaded at first for union; but, when this proved vain, he turned savagely upon his assailants. "You were right," he cried to his friends on the Mountain. "There is no peace possible with these men. Let it be war, then. They will not save the Republic with us. It shall be saved without them; saved in spite of them."

And while the Girondists debated, the Mountain acted. It was weak in the Convention, but it was supreme in the galleries and in the streets and in the Commune of Paris. The Commune, which had carried the Revolution of August 10 against the Legislative Assembly, now marched its forces against the Convention (June 2, 1793) and held it prisoner until it passed a decree imprisoning thirty of the leading Girondists. Others of that party fled, and *the Jacobin Mountain was left in power.*

The fate of the Girondists has aroused much sympathy from later Liberals; but the Jacobin victory was needful to save the Revolution with its priceless gain for mankind. Says John Morley (*Essay on Robespierre*), "The deliverance of a people, beset by implacable foes, could not wait upon mere good manners and fastidious sentiments, when those comely things were in company with the most stupendous want of foresight ever shown by a political party."

Fugitive Girondists now aroused the provinces against the Jacobin capital, and gathered armies at Marseilles, Bordeaux,

Caën. Lyons, the second city in France, even raised the white flag of the monarchy, and opened its gates to an Austrian army; and the great port of Toulon admitted an English fleet. Royalist revolt, too, reared its head. Especially in the remote province of Vendée (in ancient Brittany), the simple, half-savage peasants were still slavishly devoted to king, priest, and hereditary lord, and they rose now in wild rebellion against the Republic. The Convention, with Paris and a score of the central departments, faced the other three fourths of France as well as the rest of Europe.

So far, the Revolutionists had been afraid of a real executive, as a danger to freedom; but these new perils forced the Convention to intrust power to **a despotic "Committee of Public Safety,"** with twelve members, — all from the Mountain. The Convention made all other national committees and officers the servants of this great Committee, and ordered even the municipal officials over France to give it implicit obedience.

511. The Committee were not trained administrators, but they **were men of practical business sagacity and of tremendous energy,** — such men as a revolution must finally toss to the top. In the war office, *Carnot* "organized victory"; beside him, in the treasury, labored *Cambon*, with his stern motto, "War to the manorhouse: peace to the hut"; while a group of such men as *Robespierre* and *St. Just* sought to direct the Revolution so as to refashion France according to new ideals of democracy and of welfare for the common man. And a hundred "Deputies *on Mission*" were sent out from the Convention to all parts of France to enforce obedience to the Committee. They reported every ten days to the Committee; but, subject to its approval, they exercised despotic power, — replacing civil authorities at will, seizing money or supplies for the national use, imprisoning and condemning to death.

Never has a despotism been more efficient. In October Lyons was captured and ordered *razed to the ground.* Toulon was taken, despite English aid, and punished sternly. Other

centers of revolt, paralyzed with fear, yielded. Order and union were restored; French soil was freed of invaders; and, before the close of '93, French armies had taken the offensive once more on all frontiers.

"All France and whatsoever it contains of men and resources is put under requisition," said the Committee, in a stirring proclamation to the nation (August 23, 1793). "The Republic is one vast besieged city. . . . The young men shall go to battle; it is their task to conquer; the married men shall forge arms, transport baggage and artillery, provide subsistence; the women shall work at soldiers' clothes, make tents, serve in the hospitals; children shall scrape old linen into surgeon's lint; the old men shall have themselves carried into public places, and there, by their words, excite the courage of the young and preach hatred to kings and unity for the Republic."

"In this humor, then, since no other will serve," adds Carlyle, "will France rush against its enemies; headlong, reckoning no cost, heeding no law but the supreme law, Salvation of the People. The weapons are all the iron there is in France; the strength is that of all the men and women there are in France. . . . From all hamlets towards their departmental town, from all departmental towns toward the appointed camp, the Sons of Freedom shall march. Their banner is to bear 'The French People risen against Tyrants.' . . .

"These soldiers have shoes of wood and pasteboard, or go booted in hay-ropes, in dead of winter. . . . What then? 'With steel and bread,' says the Convention Representative, 'one may get to China.' The generals go fast to the guillotine, justly or unjustly. . . . Ill-success is death; in victory alone is life. . . . All Girondism, Halfness, Compromise, is swept away. . . . Forward, ye soldiers of the Republic, captain and man! Dash with your Gallic impetuosity on Austria, England, Prussia, Spain, Sardinia, Pitt, Coburg, York, and the Devil and the World!"

512. To secure this internal union (and so make possible this victory abroad), **the Committee had used terrible means.** Early in September of 1793 **it adopted Terror as a deliberate policy.** This "Long Terror" was a very different thing from the "Short Terror" of the mob, a year before. The Paris prisons were crowded again with "suspects"; and *each day* the Revolutionary tribunal, after farcical trials, sent batches of

them to the guillotine.[1] Among the victims were the queen, many aristocrats, and also many Constitutionalists and Girondists — heroes of 1791 and 1792. In some of the revolted districts, too, submission was followed by horrible executions; and at Nantes the cruelty of *Carrier*, the Deputy on Mission, half-crazed with blood, inflicted upon the Revolution an indelible stain. Over much of France, to be sure, the Terror was only a name, and the rule of the Deputies on Mission was supported ardently by the people. Still, in all, some fifteen thousand executions took place during the fourteen months of the Terror — one of many horrible blots on human history.

513. At the same time, **this bloodshed is not the significant thing about the Revolution.** Indeed it was not the product of the Revolution itself, but of foreign war. Respectable society in other lands, even in England, looked upon the Revolutionists with a horror and hatred like that felt more recently for Russian Bolshevists; and literature has been filled with hysterics about the Terror. It is well for us to shudder — but there is no danger that we shall not, for those who suffered were *the few* who "knew how to shriek." The danger is that we forget the relief to the *dumb multitudes* who had endured worse tortures for centuries.

The Convention destroyed much, but it **built up vastly more.** The grim, silent, tense-browed men of the Committee worked eighteen hours out of every twenty-four. Daily, they carried their lives in their hands; and so they worked swiftly and ruthlessly. But while Carnot, "Organizer of Victory," was creating the splendid army that saved liberty from despots, his associates were laying the foundations for a new and better society. Mainly on their proposals, the Convention made satisfactory provision for the public debt that had crushed the old monarchy.

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[1] Just before the Revolution a humane Dr. Guillotin had invented a new device to behead criminals — a heavy knife sliding down swiftly between upright supports. This "guillotine" was much more merciful than the older practice of beheading with an ax in a headsman's hands.

It adopted *the beginning* of a simple and just code of laws. It abolished imprisonment for debt and gave property rights to women, forty years ahead of England or America. It accepted the metric system of weights and measures, abolished slavery in French colonies, instituted the first Normal School, the Polytechnic School of France, the Conservatory of France, the famous Institute of France, and the National Library, and *planned* also a comprehensive system of public instruction, the improvement of the hospitals and of the prisons, and the reform of youthful criminals.

Said Danton, "Next to bread, education is the first need of the people." And says the great historian, H. Morse Stephens: "The Convention laid the foundations upon which Napoleon afterward built. In educational as in legal reform, the most important work was done during the Reign of Terror — . . . great and important steps in the progress of the race."

514. But now the Jacobins broke into factions, which devoured one another. The Paris Commune closed all Christian worship in the capital, substituting a ribald "worship of reason." These extremists were led by the coarse *Hébert*, who clamored for more blood — wholesale execution of all defenders of private property. Robespierre denounced Hébert — who then tried once more to raise the Paris mob against the Assembly. This time the Assembly won; and Robespierre sent Hébert and his friends to the guillotine (March, 1794). At the other extreme, Danton had been urging for months that the Terror was no longer needed in a victorious and tranquil France. In April, Robespierre accused him of conspiracy and sent him to the guillotine.

515. For the next three months, Robespierre seemed sole master. He reopened the churches, and offset Hébert's Festival to Reason by making the Convention celebrate a solemn "Festival to the Supreme Being."[1] Then he hurried his plans to

[1] Robespierre was not a Christian, but a deist, like Voltaire: that is, he believed in an all-good creator revealed in nature.

create a new France — which he imagined could be done quickly by education. "We must entirely refashion a people whom we wish to make free," said his decree, — "destroy its prejudices, alter its habits, root up its vices, purify its desires. The state, therefore, must lay hold of every human being at its birth and direct its education with powerful hand." One of his ardent disciples exclaimed that he would blow out his own brains at once if he did not believe it possible by "a school of the nation" to remodel the French people so that it should possess "the happiness of virtue, of moderation, of comfort — the happiness that springs from the enjoyment of the necessary without the superfluous. . . . The luxury of a cabin and of a field tilled by your own hands, a cart, a thatched roof, — such is happiness."

To clear the ground for putting these fine theories into practice, *Robespierre intensified the Terror*, until the number of executions rose to two hundred a week in Paris. *Leaders in the Convention* trembled for their own safety, and at last they *turned savagely upon the monster*. On July 27, 1794, when Robespierre rose to speak, he was greeted by cries of "Down with the tyrant!" Astounded, he stammered confusedly; and a delegate cried, — "See, the blood of Danton chokes him!" Quickly he was tried and guillotined, with a hundred adherents.

516. The Terror now ended, and in the following March (1795) the survivors of the delegates expelled two years before were readmitted to the Convention. The populace was disarmed, and the National Guards were reorganized, to consist again of the propertied classes only. **The restored middle-class supremacy was then confirmed by a new "Constitution of the Year III."** The government so established is called *The Directory*. This was the name of the new *executive* of the Republic, — a committee of five, chosen by the legislature. The legislature became a two-house body, elected by voters with property qualifications.

A popular vote ratified this constitution; but, at the last mo-

ment, the expiring Convention decreed that its members should sit in the new legislature without submitting to reëlection. Secret royalists took advantage of this unpopular act to stir up the Paris mob against the government, and the revolt was joined even by 20,000 National Guards. The Directory was in panic. But it had four thousand regular troops, and it happened to hit upon a brilliant young officer to command them. That officer posted cannon about the approaches to the Convention hall, and mowed down the attacking columns with "a whiff of grapeshot" (October 5, 1795).

The Directory remained in power four years more; but the chief interest for this period centers in the rise of the officer who had saved it, — and whose name was Napoleon Bonaparte.

Exercise. — Discuss parallels and contrasts between the course of the French Revolution and that of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Do you recall any event in English history similar to the self-perpetuating act of the Convention at its close?

CHAPTER XXX

BONAPARTE AND THE CONSULATE, 1795–1804

517. France had already made great gains of territory. On the northeast, *Belgium had been annexed, with the vote of its people. Nice* and *Savoy*, on the southeast, had been added in like manner. *The eastern frontier had been moved to the Rhine. Holland* had been converted into a dependent ally as the "Batavian Republic," with a constitution molded on that of France. Prussia, Spain, and most of the small states had withdrawn from the war. Only England, Austria, and Sardinia kept the field.

518. The Directory determined to attack Austria vigorously. Two splendid armies were sent into Germany, and a small, ill-supplied force in Italy was put under the command of Bonaparte. *The genius of the young general* (then twenty-seven years old) *made the Italian campaign the decisive factor in the war.* By swift marches he separated his enemies, won battle after battle, and by July was master of Italy. During the next year four fresh Austrian armies, each larger than Bonaparte's, were sent across the Alps, only to meet destruction at his hands; and in 1797 he dictated the *Peace of Campo Formio,* which for a time closed the war on the continent.

519. To the Italians, **Bonaparte posed at first as a deliverer,** with magnificent promises of a free national life. He did sweep away serfdom, and, in place of old oligarchic states, set up some "republics"; but at the same time he perfidiously tricked the ancient state of Venice into war, and afterward coolly traded it away to Austria. Upon even the most friendly states, too, he levied huge contributions for the coffers of France and the private pockets of the Directory and to enrich his soldiers.

Works of art, too, and choice manuscripts he ravished from Italian libraries and galleries, and sent to Paris to gratify French vanity; and when the Italians rose against this spoliation, he stamped out the revolts with deliberate "frightfulness."

520. The Italian campaigns first showed Napoleon Bonaparte to the world. He was an Italian, — born in Corsica in 1769. In that same year, Corsica became a possession of France. The boy passed through a French military school, and when the Revolution began he was a junior lieutenant of artillery. The war gave him opportunity. He had distinguished himself at the capture of Toulon (§ 511); and his brilliant defense of the Directory against the rising of 1795 won him the command of the "Army of Italy."

BONAPARTE AT ARCOLA. — The French troops were breaking at a critical point, when the young general forced his way to the front, caught a falling standard, and by his presence, restored the fortune of the day. After the painting by Gros.

Bonaparte was one of the three or four supreme military geniuses of history. He was also one of the greatest of civil rulers. He had profound insight, a marvelous memory, and tireless energy. He was a "terrible worker," with wonderful grasp of details, — so that he could recall the smallest features of geography where a campaign was to take place, or could name the man best suited for office in any one of a multitude of obscure towns. He was not insensible to generous feeling; but, like Frederick II of Prussia, he was utterly unscrupulous and

deliberately rejected all claims of morality. "Morality," said he, "has nothing to do with such a man as I am." Perfidy and cruelty, when they suited his ends, he used as calmly as appeals to honor and patriotism.

His generalship lay largely in unprecedented rapidity of movement and in massing his troops against some one weak point of an enemy. "Our general," said his soldiers, "wins his victories with our legs." In early life he may have been a sincere republican; but he hated anarchy and disorder, and, before his campaign in Italy was over, he had begun to plan to make himself ruler of France. He worked systematically to transform the French people's earlier ardor for liberty into a passion for military glory and plunder.

521. England alone continued the war against France; and in 1798 **Bonaparte persuaded the Directory to let him attack Egypt**, as a step toward attacking England in India. He won a series of brilliant battles; but suddenly his fleet was annihilated by the English under *Nelson*, in the *Battle of the Nile*, and his gorgeous dreams of Oriental empire faded away.

Without hesitation Bonaparte deserted his doomed army and escaped to France, where he saw new opportunities. War on the continent had been renewed. In 1798 England had succeeded in drawing Russia and Austria into another coalition; and so far, in the new war, the campaigns had gone against France. Bonaparte's failure in distant Egypt was not comprehended, and the French people welcomed him as a savior.

522. The Directory had proved disgracefully corrupt. For three years in succession, the elections had gone against it; but it had kept itself in power by a series of *coups d'état*,[1] or arbitrary interferences with the result of the voting. In 1799, **Bonaparte used a *coup d'état* against it.** His troops purged

[1] Literally, a "stroke of state." This is the name given in France to infractions of the constitution by some part of the government, through the use of force. Happily the thing itself has been so unknown to English history that the English language has to borrow the French name. The attempt of Charles I to seize the five members (§ 423) was something of the sort.

the legislature of members hostile to his plan; and the Rump abolished the Directory and elected Bonaparte and two others as *consuls*, intrusting to them the preparation of a new constitution. "Now," said the peasantry, "we shall have peace, thanks to God and to Bonaparte"; and by a vote of some three million to fifteen hundred, the French people accepted the constitution that virtually made *Bonaparte dictator*, under the title of *First Consul*.

Bonaparte Dissolves the Assembly. — From a contemporary print.

523. This "Constitution of the Year VIII" (1800) left the legislature little more than a debating society: it could not even propose a law without Bonaparte's consent. The government was said to "rest on manhood suffrage," but only as "*refined* by successive filtrations." The 5,000,000 adult male citizens chose 500,000 "Communal Notables"; these chose 50,000 "Departmental Notables"; and these chose 5000 "National Notables." But all these elections elected nobody. The executive was to *appoint* communal officers from the 500,000, departmental officers from the 50,000, and members of the legislature from the 5000.

Thus *local* administration was once more *highly centralized*, so that, independent of Bonaparte's will, there did not exist anywhere the authority to light or repair the streets of the meanest village.

This new administration was vigorous and fearless; and under Napoleon's energy and genius, it conferred upon France great and rapid benefits. But, in the long run, *the result was to be unspeakably disastrous.* The chance for Frenchmen to train themselves at their own gates in the duties and responsibilities of freemen was lost. Cf. § 25, note.

524. Within France Bonaparte used his vast authority to restore order and heal strife. Royalist and Jacobin were welcomed to public employment and to favor; and a hundred and fifty thousand exiles, of the best blood and brain of France, returned, to reinforce the citizen body. Wages rose; the French people built up a vast material prosperity; and the burden of taxes was distributed with fair justice upon all classes. Political liberty was gone; but the economic gains of the Revolution were preserved. An agreement with the pope ("the Concordat") reconciled the Catholic church to the state. All bishops were replaced by new ones *appointed* by Napoleon and consecrated by the pope. The church became Roman again, but it was supported and controlled by the state. The reform work of the great Convention of '93 had been dropped by the Directory. Some parts of it were now taken up again. Public education was organized (on paper); corruption and extravagance in the government gave way to order and efficiency; law was simplified, and justice was made cheaper and easier to secure.

525. The Code Napoleon. — This last work was the most enduring and beneficent of all. The Convention of '93 had begun to reform the outgrown absurdities of the confused mass of French laws. The First Consul now completed the task. A commission of great lawyers, working under his direction and inspiration, swiftly reduced the vast chaos of old laws to a marvelously compact, simple, symmetrical code. This body of law included the new principles of equality born of the Revolution. It soon became the basis of law for practically all Europe, except England, Russia, and Turkey. From Spain it spread to all Spanish America, and it lies at the foundation

of the law of the State of Louisiana. Napoleon himself declared, after his overthrow, "Waterloo will wipe out the memory of my forty victories; but that which nothing can wipe away is my Civil Code. That will live forever."

526. Napoleon was "the last and greatest of the benevolent despots." In all this reconstruction, the controlling mind was his. Functionaries worked as they had worked for no other master. He knew how to set every man the right task; and his own matchless activity (he sometimes worked twenty hours a day) made it possible for him to oversee countless designs. His penetrating intelligence seized the essential point of every problem, and his indomitable will drove through all obstacles to a quick and effective solution. His ardor, his ambition for France and for glory, his passion for good work, his contempt for difficulties, inspired every official, until, as one of them said, "the gigantic entered into our habit of thought."

CHAPTER XXXI

THE FRENCH EMPIRE, 1804–1814

527. Soon Bonaparte made it clear that he meant to seize the trappings of monarchy as well as its power. In 1802 he had himself elected "Consul for Life." He set up a court, with all the forms of monarchy, and began to sign papers by his first name only — Napoleon — as kings sign. Then, in 1804, he obtained another vote of the nation declaring him "Emperor of the French," and he solemnly crowned himself at Paris, with the presence and sanction of the pope, as the successor of Charlemagne.

"Napoleon I" always claimed that he ruled by the "will of the French people"; and each assumption of power was given a show of ratification by a popular vote, or *plebiscite.* But the plebiscite was merely the nation's Yes or No to a question *framed by the master. The nation had no share at any stage in shaping the questions upon which it was to vote;* and even the vote was controlled largely by skillful coercion. A plebiscite was a thin veil for military despotism. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the French people tamely surrendered to a despotic master who flattered their vanity and fed their material prosperity.

528. Individuals who resisted found themselves subject to a tyranny worse than that of the old monarchy. Napoleon maintained a vast network of *secret police and spies,* and in ten years he sent thirty-six hundred men to prison or into exile by his mere order. *No book* could be published if it contained opinions offensive to the emperor. *Newspapers* were forbidden to print anything "contrary to the duties of subjects": they were required to omit all news "disadvantageous or disagree-

able to France,"[1] and in political matters they were allowed to publish only such items as were furnished them by the government. Even *the schools* were made to preach despotism, and were commanded to "take as the basis of their instruction fidelity to the Emperor." *Religion*, too, was pressed into service. An *Imperial Catechism* was devised, and used in all schools, expressly to teach the duty of all good Christians to obey the Emperor (Anderson's *Documents*, No. 65).

529. In 1802 Napoleon told his Council of State that he should welcome war and that he expected it. *Europe*, he declared, *needed a single head*, an emperor, to distribute the various kingdoms among lieutenants. He felt, too, that victories and military glory were needful to prevent the French nation from murmuring against his despotism. Naturally, other nations felt that there could be no lasting peace with Napoleon except on terms of absolute submission. Under such conditions as these, **war soon broke out afresh**. England and France came to blows again in 1803, and there was to be no more truce between them until Napoleon's fall. During the next eleven years, Napoleon fought also three wars with Austria, two with Prussia, two with Russia, a long war with Spain, and various minor conflicts.

The European wars from 1792 to 1802 belong to the period of the French Revolution proper. Those from 1803 to 1815 are "**Napoleonic wars**," due primarily to the ambition of one great military genius. In the first series, Austria was the chief opponent of the Revolution: in the second series, England was the relentless foe of Napoleon.

On the breaking out of war with England, Napoleon prepared a mighty flotilla and a magnificent army at Boulogne. England was threatened with overwhelming invasion if she should

[1] Napoleon forbade Madame de Staël to express the opinion that Goethe's *Iphigenia* (a German drama) was greater than the play on the same plot by the French Racine. One can easily imagine a recent German Kaiser doing a like thing — with parts reversed. All despotisms have a strong family likeness.

EUROPE AT THE PEACE OF AMIENS (1802)
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
PRUSSIA
RUSSIA
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
TURKISH EMPIRE
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
ADRIATIC SEA
Bay of Biscay
ELECT. OF BAVARIA
SAXONY
Gulf of Finland
Sea of Azof
HEBRIDES
ORKNEY IS.
CHANNEL IS.
BALEARIC IS.
LIPARI IS.
IONIAN IS.
CRETE
MALTA (To Eng.)
GIBRALTAR (To Eng.)
CORSICA
SARDINIA
MINORCA
MAJORCA
ELBA (To Fr.)
CHRISTIANIA
STOCKHOLM
PETERSBURG
COPENHAGEN
LONDON
PARIS
BERLIN
VIENNA
MADRID
LISBON
ROME
NAPLES
CONSTANTINOPLE
MOSCOW
Stavenger
The Naze
Edinburgh
Dublin
Amsterdam
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Brussels
Boulogne
Cherbourg
Luxemburg
Metz
Strasburg
Frankfort
Cologne
Kassel
Leipsic
Dresden
Prague
Breslau
Posen
Warsaw
Danzig
Königsberg
Riga
Wilna
Smolensk
Kiev
Munich
Stuttgart
Basle
Bern
Innspruck
Budapsic
Transylvania
Wallachia
Bucharest
Belgrade
Servia
Bosnia
Bulgaria
Montenegro
Scutari
Odessa
Crimea
Kherson
Taganrog
Azof
Caucasus Mts.
Volga R.
Don R.
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Pruth R.
Moldavia
Bessarabia
Danube R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Theiss R.
Oder R.
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Rhone R.
Po R.
Arno R.
Tiber R.
Ebro R.
Douro R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Niemen R.
Duina R.
Oka R.
Lyons
Geneva
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Nice
Verona
Venice
Trieste
Florence
Ancona
Marseilles
Toulon
Avignon
Bordeaux
Nantes
Rochefort
Quiberon
Oporto
Valladolid
Saragossa
Barcelona
Valencia
Madrid
Ajaccio
Cagliari
Palermo
C. Passaro
Algiers
Tunis
Bona
Morocco
Tarifa Pt.
Cadiz
St. Vincent
C. Finisterre
C. Ortegal
Athens
Smyrna
Chios
Morea
Corfu
Missolonghi
Lepanto
Patras L.
Ladoga L.
Riga
Memel
Königsberg
Danzig
Stettin
Posen
Warsaw
Breslau
Dresden
Leipsic
Prague
Cracow
Vienna
Munich
Stuttgart
Frankfort
Cologne
Brussels
Amsterdam
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Kassel
Metz
Strasburg
Basle
Bern
Innspruck
Budapsic
Transylvania
Wallachia
Bucharest
Belgrade
Servia
Bosnia
Bulgaria
Montenegro
Scutari
Odessa
Crimea
Kherson
Taganrog
Azof
Caucasus Mts.
Volga R.
Don R.
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Bug R.
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Moldavia
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C. Passaro
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Cadiz
St. Vincent
C. Finisterre
C. Ortegal
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Smyrna
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Ladoga L.
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lose command of the Channel even for a few hours; but all Napoleon's attempts to get together a fleet to compete with England's failed. In 1805 Austria and Russia joined England in the war. With immediate decision, Napoleon transferred his forces from the Channel to the Danube, annihilated two great armies, at *Ulm* and *Austerlitz*, and, entering Vienna as a conqueror, forced Austria to a humiliating peace. Prussia

The Vendôme Column — made from Russian and Austrian cannon captured in the Austerlitz campaign. The figures on the spirals represent scenes in that campaign, and upon the summit, 142 feet high, stands a statue of Napoleon. The name Vendôme comes from the name of the public square. Napoleon, like the later Hohenzollerns, was fond of imitating the memorial works of the Roman world-empire. See p. 449.

had maintained her neutrality for eleven years; but now, with his hands free, Napoleon goaded her into war, crushed her absolutely at *Jena* (October, 1806), occupied Berlin, and soon afterward dictated a peace that reduced Prussia one half in size and bound her to France as a vassal state.

530. Less decisive conflicts with Russia were followed by the **Peace of Tilsit** (July, 1807). The Russian and French emperors met in a long interview, and Tsar Alexander was so

impressed by Napoleon's genius, that, from an enemy, he became a friend and ally. France, it was understood, was to rule Western Europe; Russia might aggrandize herself in the Eastern half at the expense of Sweden and Turkey; and the two Powers were to unite in ruining England by shutting out her commerce from the continent.

531. England had proved as supreme on the seas as Napoleon on land. *In 1805*, at *Trafalgar*, off the coast of Spain, Nelson destroyed the last great fleet that Napoleon collected. Soon afterward a secret article in the Treaty of Tilsit agreed that Denmark (then a considerable naval power) should be made to add her fleet to the French; but the English government struck first. It demanded the surrender of the Danish fleet into English hands until the war should close, and finally it compelled the delivery by bombarding Copenhagen.

532. After this, Napoleon could not strike at England with his armies, and he **fell back upon an attempt to ruin her by crushing her commerce**. All the ports of the continent were to be closed to her goods, and Napoleon stirred French scientists into desperate efforts to invent substitutes for the goods shut out of the continent. (One valuable result followed. The English cruisers prevented the importation into France of West-India cane sugar; but Napoleon's chemists discovered that sugar could be made from the beet, and the raising of the sugar-beet became a leading industry in France.)

The "Continental System" did inflict damage upon England, but it carried greater harm to the continent, which simply could not do without the manufactures of England, then the workshop of Europe. At times, even the French armies had to be clothed in smuggled English goods, and they marched into Russia in 1812 (§ 541) in English shoes.

England's retort to the Continental System was an attempt to blockade the coasts of France and her dependencies to all neutral vessels. In these war measures, both France and England ignored the rights of neutral states. One result was the

War of 1812 in America. In this struggle, unhappily, we let ourselves be drawn into fighting upon the side of the European despot, against the only champion of freedom.[1] Happily, in that day, America's part could not be decisive, and the contest did not much affect the European result.

533. Portugal refused to obey Napoleon's order to confiscate the English vessels in her ports. Thereupon Napoleon's armies occupied the kingdom. From this act, **Napoleon passed to the seizure of Spain,** placing his brother Joseph upon the throne. But the proud and patriotic **Spanish people rose in a "War for Liberation."** England seized her opportunity, and sent an army under Wellesley (afterward Duke of Wellington) to support this "Peninsular revolt." To the end, this struggle continued to drain Napoleon's resources. Long after, at St. Helena, he declared that it was really the Spanish war that ruined him.

Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel.

534. In 1809, encouraged by the Spanish rising, **Austria once more entered the lists,** but a defeat at *Wagram* forced her again to submission. Napoleon now married a princess of Austria. He was anxious for an heir, and so divorced his former wife, Josephine, who had borne him no children, to make way for marriage with a grandniece of Marie Antoinette. This union of the Revolutionary emperor with the proud

[1] As if, in 1914–1918, we had let Germany draw us to her side, as she hoped, because the English blockade of Germany hurt our commerce.

Hapsburg house marks in some respects the summit of his power.

535. At the moment, the Spanish campaigns seemed trivial; and, **after Wagram, Napoleon was supreme in Central Europe.** This period was marked by sweeping changes in territory. The most important may be grouped under four heads.

a. The Batavian Republic (§ 517) was converted into the Kingdom of Holland, with Napoleon's brother Louis for its sovereign. Later, when Louis refused to ruin his people by enforcing the Continental System rigidly, Napoleon deposed him, and *annexed Holland to France*, along with the whole north coast of Germany as far as Denmark.

d. In Italy the new republics and the old petty states were disposed of, one after another. Even the pope was deprived of his principality. When these changes were complete, Italy lay in three fairly equal divisions. *In the south* Napoleon's brother, Joseph, ruled as King of Naples; and when Joseph was promoted in 1809 to the throne of Spain, he was succeeded in Naples by Murat, one of Napoleon's generals. *In the northeast* was the "Kingdom of Italy," with Napoleon himself as king — as Charlemagne and Otto and their successors had been "kings of Italy"! *The rest of the peninsula was made a part of France*, and was organized as a French Department.

c. The Illyrian provinces on the eastern coast of the Adriatic were annexed directly to France.

d. Most important of all were the changes in *Germany*. To comprehend the significance of Napoleon's work there, one must first grasp the bewildering conditions *before* his interference. *Until Napoleon, there was no true political Germany.* The Holy Roman Empire was made up of:

(1) Two "great states," Austria and Prussia, each of them half Slavonic in blood; (2) some thirty states of the "second rank," like Bavaria; (3) about two hundred and fifty *petty* states of the "third order" (many of them under bishops or archbishops), ranging in size from a small duchy to a large farm,

but averaging a few thousand inhabitants; (4) some fifteen hundred "knights of the empire," who in England would have been country squires but who in Germany were really independent monarchs with an average territory of three square miles and some three hundred subjects apiece, over whom they held power of life and death; and (5) about fifty-six "free cities," all in misrule, governed by narrow aristocracies.

Each of the hundred and fifty states of the "third rank," like the larger ones, was *an absolute monarchy*, with its own laws, its own mimic court and army, its own coinage, and its crowd of pedantic officials. (The "Sovereign Count" of Leimburg-Styrum-Wilhelmsdorf kept a standing army of one colonel, nine lower officers, and two privates!) Each of the fifteen hundred "knights" had his own system of tariffs and taxes.

Napoleon in 1811.

Moreover, many a state of the second or third order *consisted of several fragments* (obtained by accidents of marriage or war), *sometimes widely scattered*, — some of them perhaps wholly inside a larger state to which politically they had no relation. No map can do justice to the quaint confusion of this region, about the size of Texas, thus broken into eighteen hundred governments varying from an empire to a small estate, and scattered in fragments within fragments. (Map facing 328.)

Napoleon reduced Austria to an inland state, and halved Prussia, thrusting it east of the Elbe and turning its recent

Polish acquisitions into a new Duchy of Warsaw. As another check upon the two leading states, Napoleon augmented the states of the second rank, raising several into kingdoms. And, from a general hatred for disorder and anarchy, he encouraged all these states to absorb the ecclesiastical realms and the territories of the knights and of the petty principalities within or adjoining their borders, along with nearly all the "free cities." *Thus the "political crazy quilt" of eighteen hundred states was simplified to thirty-eight states.* (This tremendous consolidation, surviving the rearrangements after Napoleon's fall, paved the way for later German unity.)

536. Nearly all these German states, except Austria and Prussia, were leagued in the "Confederation of the Rhine," under Napoleon as "Protector." This amounted to **a dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, and in 1806 Francis II laid down that venerable title.** Napoleon himself posed as the successor of the Roman emperors. Francis was allowed to console himself with the title "Emperor of Austria," for his *hereditary* realms, instead of his previous title there, "Arch-Duke of Austria."

537. Napoleon's influence, too, began great *social* reforms in Germany. In the Confederation of the Rhine and in many kingdoms of Napoleon's brothers and generals, serfdom and feudalism were abolished, and civil equality and the "Code Napoleon" were introduced. Everywhere, too, the administration of justice was made cheap and simple, and the old clumsy and corrupt methods of government gave way to efficiency.

538. Most striking of all was the reform in Prussia. In that state, reform came from a Prussian minister, and was adopted in order to make Prussia strong enough to cast off the French yoke. Jena had proved that the old Prussian system was utterly rotten. The guiding spirit in a new Prussian ministry was *Stein*, who labored to fit Prussia for leadership in freeing and regenerating Germany. The serfs were changed into free peasant-landowners; the caste distinctions in society

L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

were broken down: some self-government was granted to the towns; and many of the best principles of the French reforms were adopted. Napoleon's insolence and the domination of the French armies at last had forced part of Germany into the beginning of a new national patriotism; and that patriotism began to arm itself by borrowing weapons from the arsenal of the French Revolution.

539. In 1810 Napoleon's power had reached its widest limits. The huge bulk of France filled the space from the Ocean to the Rhine, including not only the France we know, but also Belgium, half of Switzerland, and large strips of German territory, — while from this central body two outward-curving arms reached toward the east, one along the North Sea to the Danish Peninsula, and the other down the coast of Italy past Rome.

This vast territory was *all organized in French Departments.* The rest of Italy and half the rest of Germany were under Napoleon's "protection," and were ruled by his appointees. Denmark and Switzerland, too, were his dependent allies; and Prussia and Austria were unwilling ones. Only the extremities of the continent kept their independence, and, even there, Sweden and Russia were his friends.

540. But Russia was growing hostile. Alexander was offended by the partial restoration of Poland (as the Duchy of Warsaw). The Continental System, too, was growing more and more burdensome. Russia needed English markets, and in 1811 the Tsar refused longer to enforce the "System."

541. Napoleon at once declared war. In 1812 he invaded Russia and penetrated to Moscow. The Russians set fire to the city, so that it should not afford him winter quarters; but, with rare indecision, he stayed there five weeks, hoping in vain that the Tsar would offer to submit. Then, too late, in the middle of October, when the Russian winter was already upon them, the French began the terrible **Retreat from Moscow,** fighting desperately each foot of the way against cold, starvation, and clouds of Cossack cavalry. Nine weeks later, twenty

thousand miserable scarecrows recrossed the Niemen. The "Grand Army," a half million strong, had left its bones among Russian snows.

542. The Russians kept up the pursuit into Germany, and the enthusiasm of the Prussian people forced its government to declare against Napoleon. University professors enlisted at the head of companies of their students in a "war of liberation." Women gave their jewels and even their hair, to buy arms and

Rising of a Prussian Congregation against Napoleon in 1813 at the Call of Its Pastor — a characteristic event in the German "war of liberation." By the Prussian artist, Arthur Kampf.

supplies. The next summer, Austria also took up arms. By tremendous efforts, Napoleon raised a new army of boys and old men from exhausted France, and for a time he kept the field victoriously in Germany; but in October, 1813, he met crushing defeat **at Leipzig**, in the "**Battle of the Nations.**"

Napoleon retreated across the Rhine. His vassal kings fled from their thrones, and most of the small states now joined his enemies. **England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia,** acting in close concert, **took to themselves the name "The Allies."**

They now offered to leave Napoleon his crown, with the Rhine for the boundary of France. When these terms were haughtily refused, **the Allies invaded France** at several points, and, in spite of Napoleon's superb defense, they **entered Paris** victoriously in March, 1814, and **dictated peace**.

543. Treaty of 1814. — Napoleon was given a large allowance, and granted the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean, as an independent principality. The Bourbon heir to the French throne, one of the Emigrant brothers of Louis XVI, appeared, *promised a constitution* to France, and was quietly recognized by the French Senate as Louis XVIII. (The son of Louis XVI, who died as a child in prison in 1795, is known as Louis XVII.) To make this arrangement popular, the Allies granted **liberal terms** of peace. France kept her territory as it was before the Revolution. The Allies withdrew their armies without imposing any war indemnity, such as France had exacted repeatedly from other countries; nor did they even take back the works of art that French armies had plundered from so many famous galleries in Europe.

For Further Reading. — The best brief accounts are Stephens' *Revolutionary Europe, 1789–1815*, Rose's *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, and Rose's *Napoleon the First*. Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents* has an admirable selection of source material.

PART VI

THE PERIOD OF REACTION, 1815–1848

CHAPTER XXXII

REACTION IN THE SADDLE, 1815–1820

I. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

544. Napoleon had wiped away the old map of Europe, and now *his* map fell to pieces. All the districts which had been annexed to France since 1792, and all the states which had been created by Napoleon, were left without governments. The *old* rulers of these states were clamoring for restoration. Other rulers wanted new acquisitions to pay for their exertions against Napoleon. There was also a fear pervading Europe that from France either new and dangerous "Revolutionary" ideas or a new military conqueror might overrun the world. **To settle these problems** — to arrange for "restoration," "reparation," and "guarantees" — **the four "Allies" invited all the sovereigns of Europe to a "Peace Congress."**

The *Congress of Vienna* assembled in November, 1814. The crowd of smaller monarchs and princes were entertained by their Austrian host in a constant round of masques and revels, while the four great Allies (Russia, Austria, Prussia, England) did the work in private committee. From time to time, as they reached agreements, they announced results to the Congress for public ratification.

545. The territorial rearrangements fall under three heads.

a. Italy was left in twelve states, and Germany in thirty-eight. These were all *restored* to their old ruling families.

EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA (1815)
German Confederacy
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SWEDEN
NORWAY
CHRISTIANIA
STOCKHOLM
ST. PETERSBURG
Gulf of Finland
Peipus L.
Volga R.
Riga
Moscow
Oka R.
RUSSIA
Vilna
Smolensk
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Don R.
Kiev
Krakow
Odessa
Kherson
Sea of Azof
Crimea
BLACK SEA
CONSTANTINOPLE
TURKISH EMPIRE
Wallachia
Bucharest
Danube R.
Bulgaria
Servia
Bosnia
Belgrade
Transylvania
Moldavia
Bessarabia
Theiss R.
Save R.
Drave R.
Inn R.
Danube R.
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
Budapest
VIENNA
Prague
Kingdom of Bavaria
MUNICH
Stuttgart
Frankfort
Strasburg
Mayence
Metz
Luxemburg
Brussels
Antwerp
Netherlands
Cologne
Kg. of Saxony
Leipzig
Cassel
Hanover
Amsterdam
Bremen
Hamburg
Berlin
Stettin
Posen
Breslau
Dresden
Prussia
GERMAN CONFEDERATION
KINGDOM OF Warsaw POLAND
Danzig
W. Prussia
E. Prussia
Konigsberg
Vienna
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Nantes
Bordeaux
Lyons
PARIS
FRANCE
Bay of Biscay
English Channel
CHANNEL IS.
Dublin
Edinburgh
GREAT BRITAIN
LONDON
HEBRIDES
ORKNEY IS.
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
Kiel
HELGOLAND (To Eng.)
BALTIC SEA
Geneva
Switzerland
BERNE
Innsbruck
Trieste
Venice
Verona
Milan
Lombardo-Venetic K. of
Turin
Genoa
Po R.
Sardinia
Nice
Monaco
Florence
Leghorn
G. D. of Tuscany
Ancona
States of the Church
Pope
Rome
Naples
Kingdom of the Two Sicilies
Palermo
Adriatic Sea
Montenegro
Scutari
Corfu
Smyrna
Athens
Crete
Ionian Sea
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulon
Andorra
Corsica
Ajaccio
Barcelona
Saragossa
Valladolid
Oporto
Douro R.
Tagus R.
Ebro R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Seville
Cadiz
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
Tarifa Pt.
St. Vincent
C. Finisterre
C. Ortegal
PORTUGAL
LISBON
MADRID
SPAIN
Valencia
Balearic Is.
Minorca
Majorca
Mediterranean Sea
Algiers
Tunis
ALGERIA
MOROCCO
Malta (To Eng.)

b. The states along the French frontier were strengthened, as one "*guarantee*" against future aggression by France. (1) Holland was made into the Kingdom of the Netherlands, under the House of Orange, and Belgium was added to it, although the Belgians wished to be independent and objected very strongly to being made Dutch. (2) Nice and Savoy were given back to the Kingdom of Sardinia,[1] to which was added also the old Republic of Genoa. (3) German territory west of the Rhine, now taken back from France, was divided between Prussia and Bavaria. (4) The Congress guaranteed the "neutrality" of Switzerland. Thus the entire European frontier next France from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, was powerfully guarded.

c. The remaining rearrangements had to do, directly or indirectly, *with "compensating" the Allies* for their exertions and losses. Under cover of high-sounding phrases about founding "a durable peace based upon a just division of power," the Congress became "a Congress for loot" and began a disgraceful scramble for spoils.

(1) *England* had stood out alone for years against the whole power of Napoleon, and she had incurred an enormous national debt by acting as paymaster of the various coalitions. In repayment she now kept Malta, the Ionian Islands, Cape Colony, Ceylon, and a few other colonial acquisitions, mainly from the old Dutch empire, which she had occupied during the war. (This left England the one great colonial power. Spain and Holland still had some possessions outside Europe; but their holdings were insignificant beside England's.)

(2) *Austria* received back all her lost territory except distant Belgium, in place of which she accepted Venetia and Lombardy — much to the distaste of the inhabitants of those districts.

[1] Sardinia had been part of the "Piedmont" ("Foot of the Mountain") state in North Italy. When Savoy, and the rest of that state upon the mainland, fell to France, Sardinia remained for a time the sole possession of the "House of Savoy," and afterward gave its name to the whole of the restored state.

(3) *Alexander, Tsar of Russia,* secured northern Finland (all that Russia had not seized earlier from Sweden); and he demanded further that the Duchy of Warsaw (ancient Poland; § 535) should become a Kingdom of Poland — with himself for king. *But this plan conflicted with Prussian ambition.*

(4) *Prussia* gained Pomerania from Sweden; but the Prussian king wanted also the Polish provinces that Napoleon had taken from him for the Duchy of Warsaw. Alexander promised to aid Prussia to get Saxony instead. (The king of Saxony had been a zealous ally of Napoleon to the last; and so, Alexander urged, it would be proper to make an exception in his case to the careful respect shown by the conquerors to all other "legitimate rulers.")

Prussia was ready to accept this; but *Austria feared such extension of Prussia toward the heart of Germany,* and vehemently opposed the plan. England took her side. Thus **the four Allies were divided,** Russia and Prussia against Austria and England, **and came to the verge of war** with one another. Perhaps the most interesting result of this was the way in which *France wormed her way back into the European circle.* The Allies had meant to give that "outlaw nation" no voice whatever at the peace table. But Talleyrand, the shrewd French diplomat, was present at Vienna as a looker-on; and now, by offering French aid to Austria and England at a critical moment, he won a place for his country in the Congress. Finally a compromise was made — the more readily that Napoleon had broken loose. In addition to her gain of Pomerania, Prussia took *half* of Saxony and considerable German territory, recovered from France, *west* of the Rhine.

(5) And, finally, *Sweden,* which in the time of Peter the Great had surrounded the Baltic, *had now retired wholly into the northern peninsula.* There, however, she found some compensation. *Denmark* (which had been the ally of Napoleon) *now had to surrender Norway, and this land the Congress of Vienna attempted to turn over to Sweden* in return for Finland and Pomerania.

NAPOLEON'S RETREAT FROM MOSCOW, — a painting by Verestchagin, a Russian artist who is credited with having used his art in several large pictures especially to arouse the world to a sense of the horrors of war.

NAPOLEON AT WATERLOO, watching the annihilation of his Guards in the last charge.

546. During the dissensions regarding Saxony, the Congress was startled by the news that **Napoleon had left Elba.** A few months of Bourbon rule had filled France with unrest. The Tricolor, under which Frenchmen had marched in triumph into nearly every capital in Europe, had been replaced by the Bourbon White flag, and many Napoleonic officers had been dismissed from the army to make way for returned Emigrants, who for twenty years had fought against France. Thus the army was restless. The extreme Royalists were talking, too, of restoring the land of the church and of the Emigrants, though it had passed for a generation into other hands. In consequence, the peasants and the middle class were uneasy.

Napoleon, learning how matters stood, landed in France, almost unattended. The forces sent to capture him *joined his standard;* and in a few days, he entered Paris in triumph, without firing a shot. The king and the old Emigrants emigrated again. Napoleon offered a liberal constitution, and France accepted it by an overwhelming plebiscite.

547. The Allies, however, declared unrelenting war upon Napoleon as "the disturber of the peace of Europe." No time was given him for preparation. After a brief rule, he was crushed at *Waterloo* by the English under Wellington and the Prussians under Blücher (June 18, 1815), and sent this time to hopeless exile, under guard, on the distant volcanic rock of St. Helena in the South Atlantic.

The Allies reëntered Paris, "bringing Louis XVIII in their baggage," as the French wits put it, and *dictated to France a new treaty*, much more severe than that of 1814. Prussia, indeed, urged that France should be dismembered, as she herself had been after Jena. Some Prussian papers talked of killing off the whole French people "like mad dogs," and moderate statesmen wished to take Alsace and Lorraine (as Bismarck did do fifty years later) and other territory that had been seized from Germany by Louis XIV. But Alexander and England insisted on milder punishment; and France was required only (1) to give

up some small strips of land containing about a half-million people, (2) to pay a small war indemnity ($140,000,000), and (3) to restore the works of art which Napoleon's armies had plundered from European galleries.

548. During the "Hundred Days," of Napoleon's rule, the Congress finished its work.[1] *That "assemblage of princes and lackeys" stood for reaction.* As an English historian says, — "It complacently set to work to turn back the hands of time to the historic hour at which they stood before the Bastille fell." *It represented kings, not peoples.* All the republics which had appeared since the French Revolution, and also the *old* republics (the United Provinces, Venice, and Genoa), were given to monarchs. "Republics," said the Austrian Metternich (§ 550), "seem to have gone out of fashion." Switzerland was the only republic left in Europe, — and it was given an inefficient, loose union, far less effective than it had enjoyed under Napoleon's supremacy. *Peoples were never consulted.* The Congress transferred Belgians, Norwegians, Poles, Venetians, from freedom to a master, or from one master to another, — in every case *against their fierce resentment.* The next hundred years were to be busied very largely in undoing this work — until not one stone of the building was left upon another.

II. THE RULE OF METTERNICH

549. For five years, reaction and despotism held the stage. In many states, especially in the pettier ones, the restoration of the old rulers was accompanied by ludicrous absurdities. The princes who had scampered away before the French eagles came back to show that they had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing." They set out to ignore the past twenty years.

[1] One measure counted for human welfare. England persuaded the Powers to join in a declaration that stealing negroes from Africa for slaves was piracy. Thereafter England kept a squadron off the African coast to capture such pirates. Success was hampered, however, by the fact that the United States (not present at Vienna) was unwilling to concede to this squadron the necessary "right of search" for vessels flying the Stars and Stripes.

In France a school history spoke of Austerlitz as "a victory gained by General Bonaparte, a lieutenant of the king"! The king of Sardinia restored serfdom. The Papal States and Spain again set up the Inquisition. In some places French plants were uprooted from the botanical gardens, and street lamps and vaccination were abolished because they were "French improvements."

The statesmen of the Great Powers must have smiled to themselves at some of these extremes; but they, too, almost universally strove to suppress progress. **Five states — Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, and England — determined the policy of Europe.** The first four were "divine right" monarchies. Louis XVIII *gave* France a limited Charter, but it carefully preserved the theory of divine right. That theory, of course, could have no place in England, where the monarchy rested on the Revolution of 1688; but even in England the Whigs were discredited, because they had sympathized at first with the French Revolution. For some years the government there was in the hands of the Tory party, which was bitterly opposed to progress.

The Liberals of Europe had greeted Napoleon's overthrow with joyous acclaim; but soon it seemed that Waterloo had simply "replaced one insolent giant by a swarm of swaggering pygmies." The Allied despots had roused the peoples, with promises of constitutions, to overthrow a rival despot, and then they betrayed the peoples and recalled their promises only as a jest. A few months after Waterloo, the English poet Byron lamented that "the chain of banded nations has been broke in vain by the accord of raised-up millions"; and, "standing on an Empire's dust" at the scene of the great battle, and noting "How that red rain has made the *harvest* grow," he mused:

> "*Gaul* may champ the bit and foam in fetters,
> But is *Earth* more free?
> Did nations combat to make *one* submit,
> Or league to teach *all* kings true sovereignty? . . .
> Then o'er *one* fallen despot boast no more."

One man's evil genius dominated the counsels of the five Allies. "**The rule of Napoleon was succeeded by the rule of Metternich**" — the Austrian minister. Metternich was subtle, adroit, industrious, witty, unscrupulous. His political creed he summed up thus: "Sovereigns alone are entitled to guide the destinies of their peoples, and they are responsible to none but God. . . . Government is no more a subject for debate than religion is." The "new ideas" of democracy and equality and nationality[1] ought never to have been allowed to get into Europe, he said; but, since they were *in*, the business of governments must be to keep them *down*.

METTERNICH, — portrait by Lawrence.

550. Metternich's *chief* victory at the Congress of Vienna lay in **the new organization of Germany.** No one thought of restoring the discredited Holy Roman Empire. Liberal Germany, represented by Stein (§ 538), had hoped for a *real* union, either in a consolidated German Empire or in a new federal state. But Metternich saw that, in a true *German* empire, Austria (with her Slav, Hungarian, and Italian interests) could not long keep the lead against Prussia. He preferred to leave the various states practically independent, so that Austria,

[1] The sentiment of nationality is the feeling among all the people of one race, speech, and country that they should make one political state, or become a "nation." This feeling tended to draw all Germans into one German state, and all Italians into one Italian state. In any conglomerate state, like Austria in that day, the feeling of nationality was likely to be a disrupting force.

THE GERMANIC CONFEDERATION FROM 1815 to 1867
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75 100 125
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
JUTLAND
DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
Friedericia
DUCHY OF SCHLESWIG
Eider
Kiel
Rendsburg
DUCHY OF HOLSTEIN
HELGOLAND (British)
Hamburg
1827
Wilhelmshaven
1854 PRUSSIA
Oldenburg
OLDENBURG
Bremen
Lüneburg
KINGDOM OF HANOVER
Hanover
Brunswick
Osnabrück
LIPPE DETMOLD
Münster
WESTPHALIA
Zuyder Zee
Amsterdam
Utrecht
NETHERLANDS
LIMBURG
JULIER
Düsseldorf
CLEVES
Cassel
ELECT. OF HESSE
Göttingen
BRUNS.
Halle
SAXONY
Dessau
Magdeburg
BRANDENBURG
Brandenburg
Potsdam
Berlin
PROV. OF POMERANIA
Stralsund
RÜGEN
Rostock
MECKLENBURG SCHWERIN
1865 PRUSSIA
STRELITZ
N. Strelitz
Stettin
Kolberg
Danzig
Marienburg
Thorn
PRUSSIA
Königsberg
Tilsit
Memel
Memel R.
RUSSIA
GOTTLAND
SWEDEN
BORNHOLM
Frankfort Oder
POSEN
Posen
Schroda
Kalisz
Warta
Ols
Breslau
Görlitz
Leipzig
Dresden
Spree
Elbe
Weser
Ems
Maas
Rhine
Vistula
R. Bug
WARSAW
Minsk
POLAND
RUSSIA
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22
56
54
52

LUXEMBURG
Luxemburg
Mainz
Darmstadt
Treves
Meisenheim
LICHTENBURG
PALATINATE
Hambach
1815
Mannheim
Landau
Metz
Karlsruhe
Nancy
Strasburg
Stuttgart
WÜRTEMBERG
Ulm
Plombières
Mühlhausen
Basel
Constance
Zürich
Lucern
Neuenburg
Bern
SWITZERLAND
Geneva
R. Rhone
SAVOY
LOMBARDY
Magenta
Novara
Milan
PIEDMONT
Turin
R. Po
Genoa
PARMA
MODENA
Ravenna
EMILIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Florence
Leghorn
TUSCANY
MARCHES
FRANCE
KINGDOM OF BAVARIA
Nüremburg
Ratisbon
Augsburg
Munich
Passau
Salzburg
LIECHTENSTEIN
Innsbruck
TYROL
Bozen
Trent
VENETIA
Custoza
Verona
Venice
Padua
Villafranca
Solferino
Mantua
SALZBURG
Gastein
STYRIA
Gratz
CARINTHIA
Klagenfurt
Laibach
Görz
CARNIOLA
Trieste
ISTRIA
Fiume
CROATIA
Agram
SLAVONIA
R. Save
R. Drave
R. Danube
R. Theiss
Temesvar
Belgrade
TURKEY
ADRIATIC SEA
Prague
Pilsen
BOHEMIA
Moldau
Budweis
Königgrätz
Troppau
Olmütz
MORAVIA
Brünn
Nikolsburg
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Gänserndorf
Pressburg
Vienna
SCHÜTT I.
HUNGARY
Buda Pest
Stuhlweissenburg
GALICIA
R. Danube
R. Inn
R. Etsch
R. Leitha
R. Marck
R. Rhine
48
46
44
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20

the largest of all, might play them off against one another. The small rulers, too, were hostile to a real union, because it would limit their sovereignties. Metternich allied himself, in the Congress, with these princes of the small states, and won. The thirty-eight German states were organized into a "**Germanic Confederation**," *a loose league of* thirty-four sovereign princes and of the governments of the surviving "free cities," — Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Frankfort. Each state controlled its own government, its own army, its own tariffs, and its own foreign diplomacy, — although they did promise not to make war upon one another. The *one* organ of the Confederation was a Federal Diet at Frankfort. This was merely *a standing conference of ambassadors* appointed by the sovereigns: no important action could be taken without the consent of *every* state.

551. But though the chance for making one German nation had been lost, **the Liberals still hoped, for a time, for free political institutions in the separate states.** Within the next four years, moderately liberal constitutions *were* granted in several states, especially in South Germany, where the people had been greatly influenced by the French Revolution. Frederick William III of Prussia, also, appointed a committee to draw up the constitution that he had twice promised solemnly in the war of liberation. But he was a vacillating man, greatly influenced by the nobles, who railed bitterly at the idea of free institutions; and after the committee had dawdled along for four years, he repudiated his pledge.

Outside the Rhine districts the Liberals were made up of writers, journalists, students, professors, and a few others from the small educated middle class. In the universities, professors and students organized societies (*Burschenschaften*) to agitate for German freedom and union. In October of 1817, the fourth anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig and the three hundredth anniversary of Luther's defiance of the pope were celebrated at the Wartburg castle (Luther's refuge after the Diet of Worms); and students from the neighboring University of Jena turned

the celebration into a Liberal demonstration. They sang patriotic songs, made a few ardent speeches, and finally, imitating Luther's burning of the papal bull, they made a bonfire of some old text-books, first labeling them with the names of reactionary writers.

This boyish demonstration threw sober statesmen into spasms of fear, and seemed to prelude a revolutionary "Reign of Terror." Unhappily, Metternich's hand was strengthened also by the foolish crimes of some Liberal enthusiasts. A small section of radical agitators preached that even assassination in the cause of liberty was right; and, in 1819, a fanatical student murdered Kotzebue, a Russian representative in Germany, who was supposed to be drawing the Tsar away from his earlier liberal sympathies.

552. Metternich was prompt to seize the chance. He at once called the leading sovereigns of Germany to a conference at Karlsbad. There he secured their approval for a series of resolutions, which he afterward forced through the Diet at Frankfort. These **Karlsbad Decrees** of 1819 were especially directed against *free speech* in the press and in the universities. They forbade secret societies among students; they appointed a government official in every university to discharge any professor who should preach doctrines "hostile to the public order"; they set up a rigid censorship of all printed matter; they created a standing committee to hunt down conspiracies; and these despotic purposes were enforced for many years by the exile or cruel imprisonment of thousands of high-souled youths and gentle scholars, for singing patriotic songs or for wearing black, red, and orange — the colors of the old Empire and the symbol of German unity.

For Further Reading. — Students should have access to Andrews' *Modern Europe*, Seignobos' *Europe Since 1814*, and Carlton Hayes' *Modern Europe*, II.

Exercise. — Add to the list of dates 1776, 1789, 1815.

CHAPTER XXXIII

UNSUCCESSFUL REVOLUTIONS, 1820–1830

The history of the nineteenth century is the history of the influences which the French Revolution left. — FREDERIC HARRISON.

No land touched by the French Revolution was ever again quite the same. — FREDERICK A. OGG.

553. The first attacks upon Metternich's system came from the south of Europe. The Spanish patriots who rose in 1808 against Napoleon (§ 533) found themselves without a government. Their king was in the hands of the French. The insurgent leaders came largely from the small, educated middle class, who had been converted to the ideals of the early French Revolution. These leaders set up a representative assembly (the Cortes) and adopted the liberal "**Constitution of 1812**" (modeled upon the French Constitution of 1791).

554. Meantime, when Napoleon seized Spain, **the Spanish American states** refused to recognize his authority, and set up governments of their own. At first, most of these new governments were in name loyal to the Spanish crown. During the next few years, however, the Spanish Americans experienced the benefits of freedom and of free trade with the world, and began to follow the example of the United States, which had so recently been merely a group of European colonies. By 1820, the Spanish states on the continent of America had become virtually **independent nations.**

555. After the fall of Napoleon, **the Spanish king**, Ferdinand, returned to his throne. He **had promised to maintain the new constitution; but he soon broke his pledges**, restored all the old iniquities, and cruelly persecuted the Liberal heroes of the "war of liberation." In 1820 he collected troops to subdue the re-

volted colonies; but one of the regiments, instead of embarking, raised the standard of revolt and proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. Tumult followed in Madrid. The king, cowardly as he was treacherous, yielded and restored the constitution.

556. This Spanish Revolution of 1820 became the signal for like attempts in other South European states. Before the year closed, *Portugal* and *Naples* both forced their kings to grant constitutions modeled upon that of Spain. Early in the next year, the people and army of Piedmont rebelled, to secure a constitution for the Kingdom of Sardinia. Lombardy and Venetia stirred restlessly in the grasp of Austria. And the Greeks began a long struggle for independence against Turkey.

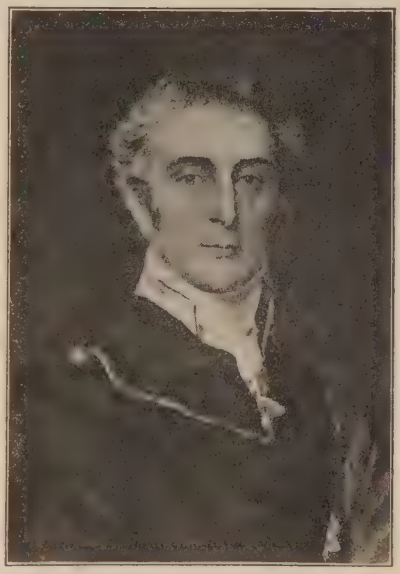
557. We have seen how Metternich used the Germanic Confederacy, designed for protection against foreign attack, to stifle liberalism in Germany. We are now to observe how he adroitly twisted an alliance of monarchs from its original purpose in order to crush these revolutions in Southern Europe.

After Waterloo, while the four "Allies" were still in Paris (November 20, 1815), they agreed to preserve their union and to hold meetings from time to time. The purpose was to guard against any future aggression by France. But when the revolutions of 1820 began, Metternich assembled the *absolute* sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia in a "**Congress**" **at Troppau**, where they signed a declaration that they would **unite to put down revolution against any established government**. England protested, both before and after the meeting, declaring that each nation should manage its internal affairs as it chose, and on this issue, she now withdrew from the alliance of 1815 — which from this time is known popularly as **the Holy Alliance.**

This name belongs strictly to a wholly different league organized two months earlier by the sentimental Tsar. In September, 1815, Alexander had presented to the monarchs a brief agreement whereby the signers promised to govern their respective peoples as "branches of one Christian nation" in accordance with "the precepts of justice,

charity, and *peace*." This "pious verbiage," as Metternich called it, was signed by every Christian ruler on the continent. This League called itself the "Holy Alliance," but it never had existence except on paper, and its name was soon popularly applied to *the Troppau league*, — so different in purpose. The confusion was helped by the fact that the three despotic sovereigns of the Troppau agreement were also the *first three signers* of the "Holy Alliance."

Undaunted by England's opposition, the banded despots promptly marched overwhelming armies into Italy and restored absolutism in both Naples and Piedmont, and then, flushed with success, determined next to overthrow also the Spanish constitution, from which the "contagion of liberty" had spread. In 1822, at a **Congress at Verona**, *they were joined by France*. England again protested vigorously. The French representative tried to reconcile England by pleading that a constitution might be all very well in Spain, but that it should be a constitution *granted by the king*, not one *forced upon him* by rebels against his authority. Wellington, the English representative, Tory though he was, fitly answered this "divine right" plea: "Do you not know, sir, that it is not kings who make constitutions, but constitutions that make kings!"



WELLINGTON.

But on land, England could do no more than protest, and, with the sanction of the "crowned conspirators of Verona," a French army restored the old absolutism in Spain. Then,

while the tyrant Ferdinand busied himself in a *reactionary* "reign of terror," infinitely more despicable and cruel than any that revolutionists have ever perpetrated, Metternich boasted with "pious" blasphemy, "God seems willing to use me as his instrument to restore order to Europe."

558. The "Holy Alliance" planned also to restore monarchic control in the revolted Spanish colonies. But here they failed. On the sea England was supreme; and she made it known that she would oppose the intended expedition with all her great might. Once more, as in Napoleon's day and in Philip II's, the English sea power saved liberty.

America shares in the credit of checking the despots. Canning, the English minister, urged the United States to join England in an alliance to protect Spanish America. The United States chose to act without formal alliance,[1] but did act along the same lines. President Monroe's message to Congress in 1823 announced to the world that this country would oppose any attempt of the despotic Powers to extend their "political system" to America. (This was one part of the famous Monroe Doctrine.)

559. Almost at once Metternich met another check — in the affairs of Greece. The rising there had been accompanied by terrible massacres of all Turks dwelling in the country, and the exasperated Turkish government was now putting down the rebellion by a war of extermination. For a time Metternich hoped to bring about intervention by the allied Powers to restore Turkish authority; but he failed from two causes.

The educated classes of Western Europe had been nourished mainly on the ancient Greek literature, and now their imagination was fired by the thought that this struggle against the Turks was a contest akin to the glorious ancient war against the Persians. The man who did most to widen this sympathy was Byron, the English poet, who closed a career of mingled genius

[1] See West's *American People*, p. 425 ff.

and generosity and wrongdoing by a noble self-devotion, giving fortune and life to the Greek cause; and his poems (like "The Isles of Greece"), invoking the magic of the old names of Marathon and Salamis, stirred Europe to wild enthusiasm. Numbers of volunteers, aroused by his passionate lyrics, followed him to fight for Greek liberty, and before any government had taken action, the Turks complained that they had to contend with all Europe.

The Russian people felt a deep sympathy for the Greeks as their co-religionists, and a deeper hatred for the Turks as their hereditary foes, so that the Tsar could not join in open intervention against the revolution.

Finally, indeed, intervention came but *for* the Greeks. The English, French, and Russian fleets had proceeded to Greece to enforce a truce, so as to permit negotiation. The three fleets were acting together under the lead of the English admiral, who happened to be the senior officer. Almost by chance, and chiefly through the excited feelings of the common sailors, the fleets came into conflict with the Turkish fleet, and annihilated it in the battle of **Navarino** (October, 1827). The English commander had gone beyond his instructions, but excited public feeling gave the government no chance to disown him. So the three Powers forced Turkey to grant **independence to the Greeks.**

Elsewhere, however, Metternich was triumphant. For ten years after the overthrow of the gallant Spanish Revolution, the reactionists had things their own way from England to Greece. *The next attack on Metternich's system came from France in 1830.*

560. When **Louis XVIII** became king of France (§ 547) he knew that the people must have some assurance of those personal liberties which they had won in the Revolution. Accordingly he ***gave*** **to the nation the "Charter of 1815."** In this way he saved the theory of "divine right"; and the preamble expressly declared the king the source of all authority. Still this grant gave the people of France more freedom than any

other large country on the continent then had, — confirming religious liberty, equality before the law, free speech, and freedom of the press. *Political* liberty, however, was extremely limited. There was provided a legislature of two Houses, — the *Peers* (appointed by the king) and the Deputies; but the property qualification for voting was put so high that only about one out of seventy adult males had any voice in the elections. Moreover, the king kept an *absolute veto* and the *sole right to propose laws*, along with Napoleon's system of control over all *local* administration.

561. In 1824 the shrewd Louis was succeeded by his arbitrary and extremely reactionary brother, Charles X. Now the government curtailed the freedom of the press, closed the historical lectures of Guizot (a very moderate Liberal), and plundered $200,000,000 from the treasury for returned Emigrants. It was plain, too, that the king was bent upon restoring to the church its old lands and its old control over education, and upon punishing the old Revolutionists.

In 1827 came the election of a new Chamber of Deputies, and, despite the narrow electorate, that body had a large majority of Liberals, vehemently opposed to the king's policy. Charles tried to disregard that majority and to keep his old ministers in power; but (March 2, 1830) the Assembly, by a vote of 221 to 182, adopted a bold address calling for the dismissal of the ministry, — "that menace to public safety." Charles instead dissolved the Chamber. Public interest was intense, and the aged Lafayette journeyed through France to organize the Liberals for the next contest at the polls. The new elections in June destroyed the reactionary party. Every deputy who had voted against the ministry was reëlected, and the Liberals gained also fifty of the remaining seats.

Twice defeated by the votes of even the oligarchic landlords, but no whit daunted, the stubborn monarch tried a *coup d'état*. He suspended the Charter by a series of edicts, known as the **July Ordinances**. These Ordinances (1) forbade the publica-

tion of newspapers without royal approval, (2) dissolved the new legislature (which had not yet met), and (3) *promulgated a new law* for elections so as to put control into the hands of a still smaller class of great landlords.

562. Then followed the Three Days of July. The Ordinances were published July 26, 1830. That day, forty-one journalists of Paris, led by the young Thiers,[1] printed a protest, declaring the Ordinances illegal and calling upon France to resist them. The journalists had in mind only *legal* resistance, not violence; but there were in Paris a few old Revolutionists who were ready to go further. The same evening these radicals appointed "Committees of Insurrection" for the various districts of the city. The next morning angry crowds thronged the streets, and threw up barricades out of paving stones. That night Lafayette reached Paris, to take charge of the revolt. The regular troops made only half-hearted resistance. They lacked good leadership, and they hated to fire on the rebel flag, — *the old tricolor*. July 29, Charles fled to England. *Outside Paris, there was no fighting, but the nation gladly accepted this "Second French Revolution."*

563. The "divine-right monarchy" in France was now replaced by a constitutional kingship. The legislature, which Charles had tried to dissolve, restored the tricolor as the flag of France, made the Charter into a more liberal constitution, and then offered the crown to Louis Philippe [2] (a distant cousin of Charles), *on condition that he accept this amended Charter*. The old Charter had declared that the king ruled "by the grace of God." The new document added the words, "*and by the will of the nation.*"

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[1] Thiers had been preaching boldly in his newspaper the English constitutional doctrine, — "The king *reigns;* he does not *govern*."

[2] As a youth Louis Philippe had taken the side of the First Revolution in 1789, and had fought gallantly in the French Revolutionary armies, until the extremists drove him into exile. Then, instead of joining the royalist emigrants in their attacks on France, he had fled to England and America, — where he earned his living by teaching French.

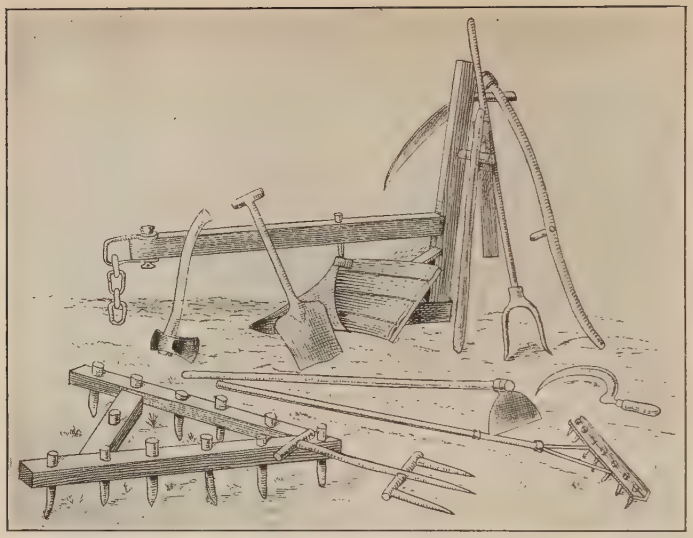
The Second French Revolution, then, resembled the English Revolution of 1688, though it did not go as far. It did give to the legislature the right to introduce bills, and it doubled the number of voters, extending the franchise to all who paid forty dollars in direct taxes; but *this still left twenty-nine men out of thirty without votes.*

564. This revolution spread more widely even than the Spanish Revolution ten years earlier. For a moment, Metternich's system tottered. *Belgium* broke away from the king of Holland, to whom the Congress of Vienna had given it. *Poland* rose against the Tsar, to whom the Congress had given it. The *states of Italy* rose against Austria and the Austrian satellites to whom the Congress had given them. And *in Germany* there were uprisings in all absolutist states, to demand the constitutions which the Congress had *not* given.

The final gains, however, were not vast. Belgium did become an independent monarchy, with the most liberal constitution on the continent. And France, besides her own gains, was definitely lost to the Holy Alliance of divine-right despots. (Indeed France joined England in protecting Belgium by arms against "intervention" — so that Metternich called London and Paris "the two mad-houses of Europe.") But Tsar Nicholas crushed the Poles, took away the constitution that Alexander had given them during his rule, and made Alexander's "Kingdom of Poland" into a mere Russian province. Austria crushed the Italian revolts; and then, his hands free once more, Metternich restored "order" (and despotism) in the disturbed German states.

Still, reaction was being slowly undermined by a growing public opinion; and when the next year of revolutions came, Metternich's system fell forever in Western Europe. That successful "Revolution of 1848" began in France, but it was the work of a new class of workingmen, — factory workers, — who themselves were the product of a new industrial system that had grown up first in England. We must go back for that story.

A Paris Barricade in the July Days of 1830, — by the contemporary French artist, Georges Cain.



Above. — Farm Tools in 1800. — There were none others except the wagon — and the new and very rare (and very crude) threshing machine.
Below. — Modern Plowing. — These two cuts suggest only faintly the change that a hundred years has worked in agriculture. The tractor, steam or gasoline, is an American invention. Note the width of the swath. The movement forward is far more rapid than any horse team can go with *one* plowshare. Note, too, the comfort in which the men work.

CHAPTER XXXIV

ENGLAND AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

I. NEW METHODS OF WORK

565. While France was giving the world her first great social and political revolution, with noise and blood, toward the close of the eighteenth century, **England had been working out quietly an even greater revolution** which was to change the work and daily life of the masses of men and women and children over all the world. This "revolution" was at first a change in the ways in which certain kinds of work were done; so we call it "**the Industrial Revolution.**" It was not wrought by kings, or generals, but by humble workers busied in homely toil, puzzling day after day over wheels and belts and rollers and levers, seeking some way to save time.

566. Our life and labor differ far more widely from that of our great-great-grandfathers in the time of the American Revolution, than their life and labor differed from that of men in the time of Charlemagne a thousand years before. In the days of Voltaire and George Washington, men raised grain, and wove cloth, and carried their spare products to market, in almost precisely the same way in which these things had been done for six thousand years.

The first improvements came in agriculture. Early in the eighteenth century, English landlords had introduced *a better system of "crop-rotation,"* raising roots like beets and turnips on the field formerly left fallow (§ 134). The added root crops made it possible *to feed more cattle* — which furnished more manure, which increased *all* crops. *Mechanical* invention in agriculture came a little later. In 1785 the *first threshing machine* was invented, and enterprising "gentlemen farmers"

soon began to use it; but it was exceedingly crude. The *cradle scythe* — a hand tool, but a vast improvement on the old sickle for harvesting grain — was patented *in America* in 1803. The *cast-iron plow* appeared about 1800 (with a better shaped mold board, due to the inventive genius of Thomas Jefferson in America), permitting deeper plowing and more rapid work; but for some time, even in America, farmers were generally prejudiced against it, asserting that the iron "poisoned" the ground.

567. When these changes in agricultural *production* were just beginning, there came also **a change in transportation.** Merchandise had been carried from place to place on pack horses; and travel was on horseback, or (on a few roads) by clumsy slow six-horse coaches. But about 1750 England began building "turnpikes" (with frequent barriers where tolls were collected from travelers to keep up repairs); a Scotch engineer, MacAdam, gave his name to "Macadamized" roads; and soon extensive canals (with "locks" to permit a boat to pass from one level to another) began to care for most of the bulky commerce.

568. The change that was really to revolutionize society, however, **came in *manufacturing*, and first in spinning.** In Queen Elizabeth's time, the fiber of flax or wool was drawn into thread by the distaff and spindle, as among the Stone-Age women. But in the seventeenth century in England, the distaff was replaced by the *spinning wheel*, — run first by one hand, but afterward by the foot of the spinner. Even the wheel, however (such as may now and then still be found tucked away in an old attic), drew out only *one thread at a time.* To spin thread enough to weave into the cloth for a family's clothing was a serious task. Weavers didn't get thread fast enough, and in 1761 the English Royal Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures offered a prize for an invention for swifter spinning. Three years later, in 1764 (just before Parliament passed the Stamp Act), an English weaver, *James Hargreaves*, noticed that his wife's spinning wheel, tipped over on the floor,

kept whirling away for a surprising time. Taking a hint from this new position, he invented a machine where one wheel turned eight spindles, and spun *eight threads*, instead of one. Hargreaves called the new machine the "Jenny," from his wife's name.

The thread, however, was not satisfactory for all parts of cloth manufacture; but in 1775 (just as the folly of the Eng-

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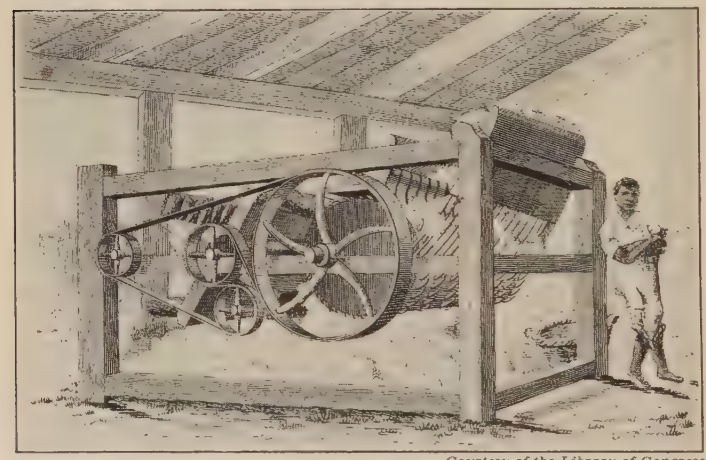
A Primitive Loom in use in Japan to-day.

lish *government* finally drove America into rebellion), *Richard Arkwright*, an English barber and peddler, devised a new sort of spinner without spindles. He ran his wool or cotton through a series of rollers revolving at different rates, to draw out the thread; and he drove these rollers *by water power*, not by hand, and so called his machine a "*Water Frame*." Four years later, *Samuel Crompton*, an English weaver, ingeniously combined

the best features of the "Jenny" and the "Water Frame" into a new machine which he called "*the mule*" — in honor of this mixed parentage. With "the mule," one spinner could spin *two hundred threads at a time.*

Now the *weavers* could not keep up. They were still using the hand loom, older than history. Threads were drawn out lengthwise on a frame, so making the warp. Then the weaver drove his shuttle by hand back and forth between those threads



Courtesy of the Library of Congress

An Early Cotton Gin.

with the woof (cross threads). But now (1784, a year after the English government had to confess that it had lost America) *Edmund Cartwright,* a clergyman of the Church of England, patented a "*power loom,*" in which the shuttle *threw itself back and forth automatically;* and by later improvements it became possible for one man to weave more cloth in 1800 than two hundred could in 1770.

569. The next need was more cotton ready to spin. **Eli Whitney,** in America, met this by inventing his **Cotton Gin,** wherewith one slave could clean as much cotton fiber from the

seed as three hundred had been able to clean before. At almost the same time a way was found to bleach cloth swiftly, by chemicals, instead of slowly by air and sun as formerly.

570. Then came James Watt to supply a new power to run this new machinery. Before 1300, Roger Bacon had speculated on the expansive power of steam as a motive power, and a nobleman of Charles I's time constructed a steam engine that pumped water. Inventor and invention perished in the Civil War that followed;[1] but, a hundred years later, steam engines began to be used in England to draw water out of flooded mines. These engines, however, had only an up-and-down movement; they were clumsy and slow; and they wasted steam and fuel. James Watt, an instrument-maker, was called upon to repair a model for such an engine, and became interested in removing these defects. By 1785, he had constructed engines that worked much more swiftly, economically, and powerfully, and *which could transmit their power to wheels* (and so drive machinery) by an arrangement of shafts and cranks. In 1785 steam was first used to drive spinning machinery. Fifteen years later, there were more steam engines in England than water wheels, and four had been carried to America.

571. One more series of inventions completed this wonderful circle of the eighteenth century. Engines and power machines could be built in a satisfactory manner only from iron; but **the manufacture of iron** was still slow and costly, and the product was poor stuff. In 1790, however, steam began to be used to furnish a new blowing apparatus which gave a *steady blast* of air, in place of the old bellows and like arrangements. This soon made possible more rapid and more perfect work in iron. New and better ways, too, were found to change the brittle "castings" into malleable "wrought" iron.

Thus, by 1800, the "age of steam and iron" had begun in England, and to some degree in America. The continent of Europe

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[1] George MacDonald's *St. George and St. Michael* tells the story.

was closed against it some years longer by Napoleon's Continental System.

This is the convenient place to note two applications of the steam engine to locomotion, and also a few other inventions of the following half-century — more in America now than in England.

572. In America the chief need was to apply steam to *locomotion,* and first (with our tremendous distances and lack of roads) to locomotion *by water.* As early as 1787 James Rumsey of Virginia ran **a steamboat** on the Potomac, and at almost the same time John Fitch and Oliver Evans each did the like on the Susquehanna at Philadelphia. But no one of these neglected and broken-hearted geniuses could find capital willing to back the invention. Some twenty years later, however, Robert Fulton was more fortunate.[1] He secured money from Chancellor Livingstone of New York: and in 1807 his *Clermont* made its trial trip *up* the Hudson, 150 miles in 32 hours.

573. Since steam could drive boats, why not coaches on land? *Horse* tramways had been used in England for many years to carry coal from a mine to a canal, and soon after 1800 a Cornishman used a *stationary* steam engine to furnish the power for a *short* tramway. But the problem was to get a *traveling* engine. **In 1814 George Stephenson succeeded in building a "locomotive"** able to haul coal carts on tramways, and in 1825 a passenger line (twelve miles long) was opened in England. In 1833 a steam railway carried passengers from London to Liverpool in ten hours (a four-hour ride now), whereas the stage coach took sixty. The railway age had begun.

574. And in many other ways, soon after 1800, **mechanical invention began to affect life.** From the beginning of George Washington's administration to 1812, the American Patent Office registered less than eighty new inventions a year. From

[1] Fulton offered his invention first to Napoleon, as a means of transporting his waiting troops from Boulogne to England (§ 529). Happily for human liberty, Napoleon thought him a faker.

Above. — Fulton's *Clermont*. — From a model in the National Museum at Washington.

Below. — The modern steamship *Britannic* of the White Star Line.

Above. — Harvesting in 1831, with McCormick's first successful horse reaper, — a tremendous advance upon the old hand sickle. (The self-binder had not yet been invented.)

Below. — Harvesting To-day. A Mogul Kerosene Tractor pulling two McCormick reapers and binders with mechanical shockers. Two men do many times as much work as six with the earlier reaper.

1812 to 1820 the number rose to about 200 a year, and in 1830 there were 544 new patents issued. Twenty years later the thousand mark was passed, and in 1860 there were five thousand. A like movement, if not quite so swift, was taking place also in England.

575. These inventions mostly *saved time* or *helped to make life more comfortable or more attractive.* A few cases only can be mentioned from the bewildering mass The *McCormick reaper* (to be drawn by horses) appeared in 1831, and soon multiplied the farmer's efficiency in the harvest field by twenty. (This released many men from food-production, and made more possible the growth of cities and of manufactures.) *Planing mills* created a new industry in woodworking. *"Colt's revolver"* (1835) replaced the one-shot "pistol." *Iron stoves* began to rival the ancient fireplace, especially for cooking. *Friction matches*, invented in England in 1827, were the first improvement on pre-historic methods of making fire. *Illuminating gas*, for lighting city streets, made better order possible at night and helped improve public morals. In 1838 the English *Great Western* (with *screw propeller* instead of side paddles, and with coal to heat its boilers) *established steam navigation between Europe and America.* The same year saw the first successful use of huge *steam hammers*, and of anthracite coal for smelting iron. In 1839 a Frenchman, Daguerre, began *photography* with his "daguerreotype." Still earlier, a French chemist had invented *the canning of foods.* In 1841 Dr. Crawford W. Long first demonstrated the value of *ether as an anesthetic*, — an incomparable boon to suffering men and women. The *magnetic telegraph*, invented in 1835, was made effective in 1844. The Howe *sewing machine* was patented in 1846; and the next year saw the first *rotary printing press.*

576. The inventions noted in the last paragraph, except those explicitly credited to other countries, were made in America. In 1820, a famous English writer (influenced partly by the ugly feeling awakened by the War of 1812) had exclaimed, — "Who in the four quarters of

the globe reads an American book, . . . or drinks out of American glasses, . . . or sleeps in American blankets?" But in 1841 in parliament a member of the English cabinet confessed that the great majority of helpful inventions came from America.

II. NEW CONDITIONS OF LIFE FOR WORKERS

577. With machinery and steam power, **one laborer was soon able to produce more wealth than hundreds had produced by the old hand processes.** This ought to have been pure gain for all the world, and especially it should have meant more comfort and more leisure for the workers. *Part of the increased wealth* did go, *indirectly*, to the common gain, in lower prices. Every one could soon buy cloth and hardware cheaper than before the Industrial Revolution. **But, even yet, the workers have failed to get their fair share** of the world's gain; and for many of them, while the Industrial Revolution was young, it meant, not higher life, but lower life.

578. Under the "domestic system" (§ 403) all manufactures had been handmade (as the word "manufacture" signifies). Hours of labor were long and profits were small, because there was little surplus wealth to divide. But **workmen worked** in their own homes, **under reasonably wholesome conditions.** Their labor was varied. They owned their own tools. They had considerable command over their hours of toil. Their condition resembled that of the farmer of to-day more than that of the modern factory worker. Usually, too, the artisan's home had its garden plot, from which he drew part of his living, and in which he could spend much labor profitably in a dull season for his trade.

579. But the machinery of the new industrial age was costly. Workmen could not own it as they had owned their old tools. Nor did they know how to combine to own it in groups. It all passed into the hands of wealthy men, who hired workers ("operatives") to "operate" it. *This marks the beginning of a new organization of labor.* As the old slave system gave

way to serfdom in agriculture and to a gild organization in manufactures, and as gilds gave way to the domestic system, so now **the domestic system gave way to the present capitalist system**, or wage system, or factory system.

580. **The capitalist manufacturer** was a new figure in European life, appearing first in England, alongside the country gentlemen and the merchant princes. He was not himself a workman, like the old "master." He was only an "employer." He erected great factories, filled them with costly machines, bought the necessary "raw material" (cotton, wool, or iron, as the case might be), paid wages, and took the profits.

And if the capitalist was a new figure in middle-class society, *the capitalless and landless worker* was a much more significant new figure in the "lower classes." He now furnished nothing but his hands. Moreover, much of the work on the new machinery could be done by women and children — especially in all cloth manufactures, where the work consisted largely in turning a lever, or tying broken threads, or cleaning machinery. Until the operatives learned how to combine, so as to bargain collectively, the capitalist could fix wages and hours and conditions as he pleased.

The capitalist, too, had no personal contact with his workmen. He employed, not two or three, living in his own family, but hundreds or thousands, whose names even he did not know except on the payroll. There was no chance for understanding between him and his "hands." Under the gild and domestic systems, apprentices and journeymen had expected to rise, sooner or later, to be "masters"; and at all times they lived on terms of constant intercourse with their masters, who worked side by side with them, and had a sort of fatherly guardianship over them. Under the new system, a particularly enterprising and fortunate workman might now and then rise into the capitalist class; but on the whole, a permanent line separated the two classes.

581. These features of the capitalist system we still have with us. But **another group of changes, less inevitable, were**

for a time exceedingly disastrous. As the factory came in, the worker changed his whole manner of life for the worse. He had to reach his place of work by sunrise or earlier, and stay there till dusk. So the employer built long blocks of ugly tenements near the factory, to rent; and the workers had to leave their village homes, with garden spots and fresh air and varied industry, to move into these squalid city quarters.

For the first generation, many of the old hand weavers held out stubbornly against accepting these new conditions — and suffered a still harsher fate. In long succession from father to son, they had gained a skill which had long set them above unskilled laborers; and it was hard for them to realize that these new contrivances of wood and iron had made that skill worthless. But handworkers could not match tireless machines driven by steam. They could not produce enough cloth — at the lower prices it brought after 1800 — to support themselves; but numbers of them kept up the losing fight for a lifetime (like George Eliot's *Silas Marner*), rising, too, in occasional riots to smash machinery and burn factories.

This sort of tragedy has been repeated time after time, as the Industrial Revolution (which is still in progress) has replaced one process by a quicker one. It happened not long ago, when the linotype replaced hand typesetting. Masses of workers have paid for every gain to the world by terrible personal loss that destroyed families and ruined lives. Society, which profits so splendidly, has not yet learned how to insure its workers against this unfair loss. *But, in 1800, the thing was new.* There was no accident insurance or old-age insurance or pension system, such as many countries are now coming to have; and the class of workmen who were ruined made a larger part of the total population than has ever again been so affected at one time.

The factory system produced towns with marvelous rapidity. In 1750, England was a rural country, with only five towns of more than 5000 people. In 1801, it had a hundred such towns, and the population of the island had nearly doubled. (In 1891, there were 622 such towns.)[1] England was the first country to face the problems created by this growth of city

[1] In 1750, England and Wales had between four and five million people; in 1801 (when the first real census was taken), 8,893,000; and in 1901, 32,526,000. (In 1921, the number was 38,000,000.)

populations; and in England for a time no one saw these problems clearly. The employers, most directly responsible, felt no responsibility, and were engaged in an exciting race for wealth. The new cities grew up without water supply, or drainage, or garbage-collection. Science had not learned how to care for these needs, and law had not begun to wrestle with them. The masses of factory workers and their families dwelt in den-like garrets and cellars — a family stuffed indecently into a squalid unwholesome room or two — bordering on pestilential alleys, in perpetual filth and disease and misery and vice. In 1837 one tenth of the people of the great city of Manchester lived in cellars.

582. Little better was the factory itself. Carpenters and masons commonly worked *from sunrise to sunset* — or even from dawn to dark — just as farm laborers often do still. Such long hours for toil were terribly hard: but they could be endured when spent in fresh air, amid out-door scenes, in interesting and varied activity. But **this long labor day was now carried into the factory**. There it was unendurable and ruinous, because of foul air, poor light, nerve-racking noise of dangerous, limb-tearing machinery, the more monotonous character of factory labor — the workman spending his day in repeating over and over one simple set of motions, — and because **there it crushed women and children**.

This was true even in America, when factories grew up here after 1815. Many years ago, Professor Ely of Wisconsin University wrote (*Labor Movement in America*, 49): "The length of actual labor [in 1832] in the Eagle Mill at Griswold [Connecticut] was fifteen hours and ten minutes. The regulations at Paterson, New Jersey, required women and children to be at work at half-past four in the morning. . . . Operatives were taxed by the manufacturers for the support of churches. . . . Women and children were urged on by the use of the rawhide." (See other illustrations in West's *American People*, pp. 453–6.)

583. In England, **child labor conditions** were at first worse even than this. Parish authorities had power to take children

from pauper families and apprentice them to employers; and dissolute parents sometimes sold their children into service by written contracts. In the years just before 1800, gangs of helpless little ones from six and seven years upwards, secured in this way by greedy contractors, were *auctioned off*, thousands at a time, into ghastly slavery. They received no wages. They were clothed in rags. They had too little food, and only the coarsest. They were driven to toil sixteen hours a day, in some places by inhuman tortures. They had no holiday except Sunday; and their few hours for sleep were spent in dirty beds from which other relays of little workers had just been turned out. Schooling or play there was none; and the poor waifs grew up — girls as well as boys — if they lived at all, amid shocking and brutal immorality.

In 1800 a terrible epidemic among children in factory districts aroused public attention; and parliament "reduced" the hours of labor for children-apprentices to *twelve* a day. In 1819 and in 1831 laws were passed to shorten hours also for other child employees — who were supposed to be looked after by their parents. But these laws were ill-enforced; and until after 1833 (§ 650) the mass of factory children continued to be "sad, dejected, cadaverous creatures," among whom at any great factory, said a careful observer, "the crippled and distorted forms were to be counted by hundreds."[1]

584. Another unhappy change early in this period **destroyed what were left of the yeoman of rural England.** The new profits in farming (§ 566) made landlords eager for more land. *They controlled parliament;* and that body passed law after law, after 1760, *inclosing the "commons"* for the benefit, not of the *common* good, but *of their class.*

[1] Lord Ashley, whose championship helped finally to remedy these evils used these phrases when speaking with great emotion, in 1873, of how, forty years before, he used to stand at factory gates to watch children come out. A still more passionate protest broke from the heart of England's woman poet against this hideous phase of English "prosperity." (Read Mrs. Browning's *Cry of the Children.*)

These new inclosures were outwardly more decent than those of the seventeenth century. Pains were taken to "compensate" every villager for the share he lost in the village commons. But, whatever the intention of the law, the compensation proved ridiculously inadequate. Usually it was in the form of a little cash, which the peasant spent without any lasting improvement in his condition. A rhyme of the day expresses the feeling of the poor at this renewal of the ancient inclosure movement: —

> "The law locks up the man or woman
> Who steals the goose from off the common;
> But leaves the greater villain loose
> Who steals the common from the goose."

And Goldsmith's pathetic *Deserted Village* pictures the result and gives its stern warning:

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

The small farmers, having lost their old pasture land by these inclosures, could no longer maintain themselves against the competition of the privileged landlord, who also alone had money to buy the new machinery coming into use. *They were compelled to sell out* — largely to the merchants and new manufacturing capitalists, who were eager to buy because social position and political power in England in that day rested on land. In 1700, in spite of the older inclosure movement of the sixteenth century, England had still some 400,000 yeomen. These with their families made nearly half the total population. But by 1800, though population had doubled, this class of independent small farmers had disappeared, and rural **England was merely a country of great landlords.** The dispossessed yeomanry drifted to the new factory towns, to furnish more cheap labor there; or they remained to till the landlord's land, living on his estate as "cottagers," subject to removal at his order.

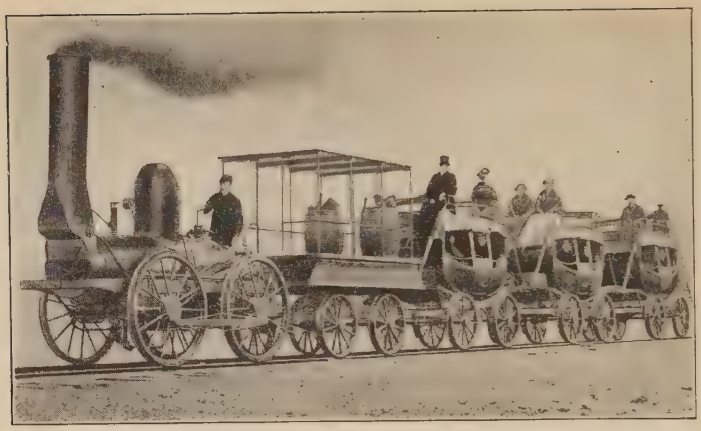
Since this change, until very recently, the classes connected with the land in England have been three, — landlords, *tenant-*

farmers, and laborers. The first class comprised a few thousand gentry and nobles. Each such proprietor divided his estate into "farms," of from a hundred to three hundred acres, and leased them out to men with a little capital, who were known as "farmers." This second class worked the land directly, with the aid of the third class, who had no land of their own, but who labored for day-wages.

The landlords as a rule pride themselves upon keeping up their estates. They introduce costly machinery and improved methods of agriculture more rapidly than small proprietors could, and they furnish some of the money necessary to put farms and buildings into good condition; while their own stately homes, encompassed by rare old parks, gave a beauty to rural England such as no other country knows — until their magnificent oaks and elms were sacrified so largely for lumber, in the World War. The farmers, compared with the farm-laborers, are an aristocratic and prosperous class; but, of course, they have always been largely influenced by their landlords. And they do not *own* their land. Peasants became free in England some centuries sooner than in France or Germany; but in no other European country have they so completely ceased to be owners of the soil as in modern England. In 1876 a parliamentary inquiry found only a quarter of a million (262,886) landowners with more than an acre apiece. France with a population only a little larger had more than twenty times as many landowners. (How Englishmen have recently *begun* again to own England will be told in a later chapter.)

III. CHANGES IN IDEAS ABOUT GOVERNMENT

585. The revolution in work and in the lives of the workers brought revolutions in ideas. The old Merchantilist doctrine gave way, largely, to a new "political economy" with new doctrines about the production of wealth. The leader of the new teaching was Adam Smith in England. His *Wealth of Nations* (published in 1776) taught that "laws" of "supply



Above. — The "De Witt Clinton," the first steam railroad train in America. The first trip (from Albany to Schenectady) was made August 9, 1831, with a *maximum* speed of 15 miles an hour.

Below. — A Modern Electric Locomotive on the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Road, running over the great Continental Divide. This engine weighs 282 tons, has an electrification of 3000 volts, and can haul six and a half million pounds of freight up a stiff grade at 16 miles an hour, or, geared for high speed, can pull a passenger train, like the one here pictured, at a mile a minute on ordinary levels.

and demand" were "natural laws" in society, and could not be meddled with except to do harm. Prices and wages and all conditions of labor were to be regulated wholly by this "law." This would secure "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Government must keep hands off, unless called in as a policeman to keep order.

This became known as "**the Manchester doctrine,**" because so universal in that early center of manufactures. It is also called by a French name, — *Laissez faire* ("let it go"). English *merchants*, also, accepted it, in their hatred of the old restrictions upon trade; and it soon became almost a religion to the *town* middle class. It suited the strong and prosperous, but it was utterly unchristian in its corollary, "The devil take the hindmost." It produced happiness for a few, and misery "for the greatest numbers." The horrible conditions of the new factory towns were its first fruits. Some thinkers began to call this political economy a "dismal science," and, in search of a cure for social ills, to swing over to some form of *socialism*.

586. The early socialists were moved by a deep love for humanity and by a passionate hatred for suffering and injustice, but they were not scientific thinkers. They believed that rich and poor could be induced by argument to set up a society of common goods and brotherly love, such as More had pictured in *Utopia*. Usually they thought that, in the new arrangement, society would be broken up into many small communistic units of a few hundred or a few thousand people each; and one of the leaders, Robert Owen (a Scotch manufacturer), spent his fortune in establishing model coöperative communities of that sort, as at New Harmony in Indiana. (All Owen's settlements failed; but his work gave a great impulse to the later coöperative societies.)

587. Modern socialists look back upon these early efforts as well-meant efforts of dreamers, and **trace their present doctrine to Karl Marx.** Marx was born in 1818 in Germany. He attended the University of Berlin, and was intended by his

family for a university professor; but his radical ideas kept him from obtaining such a position. He began to publish his works on socialism about 1847. Germany and then France drove him away as a dangerous disturber of order; and he spent the last half of his life in England.

Marx threw aside the idea that benevolent persons could introduce a new era of coöperation by agreement. He believed, however, that a new coöperative organization of society was going to succeed the present individualistic organization as inevitably as that had followed the gild and slave organization, through tendencies in economic development that could not be controlled. All history, he said, had been the story of class struggles. Ancient society was a contest between master and slave; medieval society, between lord and serf; present society, between capitalist and workers. The workers, he was sure, will win, when they learn to unite.

Modern socialism points out that a few capitalists *control* the means of producing wealth. This, they argue, is the essential evil in industrial conditions. Their remedy is *to have society step into the place of those few*, taking over the ownership and management (1) of natural resources (mines, oil wells, water power, right of way, etc.); (2) of transportation; (3) of all machinery employed in large-scale production. They do not wish to divide up property, or to keep individuals from owning houses, libraries, carriages, pictures, jewels, of their own. That is, they do not wish to abolish private ownership of the things we use to support life or to make life more enjoyable, but only of those things we use to produce more wealth.

588. The socialists have split recently into a "Right" (Conservative) wing, and a "Left," or Radical, wing. The latter sometimes take the name of *Communists. This party seems ready to abandon the ballot in favor of "direct action."* By this they do not mean, most of them, bombs or bullets, but they do mean industrial *compulsion* of society through "general strikes." To succeed in this, they aim first to organize all workers in each

great industry, unskilled as well as skilled, into "one big union."

This program originated with the French "Syndicalists" a few years ago, and was quickly adopted by the "I. W. W." in America. "Poor work for poor pay," an early slogan, passed with these advocates of industrial war into more serious forms of sabotage,[1] such as ruining machinery. Society, in turn, instead of punishing merely for such crimes when committed, has sometimes allowed these agitators to claim the cloak of martyrs for free speech, by punishing them for membership in the organization. (The world congress of "Right Wing" socialists in 1920 — the "Second International" — distinctly repudiated all methods of violence and clearly affirmed its faith in persuasion and the ballot.)

Students who pay any attention to socialism admit that its ideals are noble, and that it has rendered a real service by calling attention forcefully to cruel evils in our society. But the great majority of thinkers have little faith in its *remedies*, fear the government despotism involved in all schemes of state socialism, and do not believe that the socialist program would work as its advocates teach. Most constructive reformers hope to lessen the ills of society without surrendering private enterprise and individual initiative to any such degree as socialists think necessary.

589. Another highly important result of the Industrial Revolution was the new impulse it gave to the organization of the workers in "unions." A "**trade union**" is an association of the wage earners in a given craft, or "trade" (carpenters, house painters, etc.), to improve the conditions under which they work by *collective* bargaining. (Cf. § 262.) Labor unionists believe that this is the only way in which labor can deal with capital on equal terms. Members of a union, therefore, generally contend that every worker in their "trade"

[1] A term derived from the Syndicalists' asserted habit of forcing machinery to shut down by throwing into it an old shoe (*sabot*).

must be persuaded, or forced, to join the union or to leave the industry. Otherwise, they argue, the man who stays out gets the benefit of the higher wages and better conditions secured by the union (often at the cost of bitter sacrifice by its members) without himself giving any help; and, in time of trial, he becomes a traitor to the cause by underbidding the union standard.

Accordingly, union men refuse to work on the same job or in the same shop with non-unionists, revile them as "scabs," and, in times of stress, sometimes treat them with brutal violence. Many liberal-minded people of the middle class look upon all this as "tyranny," and insist that each worker must be permitted to work "on his own terms" and to enjoy "freedom of contract." From labor's view-point, on the other hand, a "scab's" talk of his "right" to bargain for himself is much like the vaporing of a deserter from an army just before battle. The unionist feels that *organized* labor is the only hope against industrial serfdom for the masses of mankind.

The medieval gild included masters (employers) along with journeymen, and was really controlled by the employers. The trade union *began* in England when the Domestic system (§ 403) began to mark more clearly the distinction between employers and journeymen. But under that system, too, all enterprising journeymen hoped to become masters; and so, except on rare occasions, the wage-earners' unions achieved little importance. The sharper division of our present system between capitalist employer and wage-earning workman has made these organizations a main factor in our modern life, first in England and later in all civilized lands.

In 1799 an act of parliament forbade them in England; and until 1825 they were punished by the courts as "conspiracies" under this statute and under the common law. Still, through this period, they grew in strength, — though secret organizations, and, in a measure, revolutionary.

By 1840, socialist doctrine was spreading among the working classes in Europe; and, though vaguely understood, it had much to do with the next period of revolution — to which we now return.

PART VII

CONTINENTAL EUROPE, 1848–1871

(From the Year of Revolutions to the Franco-Prussian War)

CHAPTER XXXV

"THE YEAR OF REVOLUTIONS"

I. IN FRANCE

590. Louis Philippe (§ 563) **liked to be called "the Citizen King."** He walked the streets in the dress of a prosperous shopkeeper, a green cotton umbrella under his arm, and he sent his children to the public schools. He had little understanding, however, of the needs of France, or of the feelings of the masses below the shopkeeping class. For eighteen years (1830–1848) **the favor of the middle class upheld his throne.** Only the richest citizens had any share in political power; but the whole middle class held military power, since it was organized in the National Guards — to which workingmen were not admitted.

591. In the legislature there were two main parties. *Thiers* (§ 562) led the more liberal one, which wished the monarchy to be a figurehead, as in England; *Guizot*, the conservative leader, wanted to leave the king the real executive, and to resist all further liberalizing of the government. (Both Guizot and Thiers were famous historians.)

592. From 1840 to 1848, Guizot was chief minister. France was undergoing rapid industrial growth, and needed tranquillity and reforms. Guizot gave it tranquillity. His ministry was the most stable government that France had known since the

days of Napoleon. But, in his desire for tranquillity, he opposed all reform. Proposals to reduce the enormous salt tax, to extend education, to reform the outgrown postal system, to improve the prisons, to care for youthful criminals, were alike suppressed. He kept France not so much tranquil as stagnant.

Thus, after a time, the bright, brainy public men were nearly all driven into opposition. But Guizot could not be overthrown by lawful means. The franchise was too narrow; and (incorruptible and austere himself) he had organized the vast patronage of the government for public corruption. Less than 200,000 men could vote, and the government had 300,000 offices to buy voters with.[1] At one time, half the legislature held considerable revenues at Guizot's will.

In the matter of *political* reform Thiers' party asked only (1) to forbid the appointment of members of the legislature to salaried offices, and (2) to widen the franchise so that *one man out of twenty* could vote. Guizot smothered both proposals. Finally the Liberals began to appeal to that vast part of the nation that had no vote. They planned a series of mass meetings, to bring public opinion to bear on the legislature. Guizot forbade these meetings — and brought on a revolution.

593. This "Revolution of 1848" *was the work of the class of factory workers* that had been growing up, almost unnoticed by political leaders of either party. Until 1825, when the Industrial Revolution was fairly complete in England, it had not begun upon the continent. Cloth manufactures there were still carried on under the "domestic system." *But in the next ten years*, 5000 power-looms were installed in French factories; and in ten years more, the number had grown to 30,000. By 1845, a large factory population had grown up in cities like Bordeaux, Lyons, Toulouse, and Paris. Moreover, more than

[1] The centralized government appointed not only *national* officials (post officers, custom-house collectors, etc.) but also all *local* officers, like our county treasurers and city police.

the working class then in any other land, the alert, intellectually nimble French workingmen were influenced by the new socialism. Their chief spokesman was *Louis Blanc*, an ardent young editor, who preached especially "*the right to work.*" Every man, he urged, had a right to employment. To insure that right, he wished the nation to establish workshops in different trades and give employment in them to all who wished it and who could not get it elsewhere. (In the end, according to his plan, the workers would manage the workshops.)

Blanc was an unselfish, high-minded man, moved by deep pity for the suffering masses; and his proposals were urged with moderation of word and style. But among his followers there were a few crack-brained enthusiasts and some criminally selfish adventurers; and large numbers of the workingmen had adopted phrases, not only about the "right to work," but also about "the crime of private property," as a sort of religious creed. This class was now to appear as a political power.

In 1848 the Liberals appointed a monster political demonstration in Paris for February 22 — choosing that day in honor of the American celebration. At the last moment the government forbade the meeting. The leaders obeyed and stayed away; but the streets were filled all day with angry crowds, shouting "Down with Guizot!" The National Guards, when called out to disperse the mob, themselves took up the cry. The next day Guizot resigned.

Peace seemed restored; but that night a collision occurred between some troops and the mob; and the Radicals seized the chance. The bodies of a few slain men were paraded through the poorer quarters of the city in carts, while fervid orators called the people to rise against a monarchy that massacred French citizens. By the morning of the 24th, the streets bristled with barricades and the mob was marching on the Tuileries. Louis Philippe fled to England, disguised as a "Mr. Smith." The "February days" saw the end of the thousand-year old Capetian monarchy.

594. The mob had taken up the cry for a republic. Before dispersing, a few liberal members of the legislature had appointed a radical committee as a "**Provisional Government**" — with Lamartine, the poet-historian, as its guiding force. This body of course was to call a convention to make a new constitution; but meantime it must govern France, and especially it must at once restore order, bury the dead, care for the wounded, and secure food for the great city, wherein all ordinary business had ceased, — all this with no police force at its call.

The first session (begun while the mob was still flourishing bloody butcher-knives in the legislative hall) lasted sixty hours. One hundred thousand revolutionists still packed the street without, and "delegations" repeatedly forced their way in, to make wild demands. Said one spokesman: "We demand the extermination of property and of capitalists; the instant establishment of community of goods; the proscription of the rich, the merchants, those of every condition above that of wage-earners; . . . and finally the acceptance of the red flag, to signify to society its defeat, to the people its victory, to all foreign governments invasion."

Lamartine grew faint with exhaustion and want of food. His face was scratched by a bayonet thrust. But his fine courage and wit and persuasive eloquence won victory. To help appease the mob, however, the government hastily adopted a number of radical decrees, writing them hurriedly upon scraps of paper and throwing them from a window to the crowd. *One declared France a Republic.* Another abolished the House of Peers. Still others established manhood suffrage, shortened the working day to ten hours, and *affirmed the duty of the state to give every man a chance to work.*

595. A few days later, the decree recognizing the "right to work" was given more specific meaning by the establishment of "**national workshops**" (on paper) for the unemployed. In the business panic that followed the Revolution, great numbers of men had been thrown out of work. The government now

organized these men in Paris, as they applied, into a "workshop army," in brigades, companies, and squads, — paying full wages to all it could employ and a three-fourths wage to those obliged to remain idle. Over one hundred thousand men, many of them from other cities, were soon enrolled in this way; but, except for a little work on the streets, *the government had no employment ready for such a number.* The experiment was not in any sense a fair trial of the socialistic idea: it was a way of keeping order and of feeding a destitute army of the unemployed.

596. A new "Constituent Assembly," elected by manhood suffrage, met May 4. The Revolution, like that of 1830, had been confined to Paris. The rest of France had not cared to interfere in behalf of Louis Philippe, but it felt no enthusiasm for a republic and it abhorred the "Reds" and the socialists. This, too, was the temper of the Assembly. It accepted the Revolution, but it was bent upon putting down the Radicals. Almost its first work (after making military preparation) was to abolish the workshop army — without notice and without any provision for the absorption of the men into other employments. A conservative French statesman has styled this "a brutal, unjust, blundering end to a foolish experiment." The men of the workshop army rose. They comprised the great body of the workingmen of Paris, and they were aided by their semi-military organization. The conflict raged for four days, — the most terrible struggle that even turbulent Paris had ever witnessed. The superior discipline and equipment of the regular troops crushed the socialists. Twenty thousand men perished in street fighting. Then eleven thousand prisoners were slaughtered in cold blood or transported for life — another of those cruel and senseless "White Terrors" which develop bitter class hatreds.

597. The Assembly now turned to its work of making a constitution. The document was made public in November. *It was not submitted to a popular vote.* It provided for a legisla-

ture of one house, and for a four-year president, both to be chosen by manhood suffrage. A month later, **Louis Napoleon,** a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, **was elected president** of this "Second French Republic" by an overwhelming majority.

LOUIS NAPOLEON AT BOULOGNE. — This painting by Carl Deutsch commemorates a ludicrous attempt by Napoleon to arouse rebellion in his favor during the rule of Louis Philippe. After this "invasion," he was kept in prison for some years.

Napoleon's political capital was his name. A group of brilliant propagandists of whom, strangely enough, Thiers was chief, had created a "Napoleonic legend," representing the rule of the First Napoleon as a period of glory and prosperity, broken only by wars forced upon France by the jealousy of other rulers. These ideas had become a blind faith for great masses in France. Louis Napoleon had long believed that he was destined to revive the rule of his family. Twice in the early years of Louis Philippe's reign he had tried to stir up a Napoleonic revolution, only to become a laughing-stock to Europe. But now to the peasantry and the middle class, alarmed by the specter of socialism, his name seemed the symbol of order.

II. CENTRAL EUROPE IN '48

598. 'Forty-eight was "the year of revolutions." In January, Metternich, now an old man, wrote to a friend, "The

REFERENCE
Germans
Czechs
Slovaks
Ruthenians
Poles
Magyars-Hungary
Slovenes
Serbo-Croats
Italians
Roumanians
GERMANY
RUSSIA
SAXONY
BOHEMIA
(Czechs)
MORAVIA
SILESIA
GALICIA
(Poles)
(Ruthenians)
BAVARIA
LOWER
UPPER
AUSTRIA
(Germans)
STYRIA
SALZBURG
TYROL
CARINTHIA
TRENTINO
(Italians)
VENETIA
KUSTENLAND
CARNIOLA
(Slovenes)
CROATIA
SLAVONIA
(Slovaks)
HUNGARY
(Magyars)
TRANSYLVANIA
(Roumanians)
BUKOWINA
ROUMANIA
SERVIA
BOSNIA
HERZEGOVINA
MONTENEGRO
DALMATIA
(Serbs)
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
Prague
Pilsen
Iglau
Budweis
Olmutz
Brünn
Troppan
Krakow
Kashau
Czernowitz
Tokay
Erlau
Komorn
Gran
Raab
BUDAPEST
VIENNA
Neustadt
Salzburg
Innsbruck
Graz
Trent
Laibach
Agram
Karlstadt
Trieste
Istria
Venice
Zara
Florence
Ragusa
Klausenburg
Kronstadt
Versecz
Pancsova
BELGRADE
Danube R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Theiss R.
Maros R.
Temes R.
Pruth R.
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Sereth R.
San R.
Vistula R.
Oder R.
Elbe R.
Inn R.
Rhine R.
Po R.
Vitz R.
Kuros R.
Rhine R.
10
15
20
25
50
45
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE IN PART
THE DISTRIBUTION OF RACES IN
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
200
L.L. POATES, ENG., N.Y.

world is very sick. The one thing certain is that tremendous changes are coming." A month later, **the February rising in Paris gave the signal for March risings in other lands.** Metternich fled from Vienna hidden in a laundry cart; and all over Europe thrones tottered — except in stable free England on the west, and in stable despotic Russia and Turkey on the east. Within a few days, in Holland, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden, to save their crowns, the kings granted new constitutions and many liberties. In every one of the German states, large or small, the rulers did the like. So, too, in Italy in the leading states, — Sardinia, Tuscany, Rome, and Naples. In all these countries the administration passed for a time to the hands of liberal ministries pledged to reform.

A. The Revolution in the Austrian Empire

599. March 13, two weeks after the French rising, the students of the University of Vienna and the populace of the city rose in street riots, **calling for a constitution for Austria.** The emperor promised this and other reforms, and appointed a liberal ministry.

But the Austrian Empire was a vast conglomerate. It included many peoples and several distinct states. The Austrians proper were Germans. They made the bulk of the inhabitants in the old duchy of Austria, and they were the ruling class elsewhere in the Empire. Still they made up less than one fourth of all the inhabitants. In Bohemia *the bulk* of the people were the *native Slavs* (Czechs); and in the eastern half of the Empire, the Hungarians were dominant. *Hungary itself, however, was also a conglomerate state.* In its *border* districts, the *Slav* peoples (Croats, Serbs, Slavonians) made the larger part of the population.

600. In Bohemia and Hungary, the March risings were not merely for constitutional government but also for Bohemian and Hungarian home rule. The emperor skillfully conciliated both states by granting constitutional governments with a large

measure of home rule and the official use of their own languages (instead of German); and then he used the time so gained to crush national movements in Italy (§§ 608 ff.).

He had no intention, however, of keeping his sworn promises, and *race jealousy* quickly played into his hand. The German Liberals dreaded Slav rule, especially in Bohemia, where many Germans lived. Soon, disturbances there between the two races gave the emperor excuse to interfere; and, in July (the army now ready) he replaced the constitution he had just given to Bohemia by military rule. Alarmed at this sign of reaction the Radicals rose again in Vienna, and got possession of the city (October); but the triumphant army (recalled from Bohemia) captured the capital after a savage bombardment. Then absolutism was restored in the central government also.

601. Hungary remained to be dealt with. Here, too, race jealousies aided despotism. The Slavs wanted independence from the Hungarians; and if they had to be subject at all, they preferred German rule from distant Vienna rather than Hungarian rule from Budapest. The Hungarians discovered that the emperor had been fomenting a rebellion of the Croats against them; and accordingly they declared Hungary a republic, chose the hero *Kossuth* president, and waged a gallant war for full independence. But the Tsar, in accordance with the compact between the monarchs of the Holy Alliance, sent a Russian army of 150,000 men to aid Austria, and Hungary was crushed (April–August, 1849).

It remained only for Austria to reëstablish her authority in Germany, which had been left for a time to the Liberals.

B. In Germany

602. Even Prussia in '48 had its scenes of blood and slaughter. In Berlin, from March 13 to March 18, excited middle-class crowds thronged the streets; and on the last of these days, in some way never clearly understood, a sharp conflict took place with the troops. The army inflicted terrible slaughter

on the unorganized citizens; but Frederick William IV was neither resolute enough nor cold-hearted enough to follow up his victory. To pacify the people, he sent into temporary exile his brother William, who had commanded the troops; and he took part in a procession in honor of the slain, wearing the red, gold, and black colors of the German patriots (§ 552). Then he called a Prussian parliament to draw up a constitution, and declared his purpose to put himself at the head of the movement for German national union.

603. Meantime, a "people's movement" for German unity had got under way. Early in March, prominent German Liberals gathered at Heidelberg and called a German National Assembly; and **May 18 at Frankfort the first representative Assembly of Germany came together.** But unhappily even this gathering did not really represent the whole German people, but only a small middle class of "intellectuals." The nobility — with a few rare exceptions — held wholly aloof, and the peasantry were too slavish to have any sympathy with the movement. (Bismarck, then a reactionary young Prussian noble, said later that it would have been easy to rally the Prussian peasants to rescue the king from Liberal influences in Berlin.) And even the middle-class merchants cared for union mainly in order to get rid of vexatious tariffs between the various states.

The Assembly was made up, too, of pedants and theorists, inexperienced in public affairs; and it wasted six precious months in debating a bill of rights — while all chance of winning rights was slipping away. Over all Germany the commercial class was growing hostile, because of the long-continued business panic; and the vacillating Prussian king had dissolved the new Prussian parliament he had called — *giving* to Prussia instead a very conservative "divine-right" constitution. In other German states, too, the rulers were overthrowing liberal ministries that had been set up in the March days.

In October, the Frankfort Assembly took up the work of

making a *national* constitution. It wrangled through the fall and winter (1) as to whether the new Germany should be a republic or a monarchy, and (2) whether it should or should not include despotic Austria. Meantime Austria at last got her hands free, and announced bluntly that she would permit no union into which she did not enter (with all her non-German provinces).

604. Then the Radicals gave up the impossible republic, and at last the Assembly **decided for a consolidated "German Empire,"** offering the imperial crown to Frederick William of Prussia. But it was six months too late. The Prussian king felt a growing aversion to the movement which, a few months before, he had called "the glorious German revolution"; and, after some hesitation, he declined the crown "bespattered with the blood and mire of revolution." **In despair the Radicals then resorted to arms to set up a republic.** They were promptly crushed; the National Assembly vanished in the spring of 1849; and many German Liberals, like Carl Schurz, fled, for their lives, to America. *The "people's" attempt to make a German nation had failed.*

605. Frederick William then put himself at the head of a half-hearted **"league" of twenty-eight princes** of North Germany. Austria insisted that this league dissolve. Austrian and Prussian troops met, but the Prussian army was ill-prepared; and finally Frederick William made ignominious submission in a conference at Olmütz (November, 1850). *Austria then restored the Germanic Confederation of 1815.*

C. The Revolution of '48 in Italy

606. Italy had been in fragments for more than thirteen hundred years — though there had always been ardent patriots to dream of a new Italian nation. Napoleon reduced the number of petty states somewhat; and when the European coalition was struggling with Napoleon, an English force landed at Genoa, with its flag inscribed "Italian Liberty and Independ-

ence." At the same time Austrian proclamations announced to the Italians, "We come to you as liberators. . . . You shall be an independent nation."

The Congress of Vienna ignored these promises. Even the Napoleonic improvements were undone. Lombardy and Venetia became Austrian provinces, and most of the rest of the peninsula was handed over to Austrian influence. Bourbon rule was restored in the south over the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Dukes, dependent upon Austria, were set up in Tuscany, Modena, and Parma. Between these duchies and Naples lay the restored Papal States, with the government in close sympathy with Austria. True, the northwest was given back to the Kingdom of Sardinia under a native line of monarchs, to whom the people were loyally attached; but even there until 1848 the government was a military despotism. "Italy," said Metternich complacently, "is a mere geographical expression."

607. The story of the Italian revolutions of 1820 and the Holy Alliance has been told. In 1830, after the July Revolution in Paris, new revolutions broke out in the Papal States and the small duchies, but these movements also were soon put down by Austria. The ten years from 1830 to 1840, however, did see the organization of the widespread secret society, "**Young Italy**," by *Mazzini*. Mazzini was a lawyer of Genoa and a revolutionary enthusiast who was to play, in freeing Italy, a part somewhat like that of Garrison and Phillips in preparing for the American Civil War. His words and writings worked wonderfully upon the younger Italians of the educated classes for *a united Italian Republic*.

608. Thus when the revolutions of 1848 broke out, Italy was ready to strike. In 1820–1821, the extremities of the peninsula had been shaken; in 1830, the middle states; in 1848, there was no foot of Italian soil not convulsed; and this time the revolutionists sought *union* as ardently as *freedom*. On the news of Metternich's flight, Milan and Venice drove out their Austrian

garrisons. Then Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, gave his people a constitution and put himself at the head of a movement to expel Austria. The pope and the rulers of Tuscany and Naples promised loyal aid. Venice and other small states in the north voted enthusiastically for incorporation into Sardinia.

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

But the king of Naples was dishonest in his promises; and even the liberal and patriotic pope (Pius IX) was not ready to break fully with Austria. Except for a few thousand volunteer soldiers, Charles Albert got no help from Italy south of Lombardy; and, July 15, 1848, he was defeated at *Custozza*. Then the movement passed into the hands of the Radicals. Venice and Florence each set up a republic; and in February, 1849, the citizens of Rome, led by Mazzini, drove away the pope and proclaimed the "Roman Republic."

These republican movements succeeded, for the hour, because Austria was busied in Bohemia and Hungary (§ 600). But soon a strong Austrian army was sent to Italy. Charles Albert took the field once more, but was defeated decisively at *Novara* (March, 1849); and Venice was captured in August after gallant resistance. Louis Napoleon restored the pope to his Roman principality, and left a French garrison there for his protection during the next twenty years, to 1870.

But Italy had failed only because of crushing interference from without; and the splendid attempt had proved that "United Italy" had become the passionate faith of a whole people. This well-grounded faith for a free Italy, and for a free Europe, was finely spoken to the world by Mazzini, with splendid courage, in the very hour of discouraging defeat. Mazzini had barely escaped with his life; but in 1849, from his refuge in England, while less fortunate associates were dying in Italy on scaffolds and under tortures in dungeons, he uttered to the exultant forces of reaction a clear-sounding challenge:

"Our victory is certain; I declare it with the profoundest conviction, here in exile, and precisely when monarchical reaction appears most insolently secure. What matters the triumph of an hour? What matters it that by concentrating all your means of action, availing yourselves of every artifice, turning to your account those prejudices and jealousies of race which yet for a while endure, and spreading distrust, egotism, and corruption, you have repulsed our forces and restored the former order of things? *Can you restore men's faith in it*, or do you think you can long maintain it by brute force alone, now that all faith in it is extinct? . . . Threatened and undermined on every side, *can you hold all Europe forever in a state of siege?*"

For Further Reading on 1848. — Andrews and Seignobos have good accounts and Phillips' *European History, 1815–1899*, is excellent.

CHAPTER XXXVI

FROM THE YEAR OF REVOLUTIONS TO THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

609. Except to the few men of faith, the risings of '48 seemed to have been in vain. True, feudalism was at last gone forever, even from Austria, and the Holy Alliance was finally disrupted by the rivalry between Prussia and Austria. But in government, the "restoration" appeared complete. The Revolution had closed in Italy with Novara (March,),1849 in the Austrian realms with the fall of the Hungarian Republic (July, 1849), and in Germany with the "humiliation of Olmütz" (November, 1850). In France it was swiftly going, and was to disappear in 1851 (§ 611). For the next generation, interest on the continent centered in three lands, — France, Italy, Germany. And of these only Italy made true progress.

I. FRANCE: THE SECOND EMPIRE, 1852–1870

610. In 1830 and in 1848, France had led liberal Europe; but for the next twenty years after she had crushed so bloodily the workingmen of Paris, her story is one of shame. Louis Napoleon, President of the Republic, was constantly at loggerheads with the Assembly. From the first, he plotted to overthrow the republican constitution — to which he had sworn fidelity — and to make himself master of France. The Assembly played into his hand. In 1849 it passed a reactionary law which disfranchised a large part of the workingmen of the cities. *After the law had been passed*, Napoleon criticized it vehemently, so as to appear to the workingmen as their champion. At the same time, the discontent of the artisans made the middle class fear a revolution; and that class turned to Napoleon as the sole hope for order. Thus the chief elements in the state dreaded the approaching close of Napoleon's presidency.

611. The constitution forbade a reëlection; and an attempt to amend this clause was defeated by the Assembly. Thus

that body had now seriously offended both the artisan class and the middle class, and Napoleon could overthrow it with impunity. All important offices were put into the hands of his tools and his trusted friends; and **on December 2, 1851, he carried out the most striking *coup d'état* in all French history.**

During the preceding night, some eighty men whose opposition was especially feared — journalists, generals, and leaders in the Assembly — were privately arrested and imprisoned; and all the printing offices in the city were seized by Napoleon's troops. In the morning the amazed people found the city posted with startling placards announcing the dissolution of the Assembly and the establishment of a new government with Napoleon at its head. The Assembly tried to meet, but was dispersed. During the following days a few Radicals began to raise barricades here and there in the streets; but these were carried by the troops with pitiless slaughter; batches of prisoners were shot down after surrender; the Radical districts of France were put under martial law; and thousands of men were transported to penal settlements, virtually without trial.

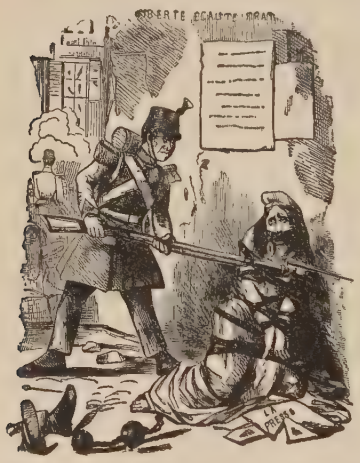
A few days later, the country was invited to vote Yes or No upon a new constitution making Napoleon president for ten years with dictatorial power. France "ratified" this proposal by a vote of seven and a half millions out of eight millions; and in November of 1852, *a nearly unanimous vote made the daring adventurer Emperor of the French*, under the title *Napoleon III*. (The Bonapartists counted the son of Napoleon I as Napoleon II, though he never reigned.)

612. The "Second Empire" was modeled closely upon that of Napoleon I. During its early years, *political life* was suspended. The people, it is true, elected a Legislative Chamber, but that body could consider no bill that had not been put before it by the Emperor and his Council. Its function was merely to register edicts.

At the election of a "legislature," too, the government presented for every position an "official candidate," for whom

the way was made easy. Opposing candidates could not hold public meetings, nor hire the distribution of circulars. They were seriously hampered even in the use of the mails, and their placards were torn down by the police, or industriously covered by the official bill-poster for the government candidate. The ballot boxes, too, were supervised by the *police*. Moreover Napoleon subsidized a large number of newspapers, and suppressed all that were unfavorable to him.

Personal liberty, also, was wholly at the mercy of the government. The servants of prominent men were likely to be the paid spies of the police. Under the "Law of Public Security" (1858), Napoleon could *legally* send "suspects," *without trial*, to linger through a slow death in tropical penal colonies (as he had been doing *illegally* before).



"France is Tranquil" (a favorite phrase of Napoleon III). — A cartoon in *Harper's Magazine*.

Still Napoleon seems honestly to have deceived himself into the belief that he was "a democratic chief." His government, he insisted, rested upon manhood suffrage in elections and plebiscites. In partial recompense for loss of liberty, too, he gave to France great material progress. Industry was encouraged. Leading cities were rebuilt upon a more magnificent scale; and Paris, with widened streets, shaded boulevards, and glorious public buildings, was made the most beautiful capital in the world. Asylums and hospitals were founded; schools were encouraged, and school libraries were established; and vast public works throughout the Empire afforded employment to the working classes. France secured her full share of

the increase of wealth and comfort that came to the world so rapidly during those years. The shame is that France was bribed to accept the despicable despotism of Napoleon by this prosperity — and by the tinsel sham of "glory" in war.

613. In 1852 Napoleon had declared, "The Empire is Peace"; but, in order to keep the favor of the army and of the populace by reviving the glories of the First Empire, **he was impelled to war.** For forty years, — ever since the fall of Napoleon I, — Europe had been free from great wars. Napoleon III reintroduced them, and for a time his victories dazzled France, especially in the *Crimean* and the *Italian* wars.

In 1854 Russia and Turkey were at war in the Black Sea. Through Napoleon's intrigues, France and England joined Turkey. The struggle was waged mainly in Crimea, and took its name from that peninsula. Russia was defeated. No important permanent results were achieved; but Napoleon gathered representatives of all the leading Powers at the Congress of Paris to make peace, and France seemed again to have become the arbiter in European politics.

In 1859 Napoleon joined the Kingdom of Sardinia in a war against Austria to free Italy. He won striking victories at Magenta and Solferino, near the scene of the early triumphs of the First Napoleon over the same foe, — and then he made unexpected peace, to the dismay and wrath of the half-freed Italians. For his pay, Napoleon forced Italy to cede him the provinces of Nice and Savoy (§ 545 *b*).

614. But the second half of Napoleon's rule was a series of humiliations and blunders. (1) Napoleon favored the Southern Confederacy in the American Civil War, and repeatedly urged England, in vain, to unite with him in acknowledging it as an independent state. (2) In 1863 he entered upon a disastrous scheme to overthrow the Mexican Republic and to set up as "Emperor of Mexico" his protégé, Maximilian, an Austrian prince, brother of the Austrian Emperor. Napoleon expected to secure a larger share of the Mexican trade for France,

and to forward a union of the Latin peoples of Europe and America, under French leadership. His act was a defiance of the Monroe Doctrine of the United States, but his purpose seemed triumphant until the close of the American Civil War. Then the government of the United States demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico. Napoleon was obliged to comply. (Soon afterwards Maximilian was overthrown by the Mexicans, captured, and shot.) (3) More serious still were a number of checks in Napoleon's attempts on the Rhine frontier. That story will be told a little later.

II. THE MAKING OF ITALY, 1849–1861

615. Meantime Italy had been made. The night after Novara (§ 608), Charles Albert abdicated the crown of Sardinia, and his son, **Victor Emmanuel II**, became king. The young prince was an intense patriot. A popular story told how, as he rallied his shattered regiment at the close of the fatal day of Novara, and withdrew sullenly from the bloody field, covering the retreat, he shook his clenched fist at the victorious Austrian ranks with the solemn vow, — "By the Almighty, my Italy shall yet be!"

The new king was put at once to a sharp test. His father had given to the kingdom a liberal constitution (§ 608). Austria demanded that Victor abolish it. If he would do so, he could have easy terms of peace, with Austrian military support against any revolt. At the same time the inexperienced Sardinian parliament was embarrassing him by foolish opposition and criticism. Victor Emmanuel nobly refused the Austrian bribe, and had to submit to severe terms from Austria and a heavy indemnity. But a frank appeal to his people for support gave him a new loyal parliament, which ratified the peace, and his conduct won him the title of "the Honest King."

616. Austria, which Sardinia wished to expel from Italy, had 37,000,000 people. Sardinia was poor and had only 5,000,000 people. **The king and his great minister, Cavour, bent all**

energies to strengthening Sardinia for another struggle and to securing allies outside Italy. Victor Emmanuel was a soldier. Cavour was the statesman whose brain was to guide the making of Italy. The king's part was loyally and steadily to support him. Exiles and fugitive Liberals from other Italian states were welcomed at the Sardinian court and were often given high office there, *so that the government seemed to belong to the whole peninsula.* Cavour carried through the parliament many social reforms; and, in 1854, he sent a small but excellent Sardinian army to assist the allies against Russia in the Crimean War (§ 613). Many friendly Liberals condemned this last act as immoral. But Cavour at least had a political reason. He wished to prove that Sardinia was a military power, and to win a place for her in European conferences.

At the Congress of Paris in 1856 this policy bore fruit. Cavour sat there in full equality with the representatives of the Great Powers; and, despite Austria's protests, he secured attention for a convincing statement of the needs of Italy. Upon all minds he impressed forcefully *that Italian unrest could never cease, nor European peace be secure, so long as Austria remained in the peninsula.*

617. Three years later this diplomatic game was won. As a young man, Louis Napoleon had been involved in the plots of 1830 for Italian freedom. Cavour now drew him into a secret alliance. In return for a pledge of Nice and Savoy, which had once been French, Napoleon promised to come to the aid of Sardinia *if Cavour could provoke Austria into beginning a war.*

Austria played into Cavour's hand by demanding, as a war ultimatum, that Italy reduce her army. Napoleon at once entered Italy, declaring his purpose to free it "from the Alps to the Adriatic." His victories of Magenta and Solferino (§ 613) drove Austria forever out of Lombardy, which was promptly incorporated into Sardinia. *This was the first step in the expansion of Sardinia into Italy.* The population of the

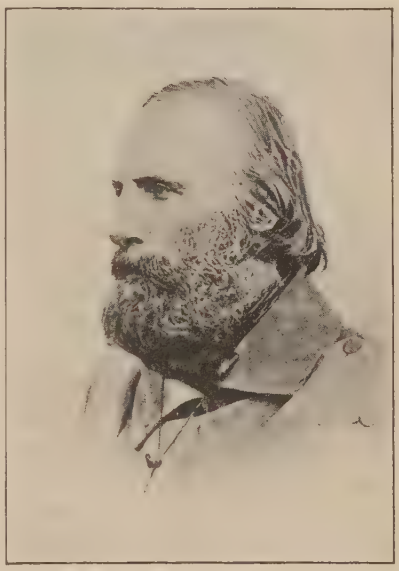
growing state had risen at a stroke from five millions to eight. *Venetia remained in Austria's hands*, but Napoleon suddenly made peace. He had no wish that Italy should be one strong, consolidated nation; and he began to see that a *free* Italy would be a *united* Italy.

618. The Italians felt that they had been betrayed by "the infamous treaty";[1] but more had already been accomplished than the mere freeing of Lombardy. At the beginning of the war, **the peoples of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany had** driven out their dukes (dependents of Austria), and **voted for incorporation in Sardinia.** At the peace, Napoleon had promised Austria that the dukes should be restored, but he had stipulated that Austria should not use force against the duchies. For eight months this situation continued, while Cavour played a second delicate diplomatic game with Napoleon, finally persuading him to leave the matter to a plebiscite. In March, 1860, the three duchies by almost unanimous vote declared again for annexation. *This was the second step in expansion*, — and the first example in Europe of "self-determination," as we now use the phrase. Sardinia was enlarged once more by one third. It had now become a state of eleven million people.

CAVOUR. — Desmaison's lithograph

[1] Read James Russell Lowell's *Villafranca*, to get an idea of the wrath of freedom-loving men at Napoleon's betrayal.

619. The next advance was due in its beginning to Garibaldi,[1] who had now given his allegiance loyally to Victor Emmanuel. In May, 1860, Garibaldi sailed from Genoa with a thousand red-shirted fellow-adventurers, to arouse rebellion in Sicily. Cavour thought it needful to make a show of trying to stop the expedition; but Garibaldi landed safely, won Sicily and South Italy almost without bloodshed, and, with universal acclaim, proclaimed Victor Emmanuel "King of Italy."



GARIBALDI.

By this third step, "Sardinia" had expanded into "Italy," with a population of twenty-two millions. In February of 1861 the first "Italian parliament" met at Turin and enthusiastically confirmed the establishment of the "Kingdom of Italy." Cavour's statesmanship was triumphant. Five months later, the great minister was dead, broken down by the terrible strain of his work. His last words were, "Italy is made — all is safe."

[1] JOSEPH GARIBALDI (1807–1882) had been active in the plots of secret societies against Austrian rule before 1830. When the revolutions of that year failed, he escaped to South America, to fight for liberty in various struggles in that continent. 'Forty-eight called him back to Italy, where he fought, beside Mazzini, for a Roman republic. Fleeing to New York, he earned a living for some years as a candle-maker. He came back to Italy to fight for freedom in the war of 1859 and the text tells his famous exploit of 1860. Ten years later he fought for France against Prussian conquest (§ 681), and then spent the remaining years of his life on a small country estate.

Rome, with some adjoining territory remained the dominion of the pope; and Venetia was still Austrian. The acquisition of these two provinces by Italy was to be intertwined with the making of Germany.

For Further Reading. — Bolton King's *Italian Unity* is the best single work. Good accounts will be found in Probyn's *Italy*, Bolton King's *Mazzini*, Dicey's *Victor Emmanuel*, or Cesaresco's *Cavour*. Hayes, Andrews, Seignobos, all contain brief treatments.

Exercise. — Trace the expansion of Sardinia on map facing p. 668.

III. THE MAKING OF GERMANY, 1861–1871

620. Napoleon III ruled France for some twenty years. During the first ten years, Cavour made the Kingdom of Italy. During the next ten, Bismarck, by far less justifiable methods, was to make a German Empire.

" 'Forty-nine " had shown Prussia as the only nucleus in that day for a German nation; and even from Prussia nothing could be expected so long as Frederick William IV reigned. **But in 1861 that king was succeeded by his brother, William I.** This was the prince who had been banished for a time in 1848 to satisfy the Liberals. That party had nicknamed him " Prince Cartridge." He was a conservative of the old school, and he had bitterly opposed the mild constitutional concessions of his brother. But he had tingled with indignation at the humiliation of Olmütz; and he hoped with all his heart for German unity. He believed that this unity could be made only after expelling Austria from Germany. To expel Austria would be the work of the Prussian army.

621. **The Prussian army** differed from all others in Europe. Elsewhere the armies were of the old class, — standing bodies of mercenaries and professional soldiers, reinforced at need by raw levies from the population. The Napoleonic wars had resulted in a different system for Prussia. In 1807, after Jena, Napoleon had required Prussia to reduce her army to forty-two thousand men. The Prussian government, however, had

evaded Napoleon's purpose to keep her weak, by passing fresh bodies of Prussians through the regiments at short intervals. Each soldier was given only two years' service. Part of each regiment was dismissed each year and its place filled with new levies. These in turn took on regular military discipline, while those who had passed out were held as a reserve.

After the Napoleonic wars, Prussia kept up this system. The plan was to make the entire male population a trained army, but it had not been fully followed up. Since 1815, population had doubled, but the army had been left upon the basis of that period. No arrangements had been made for organizing new regiments; and so many thousand men each year reached military age without being summoned to the ranks.

King William's first efforts were directed to increasing the number of regiments so as to accommodate 60,000 new recruits each year. *To do this required a large increase in taxes.* But the Prussian parliament (Landtag) was jealous of military power in the hands of a sovereign hostile to constitutional liberty, and it resolutely refused money. Then William found a minister to carry out his will, parliament or no.

622. This man, who was to be the German Cavour, was **Otto von Bismarck**. Thirteen years earlier, Count Bismarck had been known as a grim and violent leader of the "Junkers," the extreme conservative party made up of young landed aristocrats. When he was announced as the head of a new ministry, the Liberals ominously prophesied a *coup d'état*. Something *like* a *coup d'état* did take place. William stood steadfastly by his minister; and **for four years Bismarck ruled and collected taxes unconstitutionally**. Over and over again, the Landtag demanded his dismissal, and the Liberals threatened to hang him, — as very probably they would have done if power had fallen to them by another revolution. Bismarck in turn railed at them contemptuously as "mere pedants," and told them bluntly that the making of Germany was to be "a matter not of speechifying and parliamentary majorities, but of blood

tion — not a loose league but a true federal state with much the same constitution as the later German Empire. The second was made up of four South German states (Bavaria and Württemberg the principal ones), organized like the old Confederation — of which indeed it was a survival.

c. To fuse these two German leagues into one was the main purpose of Bismarck's third war. Before both the preceding struggles Bismarck had tricked Louis Napoleon into giving him a free hand — allowing Napoleon "to deceive himself" with the expectation that Prussia would permit France to annex Rhine territory in compensation for Prussia's gains. Napoleon now wrote to Bismarck, suggesting that France annex part of Bavaria. Bismarck was already planning war with France, and this proposal delivered Napoleon into his hands. He revealed it privately to the South German states, and it *terrified them into a secret alliance* with Prussia. Then Bismarck hurried on the clash with France with characteristic craft, not hesitating even to use practical forgery.[1]

BISMARCK.

624. After all, however, Bismarck's trickery succeeded only because of the folly and envy of the rulers of France. French militarism looked with jealousy upon the rise of a German nation; and Napoleon was bent desperately upon retrieving his tottering reputation by dazzling victories. Thus Bismarck

[1] See the story in some detail in West's *Modern Progress*, 420–1.

found it possible to irritate the French government into declaring war (July 19, 1870).

True, a few French statesmen had kept their heads, declaring that France was not ready for war. But Napoleon's war-minister answered such objections by the boast, "We are thrice ready, down to the last soldier's shoestring"; and France, which for centuries had never been beaten by *one* foe, shouted light-heartedly, "On to Berlin." The first attempts to move troops, however, showed that the French government was honeycombed with corruption and inefficiency.

625. Marked, indeed, was the contrast between this French inefficiency and the "German efficiency," now revealed to Europe. Twelve days after the declaration of war (August 1), Germany had massed one and a quarter million of trained troops on the Rhine. The world then had never seen such perfection of military preparation. Carlyle wrote, "It took away the breath of Europe." The Prussians won victory after victory. One of the two main French armies — 173,000 men — was securely shut up in *Metz;* September 2, the other, 130,000 men, was captured at *Sedan*, with Napoleon in person;[1] and the Prussians pressed on to the siege of Paris.

626. Out of the war clouds emerged a new German Empire. In the preceding war, after Sadowa, Bismarck suddenly found himself the idol of the Prussian Liberals who had been reviling and opposing him. When military autocracy had apparently proved profitable, they abandoned their old opposition to it. So now all Germany. The South-German peoples went wild with enthusiasm for Prussia. By a series of swift treaties, while this feeling was at its height, Bismarck brought them all into the North German Confederation. Then he arranged that the king of Bavaria and other leading German rulers should ask King William to take the title of *German Emperor*. And on January 18, 1871, while the siege of Paris was still going on, in

[1] Napoleon remained a prisoner of war for a few months, and soon afterward died in England.

the ancient palace of French kings at Versailles, William solemnly assumed that title.

627. Germany had been made not merely by "blood and iron," but also by fraud and falsehood. One can hardly tell the story of such gigantic audacity and successful trickery without seeming to glorify it. Bismarck did not work for low or personal ends. The national union which he made had to come before the German people could reach the best elements

PROCLAMATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE. — From the painting by Von Werner. Compare with the humiliation of the German envoys in the same place forty years later, when that Empire, born of war, had been destroyed by another war of its making; see plate facing p. 702.

of modern life. But he sought his end by base means. His *methods* were distinctly meaner than Cavour's; and his success tended to lower the tone of morality among nations. "Treaties," he said, "are scraps of paper"; and again, "when Prussia's power is in question I know no law." His policy of fraud and violence, too, while successful at the moment, left Germany troubled with burning questions, and burdened with the crushing weight of militarism and with the rule of the police and the drill sergeant in private life (§ 698). In his hate for democracy and in his contempt for international morality, he started the

new Empire upon the road which, forty years later, plunged it into the abyss.

628. Bismarck's wars at least brought permanent good to Italy. That country was allied to Prussia in the "Six Weeks' War," and the treaty of peace gave her Venetia. Then at the outbreak of war in 1870, Napoleon was obliged to withdraw his garrison from Rome (§ 608). Victor Emmanuel's troops at once marched into the ancient capital, and the Roman citizens ratified this consummation of the union of Italy by an almost unanimous vote.

The later story of France and Germany can be best understood after studying in England the growth of constitutional government which these lands were now to imitate.

For Further Reading. — Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, 240–306. Headlam's *Bismarck*, and his *Germany from 1815 to 1889*, are excellent.

PART VIII

ENGLAND SINCE 1815

(Reform without Revolution)

England in the nineteenth century served as a ***political model*** *for Europe. The English* ***developed*** *constitutional monarchy, parliamentary government, and safeguards for personal liberty. Other nations have only* ***imitated*** *them.* —Seignobos.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE FIRST REFORM BILL, 1832

629. In the eighteenth century, we have seen, England acquired a world-empire and gave the world the Industrial Revolution. But, in political matters, that century was singularly uninteresting. Except for *accidental* progress in the matter of ministerial government (§ 434), **England went backward politically**. *Parliament* had never been democratic in make-up, and, after 1688, it *shriveled up into the selfish organ of a small class of landlords.*

Ireland sent 100 members to the House of Commons, and Scotland 45. Each of the 40 English counties, large or small, sent two. The remaining four hundred came from "parliamentary boroughs" in England and Wales. The old kings had summoned representatives from whatever boroughs they pleased; but a borough which had once sent representatives had the right, by custom, to send them always afterward. At first the power to "summon" new boroughs was used wisely to recognize new towns as they grew up. But the Tudor monarchs, in order better to manage parliaments, had summoned repre-

sentatives from many little hamlets — "*pocket boroughs*," owned or controlled by some lord of the court party.

This bad condition was made worse by natural causes. In Elizabeth's time the south of England, with its fertile soil and its ports on the Channel, had been the most populous part; but in the eighteenth century, with the growth of manufactures, population shifted to the coal and iron regions of the north and west, where great cities grew up, like Birmingham, Bradford, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield (§ 582). And these *new* towns had no representation in parliament.

630. Conditions had become unspeakably unfair and corrupt. *Dunwich* was under the waves of the North Sea, which had gradually encroached upon the land. But a descendant of an ancient owner of the soil possessed the right to row out with the sheriff on election day and choose himself as representative to parliament for the submerged town. *Old Sarum* was once a cathedral city on the summit of a lofty hill; but new Sarum, or Salisbury, a few miles away on the plain, drew the population and the cathedral to itself until not a vestige of the old town remained. Then the grandfather of William Pitt bought the soil where Old Sarum had stood, and it was for this "pocket borough" that the great Pitt entered parliament. So, *Gatton* was a park, and *Corfe Castle* a picturesque ruin, — each with a representative in parliament. Bosseney in Cornwall had three cottages. It had, however, nine voters, eight of them in one family; and these voters elected two members to parliament. On the other hand, Portsmouth, with 46,000 people, had only 103 voters.

In the many small "pocket boroughs," the few voters, dependent upon a neighboring landlord, always elected his nominee. Large places had sometimes a like character. In 1828, at Newark, the Duke of Newcastle drove out 587 tenants who had ventured to vote against his candidate. ("Have I not a right," said he, "to do what I like with my own?") So the Duke of Norfolk filled eleven seats; and **fully two thirds of**

WESTMINSTER ABBEY (really a cathedral, not an abbey), England's "Temple of Fame." This view shows the west front and (on the left) the north transept. Opposite that transept, and not shown here, is the south transept containing the "Poets' Corner," true holy ground for all English-speaking peoples. Lowell and Longfellow are commemorated there — a fact that gives this "hall of fame" a significance wider than national.

HUMORS OF A COUNTRY ELECTION, — the third of a series of four plates of that name by Hogarth (plate facing p. 385) in 1755, just after a bitterly contested election. The English franchise was as fantastic as it was limited, — complicated by ancient customs. (Thus Weymouth, with only a few score voters in all, had twenty, some of them paupers, whose right came from a claim to share in a sixpence part of the rent of some ancient village property!) Hogarth here represents a polling scene at a late stage. The blind and maimed from the almshouse are being brought to the polls. The voter in the foreground is plainly an imbecile and unable to walk. Over his shoulder the man in a cocked hat and laces is trying to recall to him the name of his candidate. Somewhat in the background we have a symbolic representation of *Britannia* in her broken-down coach of state, helpless, while coachman and footman gamble at cards.

With all this keen satire, Hogarth was a true lover of beauty. This plate, spite of its ugly theme, has a lovely setting and many gracious lines.

the whole House of Commons were really the appointees of great landlords.

631. Many other places were "rotten boroughs." That is, the few voters *sold* the seats in parliament as a regular part of their private revenue. In 1766 Sudbury advertised in the public press that its parliamentary seat was for sale to the highest bid-

Canvassing for Votes in "Guzzledown." — This is Number 2 in Hogarth's "Humors of a Country Election." Cf. cut opposite.

der. Moreover, all voting was viva-voce, and the polls were held open for two weeks — so that there was every chance to sell and buy votes.

The House of Commons had become hardly more representative than the House of Lords. As the English historian Macaulay said, the "boasted representative system" of England had decayed into "a monstrous system of *represented ruins* and *unrepresented cities*."

When Lord Russell, a little later (§ 635), introduced the Reform bill, he described in his speech the amazement of an (imaginary) stranger who came to England to study its boasted system of representative government. He would be shown, said Lord Russell, a ruined mound [Old Sarum], and be told that that mound sent two representatives to parliament. He would be taken to a stone wall with three niches in it, and be told that those niches sent two representatives to parliament. . . . And then he might chance to see populous towns full of human enterprise and industry, but he would be told that those towns sent *no* representatives to parliament.

632. One reason why no reform had been secured for forty years after 1689 was that **during most of that time all energies went to the long French wars.** In the twelve years (1763–1775) between the "Seven Years' War" and the American Revolution, the Whig leaders, like William Pitt, did attempt wise changes. But *George III was determined to prevent reform.* He felt that his two indolent and gross predecessors had allowed kingly power to slip from their hands (§ 434). He meant to get it back, and to "be a king" in fact as well as in name, as his mother had urged him. To do this, he must be able to control parliament. It would be easier to control it as it was then, than to control a parliament that really represented the nation.

And therefore, when just at this time the Americans began to cry, "No taxation without representation," King George felt it needful to put them down. If their claim were allowed, so must be the demand of Manchester and other new towns in England for representation in parliament. But if the American demand could be made to seem a treasonable one, on the part of a distant group of rebels, then the king could check the movement in England.

The American victory seemed at first to have won victory for English freedom also. Even before peace was declared, the younger Pitt asserted vehemently: "Parliament is not representative of the people of Great Britain; it is representative of nominal boroughs, and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals." This condition, he declared, alone

had made it possible for the government to wage against America "this unjust, cruel, wicked, and diabolical war." In the years that immediately followed the war, Pitt introduced three different bills for reform. *But, before anything was accomplished, came the French Revolution;* and soon the violence of the Revolutionists in France turned the whole English middle class definitely against change — and projects for reform slumbered for forty years more (1790–1830). This unhappy check came just when the evils of the Industrial Revolution were becoming serious. But *the Tory party, which carried England stubbornly to victory through the tremendous wars against Napoleon, was totally unfitted to cope with internal questions,* and looked upon every time-sanctioned abuse as sacred.

633. The peace of 1815 was followed by a general business depression, — the first modern "panic." Large parts of the working classes had no work and no food. This resulted in labor riots and in political agitation. **The Tory government met such movements by stern repression,** forbidding public meetings (without consent of magistrates) under penalty of death; suspending habeas corpus (for the last time in England until the World War); and suppressing debating societies.

The year 1821 marks the beginning of slow gains for reform. In 1825, parliament recognized the right of workingmen to unite in labor unions (§ 589) — which had always before been treated as *conspiracies.* In 1828 political rights were restored to Protestant dissenters (Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists); and the next year the same justice was secured for Catholics. The atrocious laws regarding capital punishment, too, were modified by striking the death penalty from 100 offenses.[1]

[1] The English penal code of the eighteenth century has been fitly called a "sanguinary chaos." Whenever in the course of centuries a crime had become especially troublesome, some parliament had fixed a death penalty for it, and no later parliament had ever revised the code. In 1660 the number of "capital crimes" was fifty (three and a half times as many as there were in New England at the same time under the much slandered "blue laws"), and by 1800 the number had risen to over two hundred. To

634. In 1830, a new king came to the throne (William IV, § 434, note), which necessitated a new parliamentary election; and the French Revolution of the same year, by its *moderation* and by its success, strengthened the reform party in England. When parliament met, **the Whigs promptly introduced a motion to reform the representation.** The prime minister was the Tory *Wellington,* the hero of Waterloo. He scorned the proposal, declaring that he did not believe the existing representation "could be improved"! This speech cost him his popularity, both in and out of parliament; and *the Whigs came into power* with *Earl Grey* as prime minister, and with Lord John Russell as leader in the Commons.[1]

635. Lord Russell drew a moderate bill for the reform of parliament. *Representation was to be distributed somewhat more fairly* by taking about 100 members away from rotten or pocket boroughs and assigning them to new places that needed representation; and the *suffrage was extended* to all householders in the towns who owned or rented houses worth £50 a year, and to all "farmers" (§ 584). (Farm laborers were left out; as were the town artisan class, living as its members did in tenements or as lodgers.)

To the Tories this mild measure seemed to threaten the foundations of society. Fierce debates lasted month after month. In March of 1831 the ministry carried the "second reading" by a majority of *one* vote. It was plain that the Whig majority was not large enough to save the bill from hostile amendment. (A bill has to pass three "readings," and amendments are usually considered after the second.) The ministry decided to dissolve, and "appeal to the country" for better support. The king was bitterly opposed to this plan. A passionate scene took place between him and his ministers, but he was forced to give

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steal a sheep, to snatch a handkerchief out of a woman's hand, to cut down trees in an orchard, were all punishable by death.

[1] Russell was the son of a duke, and his title of Lord at this time was only a "courtesy title."

way — and so, incidentally, it was settled that the ministry, not the king, dissolves parliament. (*This means that parliament really dissolves itself.*)

The Whigs went into the new campaign with the cry, "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." Despite the unrepresentative nature of parliament, they won an overwhelming majority. In June Lord Russell introduced the bill again. In September it passed the Commons, 345 to 239. Then the Lords calmly voted it down. One session of the second parliament was wasted. The nation cried out passionately against the House of Lords. There was much violence, and England seemed on the verge of revolution.

In December the same parliament met for a new session. Lord Russell introduced the same bill for the third time. It passed the Commons by an increased majority. This time the Lords did not venture altogether to throw it out, but they tacked on hostile amendments. The king had always had power to make new peers at will. Lord Grey now demanded from the king authority to create enough new peers to save the bill. William refused. Grey resigned. *For eleven days England had no government.* The Tories tried to form a ministry, but could get no majority. Angry mobs stormed about the king's carriage in the streets, and the Whig leaders went so far as secretly to prepare for civil war.

Finally the king recalled the Whig ministry. He was still unwilling to create new peers, but he offered to use his personal influence to get the upper House to pass the bill. Happily, Earl Grey was firm to show where real sovereignty lay; and the king was compelled to sign the paper (still exhibited in the British Museum) on which the earl had written, "The King grants permission to Earl Grey . . . to create such a number of new peers as will insure the passage of the Reform Bill." This ended the struggle. It was not needful actually to make new peers. The Tory lords withdrew from the sessions, and the bill passed, June 4, 1832.

636. Incidentally the long contest had settled two points in the constitution:

It had shown how the Commons could control the Lords.

It had shown that the ministers are not the king's ministry, except in name, but that they are really the ministry, or servants, of the House of Commons. This principle has never since been threatened. The king acts only through the ministers. Even the speech he reads at the opening of parliament is written for him.

637. The way in which a change in ministry is brought about should be clearly understood. If the ministry is outvoted on any matter of importance, it must resign. If it does not do so, and claims to be in doubt whether it has really lost its majority, its opponents will test the matter by moving a vote of "lack of confidence." If this carries, the ministry takes it as a mandate to resign. There is only one alternative: If the ministry believes that the nation will support it, it may dissolve parliament and "appeal to the country." If the new parliament gives it a majority, it may go on. If not, it must at once give way to a new ministry.

In form, the new ministry is chosen by the king; but in reality, he simply names those whom the will of the majority in the Commons has plainly pointed out. Indeed, he names only one man, whom he asks to "form a government." This man becomes *prime minister*, and selects the other ministers. In a parliamentary election, Englishmen really vote also for the next prime minister, just as truly, *and about as directly*, as we in this country vote for our President. If the king asks any one else to form a ministry but the man whom the Commons have accepted as their leader, probably the man asked will respectfully decline. If he tries to act, he will fail to get other strong men to join him, and his ministry will at once fail. If there is any real uncertainty as to which one of several men is leader, the matter is settled by conference among the leaders, and the new ministry, of course, includes all of them.

A curious feature to an American student is that all this com-

plex procedure *rests only on custom* — nowhere on a written constitution. Each member of the Cabinet is the head of some great department — Foreign Affairs, Treasury, War, and so on. The leading assistants in all these departments — some forty people now — are included in the ministry. About twenty of the forty, — holding the chief positions, — make the inner circle which is called the Cabinet. *The Cabinet* is really "the Government," and is often referred to by that title. It *is the real executive; and it is also the "steering committee" of the legislature.* In their private meetings the members of the Cabinet decide upon general policy. In parliament they introduce bills and advocate them. As ministers, they carry out the plans agreed upon. (In these changes, *the king's veto has disappeared.* The last veto was by Queen Anne in 1707.)

638. Thus we have **two types of democratic government** in the world, both developed by English-speaking peoples. They differ from each other mainly in regard to the executive. In the United States, the executive is a president, or governor, *independent of the legislature.* The other republics upon this continent have adopted this American type. In England, the executive has become practically a steering committee of the legislature. This type is the one adopted by most of the free governments of the world outside America.

For Further Reading. — The most brilliant story is Justin McCarthy's *Epoch of Reform*, 25–83. Rose's *Rise of Democracy*, 9–52, is excellent.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

REFORM IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

639. In 1837 William IV was succeeded by his niece, **Victoria**, whose reign filled the next *sixty-four years*. Victoria came to the throne a modest, high-minded girl of eighteen years. She was not brilliant, but she grew into a worthy, sensible woman, of excellent moral influence. **The "Victorian Age"** was, for all the world, an era of prosperity, intellectual glory and moral refinement, democratic progress and social reform, and vast expansion of civilization. In all this advance, England held a first place.

QUEEN VICTORIA, in late middle-age.

In literature, English leadership in this period is marked by a long list of famous names. *Burns*, *Byron*, and *Scott*, it is true, belong to the age of the preceding Georges; and *Wordsworth* and *Macaulay* had *begun* their work before the accession of Victoria. But *Browning*, *Tennyson*, *Dickens*, "*George Eliot*," and *Thackeray* are only a part of the dazzling Victorian galaxy in poetry and fiction, while such names as *Darwin*, *Tyndal*, and *Huxley* suggest some of the services of Victorian scientists. During the same period, the literary charm and power of *Carlyle*, *Ruskin*, and *William Morris* enabled them to speak effectively to all English-speaking peoples their new views of life and of art.

640. The Reform Bill of 1832 had given the vote to one out of six grown men (five times as liberal as the French franchise after the Revolution of 1830). *Political power had passed from a narrow landed oligarchy to a broad middle-class aristocracy.* Political parties soon took new names. "Conservative" began to replace "Tory," and "Liberal" replaced "Whig." From 1832 to 1874, except for short intervals, the Liberals were in power, carrying a long list of social reforms. Finally the Conservatives, too, adopted a liberal policy toward social reform, and secured longer leases of power.[1]

641. The man who did most to educate the Conservatives into this new attitude was the Jew, **Disraeli**. He was an author, a brilliant genius, and a shrewd politician. Some critics called him "a Conservative with Radical opinions," while others insisted that he had no principles in politics.

An even more important political figure was Disraeli's great adversary, **William Evarts Gladstone**. Gladstone entered parliament in 1833, at the first election after the Reform Bill, and soon proved himself a powerful orator and a master of debate. He was then an extreme Tory. By degrees he grew

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[1] REFERENCE TABLE OF ADMINISTRATIONS

	Liberals	*Conservatives*
1830–34	Grey	
1834–35		Peel
1835–41	Melbourne	
1841–46		Peel
1846–52	Russell	
1852		Derby
1852–58	(1) Aberdeen, (2) Palmerston	
1858–59		Derby
1859–66	(1) Palmerston, (2) Russell	
1866–68		Derby
1868–74	Gladstone	
1874–80		Disraeli
1880–85	Gladstone	
1885–86		Salisbury
1886	Gladstone	
1886–92		Salisbury
1892–95	(1) Gladstone, (2) Rosebery	
1895–1906		(1) Salisbury, (2) Balfour
1906	Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith (to 1915)	
[1915–1918	A coalition war-ministry, led by Lloyd George]	
1919–1922	A coalition ministry, mainly Conservatives, led by Lloyd George	
1922–1923		(1) Bonar Law, (2) Baldwin
	Laborite	
1924–	J. Ramsay Macdonald	

Liberal, and thirty years later he succeeded Lord Russell as the unchallenged leader of that party. For thirty years more he held that place — four times prime minister. His early friends accused him bitterly as treacherous; but the world at large accepted his own simple explanation of his changes, — "I was brought up to distrust liberty; I learned to believe in it."

POLITICAL REFORM AND LABOR UNIONS

642. *The Tories at once accepted the result of 1832*, as the Conservative party in England always does when a new reform has once been forced upon them. *But they planted themselves upon it as a finality.* Even the Whigs agreed for many years in this "finality" view so far as *political* reform was concerned. A few eager Radicals in parliament for a time kept up a cry for a more liberal franchise, but soon even they gave up the contest, to take part in the great *social* legislation of the period.

643. But outside parliament, and still unrepresented in it, **lay the wage earners and their unions.** This class had been hoping even for manhood franchise — which had just been winning its way rapidly in the states of the American Union. It knew that such victory as the Liberals had won in 1832 had been secured largely because of its sympathy and its public demonstrations; and **it felt cheated of the fruits.**

For a time, however, the active labor leaders turned away from politics, hoping to win better wages and shorter hours through the recently legalized "unions" (§ 633). But employers combined, dismissed and "black listed" union workmen, and, aided by the courts and by the industrial "hard times" that followed 1837,[1] nearly broke up the movement for labor organization — which seemed then to sleep for several years.

The courts proved disgracefully partisan in every dispute between capital and labor, and imposed many cruel and vindictive sentences.

[1] All students will remember the "panic" of 1837 in their study of American history. The depression in industry was not confined to the United States.

After the law of 1825, they could not directly rule that a trade union was unlawful, but they did succeed in making the law of little account by *declaring unlawful all the things that a union was intended to do.* A strike of any sort they still punished as a "conspiracy" and, by reviving certain ancient laws against the initiation oaths of *secret* societies, they even *condemned six laborers to transportation to the penal Australian settlement as felons, for seven years,* for being present at a meeting where new members were initiated![1] (The unions at first had borrowed from the Masons certain ancient ritual, with initiation oaths among the rest.)

The wage earners struggled heroically, with cruel sufferings, against this judicial hostility. In 1834 they even formed their first *national* organization, — a "Grand National Trades' Union" somewhat like later "Amalgamations" or "Federations" of labor in other lands. But this national movement disappeared absolutely in the general decline after 1837.

644. After this temporary collapse, *the agitators among the wage earners turned again to politics* for relief. In ordinary times their efforts aroused little attention, but there were two periods of particular importance in this agitation, separated by nearly twenty years.

The first was **the famous but futile Chartist movement.** This was a working class demand (assisted by a few "intellectuals") for a new "charter of liberties," to provide *six* reforms: (1) manhood suffrage, (2) equal electoral districts, (3) abolition of all property qualification for membership in parliament, (4) payment of members, (5) the ballot, and (6) annual elections. (To the ordinary Liberal of 1850 these demands threatened anarchy and revolution; but five of them have since become law — and the sixth has ceased to be important because of other reforms.) Excitement grew for years, and in the forties, many *Chartists* looked forward to rebellion. Men drilled and armed; and the government was terrified into taking stringent precautions.

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[1] Many progressive Englishmen in the ranks of "good society" agitated long and passionately to secure redress for the victims of this atrocious injustice; but pardons were not secured until most of the sentence had been served out.

"Forty-eight" was the critical year. The Chartists adopted a resolution, "All labor shall cease till the people's Charter becomes the law of the land." This was the first attempt at a national strike for political purposes. But the plan for monster demonstrations, with great petitions and processions, fizzled out. The "year of revolutions" saw no disturbance in England that called for more than a few hundred extra "middle class" policemen. The movement died[1] — and its aims were soon adopted by its victors.

645. The other radical agitation was a demand for suffrage extension, which arose out of the suffering of the unemployed while the American Civil War cut off the supply of cotton for English factories. *This time no statesman dreamed of violent repression.* The question was only how much to grant.

The Liberals, under Russell, introduced a reform measure, but lost power because they did not go far enough. Then said Disraeli, cynically, "If the country is bound to have reform, *we* might as well give it to them" — and stay in office. Thus **the "Second Reform Bill"** (passed *in 1867* by a Conservative ministry) extended the franchise to *the artisan class* (all householders and all *lodgers* who paid ten pounds a year for their rooms). This raised the number of voters to over three millions, or to something over *half the adult male population.* The *unskilled laborers* in town and country, and the male house-servants, still had no votes; but England had taken a tremendous step toward democracy.

646. The victory of 1867, like that of 1832, was followed by a period of sweeping legislation for social reform, — mainly in Gladstone's Liberal ministry, 1868–1874 (§ 652). Then, after a Conservative ministry, led by Disraeli and chiefly concerned with foreign matters (§ 654), Gladstone took office again, and **the "Third Reform Bill"** (1884) in large measure enfranchised the unskilled laborer and the servant class. This raised the

[1] Read Rose's *Rise of Democracy*, 1–140, and Charles Kingsley's novel, *Alton Locke.*

electorate to *over six millions*, and (except for unmarried sons without property, living in the father's family, and for laborers living in very cheap houses) it gave votes to practically all self-supporting men. The next year, parliament did away with the chief remaining *inequalities in representation* by dividing England into parliamentary districts, like our congressional districts.

647. **Three other reforms** in this period made English politics clean and honest.

In 1870 the secret ballot was introduced. The form adopted was the excellent one known as the Australian ballot, from its use in Victoria. (Most of the States of our Union have since then adopted the same model.)

Between 1855 and 1870, the civil service was thoroughly reformed. In earlier years, public offices had been given in disgraceful degree to reward political partisans. But since 1870, appointments have always been made after competitive examinations, and there has been no removal of appointed officials for party reasons.

Bribery in elections, direct and also indirect, was effectively checked by the "Corrupt Practices Prevention Act" of 1883, drawn along lines more recently adopted in the United States.

648. The extension of the franchise in the "Reform" bills applied only to *parliamentary* elections. But **local government also called for reform**. It had been highly aristocratic. It was not *centralized*, as in France; but each *rural* unit (county or parish) was in the hands of the *local* aristocracy, while the *town* government (usually vested in a self-elected mayor and council, holding office for life) had become exceedingly selfish and corrupt and had proved wholly indifferent to the pressing needs of the growing city populations.

But in 1835 a Municipal Reform Bill provided that 183 boroughs (indicated by name) should each have a municipal council *elected by all who paid local taxes*. The Lords went wild with dismay at this "gigantic innovation," and by votes of 6

to 1, they amended nearly every clause in the bill so as to make it worthless. The Commons refused the amendments; and after a four months' struggle the Lords yielded. From time to time, new towns were added to the list; and finally, in 1882, it was provided that *any* town might adopt this form of government for itself. Since 1835, English town government has been honest, efficient, and enlightened, — a model to all other democratic countries. The best citizens serve in the town councils. The appointed officials, like the city engineer, city health officer, and so on, are men of high professional standing, who are never appointed or removed for political purposes.

In the rural units the rule of the country gentry had been free from corruption, and it lasted until the latter part of the century. It had not been particularly enlightened, however; and in 1888 and 1894 the *County Council Bill* and the *Parish Councils Bill* made *local government thoroughly democratic.* (1) The parish has a primary assembly (*parish meeting*). (2) Parishes with more than three hundred people have also an elective *Parish Council.* (3) Larger subdivisions of the county, known as Districts, have elective *District Councils.* And (4) at the top is the elective *County Council.* The powers of all these local bodies are very great.

For Further Reading. — On the Second and Third Reform Bills, interesting treatments are to be found in Rose, McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*, and in the younger McCarthy's *England under Gladstone.* Beard's *English Historians*, 566–581 and 582–593, is admirable.

SOCIAL REFORM

649. The thirties were a period of humanitarian agitation, as well as of democratic advance. *Charles Dickens* wrote his moving stories of the abuses in the courts, the schools, the factories, the shops. *Carlyle* thundered against injustice, in *Chartism* and in *Past and Present; Elizabeth Barrett Browning* pleaded for the abused children in touching poems (§ 583 note); and parliament responded to the same impulse.

After carrying the Reform Bill of 1832, Earl Grey's ministry (1) freed the Negro slaves in the West India colonies, *paying the colonists for their loss;*[1] (2) began to free the hardly less miserable "white slaves" of the English factory towns, by a new era of factory legislation (§ 650); (3) freed the Irish peasants from the obligation of paying tithes to support the Episcopalian clergy, whom they hated; (4) abolished the pillory and the whipping post, and began to reform the foul and inhuman conditions in the prisons; (5) began the reform of local government (§ 648); and (6) made a first step toward public education, *by a national grant* of £20,000 a year *to church schools.*

650. The most important legislation of the century was the *labor and factory legislation* here begun. Gradually Englishmen had awakened to the ugly fact that the new factory system was ruining, not only the souls, but also the *bodies* of hundreds of thousands of women and children, so as to threaten national degeneracy. In 1833, among the first acts of the "Reformed Parliament," Lord Ashley (§ 583 note), afterward Earl of Shaftesbury, secured a factory law limiting the work of children (under thirteen years) to forty-eight hours a week, and that of "young people" (from thirteen to eighteen years) to sixty-nine hours a week (or twelve hours on five days and nine hours on Saturdays) and strictly forbidding the *employment of children under nine (!).*

In 1847 a still greater factory law limited the labor of women and "young persons" (between 14 and 16) to *ten hours a day* with only half-time for "children" (between 9 and 14) and with provision for schooling in the vacant half of the day. (Indirectly this law fixed a limit upon the hours of men also, because, after the women and children had all left a factory, it was not profitable to keep the machinery going. *Thus ten hours became the factory working-day* many years before this goal was reached generally in America.) Of the long series of later acts, the most

[1] SPECIAL REPORT: Wilberforce, and his work for emancipation.

important is the great *Act of 1901*, which revised and advanced the factory legislation of the preceding century. Since 1901, no child under 12 can be employed at all in any sort of factory or workshop; and for employees between 12 and 16, a physician must certify that there is no danger of physical injury from the work. These acts have been accompanied by many provisions to secure good lighting and ventilation in factories and workshops, and to prevent accidents from machinery, by compelling the employer to fence it in with every possible care.

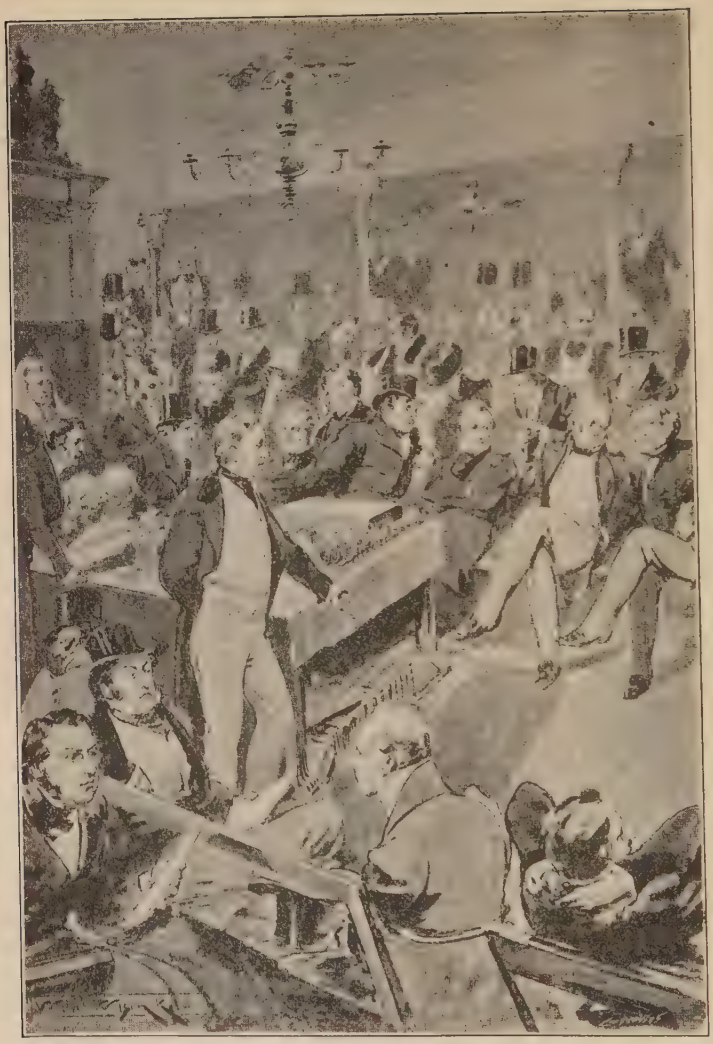
Then, in 1880, a *Workman's Compensation Act* (supplemented by another in 1897) made it easy for a workman to secure compensation for any injury for which he was not himself to blame, by a simple process without lawsuits. (These acts have been copied in the last few years by progressive American States.)

For Further Reading. — Gibbin's *Industrial History of England*, 175–176, and Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History*, 224–262. Vivid statements are given also in Justin McCarthy's *Epoch of Reform*, *History of Our Own Times*, and *England in the Nineteenth Century*.

651. The short Conservative ministry of Peel (1841–1846) was marked by the abolition of the Corn Laws. Those laws had put an excessively high tariff on imported grain. Their aim was to encourage the raising of foodstuffs in England, so as to make sure of a home supply; and during the Napoleonic war this policy perhaps had been justifiable. The money profits, however, had always gone mainly to the landlords, who enacted the laws in parliament and who raised rents high enough to confiscate the benefits which the high prices might otherwise have brought to the farmer. After the rapid growth in population had made it impossible for England to produce enough food for her people anyway, the landlords' monopoly of breadstuffs became an intolerable burden upon the starving poor.

The needless misery among this class finally aroused great moral indignation. In 1838 the Anti-Corn-Law League, organized by *Richard Cobden* and *John Bright*, carried on a campaign

PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, London, seen from the Thames, with the twin towers of Westminster Abbey in the distance on the left. See cut facing p. 520.



SIR ROBERT PEEL urging the repeal of the Corn Laws in the amazed House of Commons.

of education through the press and by means of great public meetings. The manufacturing capitalists saw that the Corn Laws taxed them, indirectly, for the benefit of the landlords — since to enable their workmen to live, they had to pay higher wages than would otherwise have been necessary; and so the selfish interests of this influential manufacturing class were thrown to the side of this particular reform. Finally, in 1846, a huge calamity was added to the same side. This was *the Irish Famine*. The population of Ireland had been increasing rapidly, until it amounted to over eight millions. The greater part were poor peasants, living in misery, with the potato for almost their sole food. Suddenly, in 1846, in a night, came a blight that ruined the crop for the year; and, despite generous gifts of food from all the world, two million people died of starvation.[1] The government in England had already been considering a reform of the Corn Laws, and this suffering in Ireland forced it to act. Peel decided to let food in free; and, despite bitter opposition from the landlords of his own party, the reform was adopted.

One interesting result of the bitter feeling of the Tory landlords was the passing of the factory act of 1847 (§ 650). That much-needed reform had been vehemently opposed by *manufacturing* Liberals, like John Bright, who urged (1) that it would oblige manufacturers to reduce wages and raise prices; (2) that it took from the workman his "freedom of contract" (!); and (3) that it would ruin English industry and drive capital away to countries where there was no such "mischievous legislation." But the landlord Tories, who had just been beaten by Bright on the Corn Laws, grimly took their revenge by forcing this other reform upon the manufacturing capitalists. The story shows that neither division of the capitalist class could see any needs of the working class that conflicted with its own unjust profits.

Peel was soon overthrown by a party revolt, but the Liberals took up his work and carried it farther. They abolished one protective tariff after another, until, by 1852, England had

[1] A million more emigrated to America in the next four years (1847–1850) — the first large immigration of Catholic Irish to this country.

become a "free trade" country. For the next half century this policy was never seriously questioned in England. Soon after 1900, however, some Conservative leaders began to advocate a policy of "fair trade," or a system of retaliatory tariffs against countries whose tariffs shut out British manufactures; and in 1909 and 1910 the Conservative party made its campaigns on this issue.

652. After the enfranchisement of the artisan class by the Reform Bill of 1867, came **Gladstone's great reform administration (1868–1874)**, which rivals in importance that of Earl Grey in the thirties. It established alongside the old private and parochial schools a new system of public schools, or, as the English call them, Board Schools.[1] It abolished purchase of office in the army, completed the civil service reform, and introduced the ballot (§ 647). It opened English universities to others than the members of the Church of England. It passed further factory laws. It arranged honorably the Alabama Arbitration Treaty with the United States. It "disendowed" and "disestablished" the English Church in Ireland, and carried through important land reforms for Ireland (§ 659).

653. But, in spite of some favorable legislation for labor, **the ministry soon offended the labor unions.** During the middle years of the century (1848–1867),[2] there had been a remarkable revival of those organizations (§ 643); and they had been winning some success in the law courts. In 1867, however, when a union brought suit against a defaulting treasurer to

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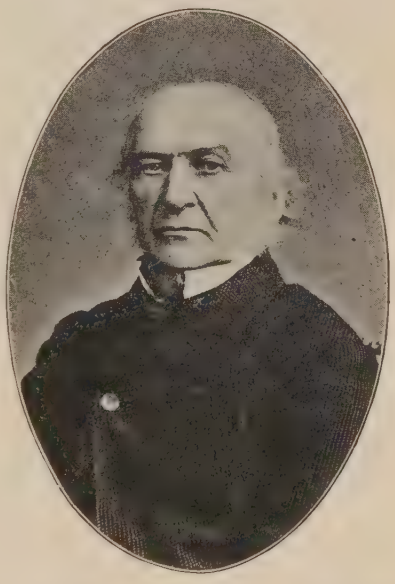
[1] So called because they are managed by elected Boards. (The term "public school" in England had been appropriated by the great secondary schools, like Rugby, though there is no public control over them.) The Board Schools have revolutionized the English working class. In 1850, more than a third of the newly married couples had to sign their names in the marriage registers with their "marks"; but in 1903 only two per cent were unable to write their names.

[2] This was the era, too, of the origin of the marvelously successful cooperative store movement in England, in which the labor unions soon took an active part. There is opportunity for an interesting "special report" upon the Rochdale coöperative movement.

recover stolen funds, the court held that *a union could not sue.* This decision virtually outlawed the whole movement. The Gladstone ministry at once carried a new law, more sweeping than that of 1825, expressly authorizing "unions" to "incorporate" — and so secure in the courts all the rights of an English citizen. This forward step was accompanied also by another act providing that a "strike" should no longer be regarded as a "conspiracy." But one provision of this last law strictly forbade strikers to "intimidate" non-striking workmen; and the vindictive courts at once made unexpected use of this provision to punish even the most peaceful "picketing" and all attempts by strikers even to *persuade* non-strikers to join them. (In one case, seven women were condemned to prison for crying "Bah" at a man who had deserted his fellow strikers.)



William Ewart Gladstone at his retirement in 1895.

Gladstone refused further legal relief, and the unions began loudly to denounce his ministry. In several by-elections (to fill vacancies in parliament) they stayed away from the polls or voted for Conservative candidates. Gladstone's majority in the Commons dwindled, and in 1874 he resigned.

The election of the new parliament saw the first appearance of a distinct labor vote. In 1871 the labor unions had successfully organized a "National Trades' Union Congress" to hold

yearly meetings in the interest of organized labor. Some elements in this "Congress," and some sympathizing "intellectuals" outside it[1]) urged from the first that labor should at once go into politics as a "*third party.*"[1] The National Labor Congress was not yet ready for *this* policy; but it did urge unions everywhere to question candidates for parliament and *to throw support to those most favorable to the claims of labor.*

The Conservatives now outbid the Liberals for this support, promising, if returned to power, *to amend the law regarding strikes so as to forbid only actual violence;* and, with the aid of labor, they secured a large majority — for the first time since 1830.

At the same election, in various districts appeared "independent labor" candidates, thirteen in all, of whom *two were successful.*

654. Then followed **Disraeli's administration of 1874–1880 with its "dazzling foreign policy."** (The only reform at home was the promised amendment to the law regarding strikes.) Gladstone's ministry had been exceedingly peaceful and honorable in dealing with foreign nations. Disraeli, leader of the new ministry, characterized this attitude as weak, and said that it had "compromised the honor" of England. He adopted an aggressive foreign policy, and tried to excite English patriotism by "jingo"[2] utterances and conduct. By act of parliament, Queen Victoria was declared "Empress of India"; the Boers of the Transvaal were incited to war, so that England might seize their lands; and in 1878, when Russia conquered Turkey (§ 802) and seemed about to exclude the Turks from Europe, Disraeli interfered. He got together a Congress of the Powers

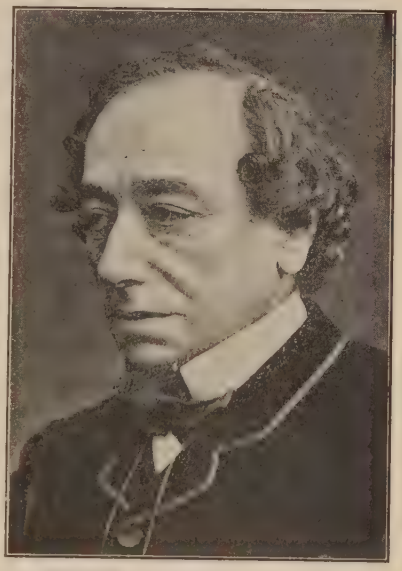
[1] Frederic Harrison, the distinguished historian and essayist, began to urge separate political action as soon as the Second Reform Bill had given artisans the vote. Said he in 1867: "Nothing will force the governing classes to recognize your just claims until [the working classes] wrest into their own hands real political control."

[2] This word comes from a popular music hall song of 1878:

"We don't want to fight; but, by jingo, if we do,
We've got the men, we've got the ships,
We've got the money, too."

at Berlin, and saved enough of European Turkey to shut Russia off from the Mediterranean.

655. Gladstone came forth from retirement to carry on a great campaign against this policy of supporting the Turk in his mastery over the Christian populations of southeastern Europe. His appeal to the moral sense of the English people was successful. Organized labor returned in the main to his support; and in the election of 1880 the Liberals secured an overwhelming majority. The evil work of the Congress of Berlin could not now be undone; but Gladstone's new ministry passed the Third Reform Bill and it also completed the purification of English politics by adopting the law against "Corrupt Practices" (§ 647). Soon, however, this Liberal ministry found itself occupied with Irish questions, about which English politics were to revolve for the next fifteen years.



DISRAELI — who went into the House of Lords in 1880 as *the Earl of Beaconsfield*. He was much liked by the Queen.

ENGLAND AND IRELAND

656. The tragic story of Ireland to the close of Elizabeth's day has been told. Said an English poet-historian of that time, "If it had been practised in Hell as it has been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the very kingdom of Beëlzebub." Just before the Civil War in England, the goaded Irish rose in fierce

rebellion. A little later the merciless hand of Cromwell restored order with a cruelty which makes his name a by-word in Ireland to-day. Toward the close of the century, the Irish sided with James II against William III, but were defeated at the *Battle of the Boyne* (1690). The Treaty of Limerick (1691), however, promised them the enjoyment of their own religion and certain other privileges; but these promises were treacherously broken by the English settlers, who controlled the parliament of the island, so that Limerick is known as "the City of the Broken Treaty."

657. During the eighteenth century the fate of Ireland was wretched beyond description. In parts of Ulster (the northern province) the population was mainly English. Elsewhere *six sevenths of the land* belonged to English landlords, most of whom lived in England and spent their rents there. Six sevenths *of the people* were Catholic Irish. A few of these, especially in the west, were country gentlemen; a considerable number more were *tenant* farmers; but the great bulk were a starving peasantry, working the land for Saxon landlords and living in mud hovels, — each with an acre or two of ground about it.

Farmers and laborers alike were "tenants at will." That is, they could be evicted at the landlord's word. Population was so crowded that there was always sharp competition to get farms and cottages, and so the landlord could make his own terms. If the tenant improved the buildings or drained the land, he commonly found at once that he had to pay more rent, so that he himself got no profit from his extra labor. This system of "rack rent" made the peasantry reckless and lazy; and the fact that the law of their masters was used only to oppress them trained them to hate and break the law.

In 1798 the Irish rebelled. They were promised aid by the French Directory; but the help did not come in time, and the rising was put down with horrible cruelty. A change in the government followed. For several centuries, there had been a separate parliament for Ireland (controlled by the English

settlers); but after 1798 *England consolidated the government of the two islands.* **The Act of Union (1800)** abolished the Irish legislature (giving Ireland one hundred representatives in the English parliament), and **made Ireland subject directly to English rule and English officials.**

These were the conditions at the opening of the nineteenth century. In 1803 a brilliant young Irishman, *Robert Emmet,* tried to organize a rebellion for Irish independence; but the effort failed miserably, and Emmet died on the scaffold.

658. The struggle for the repeal of the Union began in 1830, in the first English parliament in which Catholics were allowed to sit (§ 633). Forty of the Irish delegation were pledged to work for repeal, and they were led by the dauntless *Daniel O'Connell;* but the Irish famine of 1846 checked the agitation, and just afterward O'Connell died. Then a band of hot-headed young men tried conspiracy, and the fruitless and rather farcical, "Rebellion of Young Ireland" marked the year 1848.

659. The next twenty years saw no progress. In 1866 came another rebellion, — *the Fenian Conspiracy,* — organized by Irish officers who had served in the American Civil War. The danger did not become serious, but it convinced many liberal Englishmen that something must be done for Ireland, and **Gladstone's reform ministry of 1868–1874 took two important steps:**

a. Since the day of Elizabeth, the Episcopal church had held the ancient property of the Catholic church in Ireland, though in 1835 a parliamentary commission failed to find *one* Protestant (except the appointed clergy) in any one of 150 parishes. That foreign church was now *disestablished* (deprived of political privileges) and partially *disendowed* — though it kept its buildings and enough other property to leave it still very rich.

b. This act of partial justice was followed in 1870 by the first of a long series of important *reforms of the land laws.* Two things were attempted: (1) in case of removal, it was ordered that

the landlord must pay for any improvements the tenant had made; and (2) the government arranged to lend money on long time and at low interest to the tenants, so that they might buy their little patches of land. In 1881 and 1885 Gladstone's ministries extended and improved these laws until the peasants began to be true land-owners, with a chance to develop new habits of thrift and industry.

660. Meantime, in 1870, a group of Irish members of parliament had begun a new agitation for "Home Rule," and soon afterward the same leaders organized the "Land League," to try to fix rents, as labor unions sometimes try to fix wages. For a time, the Liberal ministry frowned on both these movements, and prosecuted the Land League sternly on the ground that it encouraged crime against landlords. *But suddenly Gladstone made a change of front.* In the parliament of 1884, eighty-six of Ireland's hundred and five members were "Home Rulers." They began to block *all* legislation; and Gladstone could go on only by securing their alliance. Moreover, *he had become convinced that the only way to govern Ireland was to govern it in coöperation with the Irish, and not in opposition to them.* So in 1886 he adopted the "Home-Rule" plan and introduced a bill to restore a separate legislature to Ireland.

The Conservatives declared that this policy meant disunion and ruin to the Empire, and in this belief they were joined by many of the old Liberals, who took the name of *Liberal Unionists*. The Home-Rule Bill was defeated (and Gladstone gave way to the Conservative ministry of Salisbury); but it made the issue in the next election a few years later, and in 1893 Gladstone (again in power) tried to carry another such measure. This time, the Commons passed the bill, but the Lords threw it out. The majority for it in the Commons was narrow, and plainly due only to the Irish vote; so that Gladstone felt the nation would not support him in swamping the Lords with new peers on this issue. He turned then to secure the great Parish Councils bill of 1894 (§ 648). Here, too, at first the Lords

interposed obstruction — until frightened into submission by a solemn threat in Gladstone's last speech in the Commons (sixty-one years after his first speech in that body). The democratic local government bill then became law; but it was the only real achievement of Gladstone's fourth ministry. He had intimated a purpose to try at once to remove the power of the Lords in blocking progressive legislation; but at this moment age and health forced him to retire from parliamentary life, and the Liberals, left for a time without a fit leader, went out of power.

661. The Conservatives and Unionists then tried to conciliate Ireland by extending the policy of government loans to the peasantry to an almost unlimited extent, though formerly they had railed at such acts as robbery and socialism; and they granted a kind of *local* "home rule," by establishing elective County Councils like those in England. The Irish members kept up agitation in parliament, but for a long time even the Liberals seemed to have lost interest in Irish Home Rule; and indeed it was plain that **nothing could be done until after the "mending or ending" of the House of Lords.**

662. Meantime a group of ardent Irish scholars and poets had begun to revive the use of *Erse* (the ancient Irish language) and to build the old Irish history and legends into a noble and beautiful literature. **A new sense of nationality**, due largely to this literary revival, **soon gave birth to the Sinn Fein movement** ("Ourselves alone"), calling for Irish independence.

663. And meantime, too, **the last victory of Gladstone was helping along another vital reform in England itself.** For many years, Liberal platforms had declared for making the peasantry once more the owners of farm lands, and even the Conservatives had at last come to see the necessity for such a movement (cf. § 640). A series of Allotment acts had been passed by parliament (1883, 1887, 1892); but the aristocratic local governments, who had charge of the carrying out of these

laws, left them practically inoperative. After 1894, however, the new democratic local "councils" began in earnest to buy land, even by forcing sales under condemnation proceedings, and to turn it over in small holdings on easy terms to farm laborers — so that **the English people began once more to own England**. (Since the World War this movement has been greatly hastened.)

CHAPTER XXXIX

RECENT REFORM IN ENGLAND: "WAR UPON POVERTY"

I hope that great advance will be made during this generation toward the time when poverty, with its wretchedness and squalor, will be as remote from the people of this country as are the wolves which once infested its forests. — LLOYD GEORGE, in 1909.

664. *After Gladstone's retirement, the Conservatives held power for ten years* (1896–1905). They carried forward some social reforms which they had once bitterly opposed — such as factory reform and Irish-land reform — but they also placed the English Board Schools under the control of the established church. **In 1905 the Liberals returned to power,** led by *Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George.* The ministry which contained these men was supported by the largest parliamentary majority which had been seen since the First Reform Bill.

665. The same election saw the first appearance of a *new* "third party" formed by the federation of several distinct labor movements.

After 1875 (§ 653), the labor unions greatly increased their rate of growth, until, by 1890, they contained a fifth of all male hand-workers [1] (counting even the very numerous *unskilled* workers, for whom the unions had not then found a place); and from 1875 to nearly 1900 the socialists tried earnestly to capture that movement. They did secure much influence within it; but the National Congress (§ 653) always refused to indorse a socialist platform, — or even to go into politics as a distinct party — preferring to stick to their "balance-of-power" program to secure favors from one or the other of the two great parties.

Two distinct socialist organizations had appeared: (1) a "moderate" *Social-Democratic Party,* which hoped to win political

[1] By 1920, that proportion had risen to *three* fifths.

power but which did not succeed in securing any place in parliament; and (2) a *Fabian Socialist* "group," composed of men of letters and college teachers, and organized mainly to *explain* the aims of socialism by "a campaign of education."

The Independent Labor Party (§ 653), known conveniently as the I. L. P., had put up a few candidates at every election, but had not materially improved upon its first success — although its parliamentary membership (of only two or three at a time) had included such noted names as the brilliant writer *Keir Hardie*, and *John Burns*, the leader of a great and successful London-Dock strike in 1889, who had risen by native genius from the lowest ranks of unskilled labor to a cabinet position under Gladstone.

In the campaign of 1895, the I. L. P. contested twenty-eight seats, but failed to win one of them. This defeat pointed the way to success. At least, it showed positively that no success worth while was to be won except by some broader organization. Accordingly **in 1899 there was formed the present Labor Party**, with a national governing board made up of representatives (in proportion to strength) from the Labor Union movement, the I. L. P., the Coöperatives (§ 653, note), and the two socialist organizations. (The first "Secretary and Organizer" of this new party was J. Ramsay McDonald, who soon became its recognized leader in parliament.) In the election of 1905 (its first opportunity) this Labor Party put up fifty candidates and won twenty-nine seats. Twelve other independent members affiliated themselves at once with this new group, and its voting strength was soon increased, by new elections, to about fifty.

666. The new Liberal ministry was so progressive that, for some years, Liberals and Laborites coöperated harmoniously on most matters. At once, however, **the ministry found itself blocked**, as earlier Liberal ministries had so often been, **by the Lords**. That House seriously modified the ministry's bill to take the Board Schools from the control of the church, and

bluntly " vetoed " a bill to take away the " plural votes " of the rich.[1] Then came a final clash on the budget.

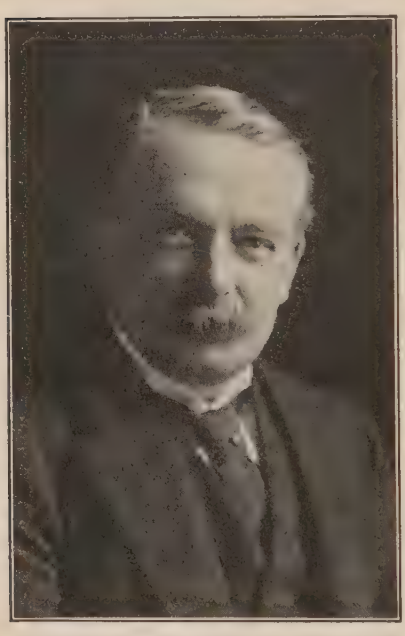
Each year the ministry presents a statement of the expenses it intends to incur, and of the taxes it proposes to lay wherewith to meet those expenses. This statement is the budget. In April of 1909 Lloyd George, finance minister, presented a budget which honestly horrified Conservatives, and which was the most socialistic step ever taken up to that time by a great government. (1) A *graduated* income tax took a large part of all incomes over $25,000, and *bore more heavily on unearned incomes than on those earned.* (2) A *graduated* inheritance tax took larger proportions than formerly of inheritances. (3) A much higher tax was placed on land that paid rents and royalties to landlords than on land worked by its owners. (4) Most important of all, there was a provision that when any man sold land for more than it had cost, he must pay one fifth the gain into the national treasury. (This is known as a tax on the "unearned increment," and is a move toward the doctrine of the Single-taxers, who wish the community to take *all* such unearned increment.)

The Conservatives attacked this budget violently as revolutionary. Especially they denounced the distinction regarding unearned incomes as an " invidious assault on the rights of property," and claimed that the treasury did not need such vast income as was proposed. In reply, Lloyd George declared that he was proposing a " war budget," — for " waging implacable war against poverty," while Mr. Winston Churchill, another Cabinet member, frankly *declared a man's right to property dependent upon the way in which he obtained it:* " Formerly," said he, " the only question by the tax-gatherer was 'How much have you got?' . . . To-day . . . we ask also, '*How did you get it?*' "

The budget passed the Commons, but the Lords threw it out by a vote of five to one. For many centuries the upper House

[1] The English law permitted a man to vote in as many counties as he held landed property. The defense of this ancient privilege of property had become a matter of intense feeling with the English Conservatives. The Liberals shouted the slogan, "One man, one vote." (Since elections were held all on one day, the actual number of plural votes was not very large; but they remained a hateful class distinction.)

had not dared to interfere with a " money bill " (§ 298). Now was the time for the Commons to strike. The ministry " dissolved," in order to appeal to the nation for support in restricting the veto of the House of Lords, and was indorsed by an enlarged majority. The Commons again passed the budget and also a bill to take away the Lords' veto. The Lords now accepted the budget, but vetoed the bill against their own House.



Lloyd George in 1909.

667. This now had become the direct issue. Another dissolution and a second election showed the country resolute; and Mr. Asquith, Prime Minister, now announced that, if necessary, 500 new peers would be created to pass the bill. *Then the helpless Lords passed the law which reduced their House to a nonentity.* Under this law of 1911, any money bill passed by the Commons becomes law within a month, whether the Lords pass it or not (and the Speaker of the Commons decides whether a bill is or is not a money bill); and any other bill passed by the Commons *at three successive sessions* becomes law, in spite of a veto by the Lords.

668. The Liberals then hastened to push through a program of social reform. In 1908 they had already passed an Old-age Pensions Act giving $1.25 a week to every person over seventy years old with a yearly income of less than £160 — not as a dole

of charity but as due reward in payment for a long life of service to the commonweal. An even more important move in the "war against poverty" was now made, in a national insurance act of 1911. This act *compelled* every worker with a yearly income of less than $800 to insure against sickness, and *offered tempting inducements* for such insurance to workers with higher incomes. (The benefits include weekly payments during sickness, *free medical care in health*, and free treatment in state hospitals when sick.) More radical still was a provision insuring workers in certain trades *against unemployment*. A workman out of work, without fault of his own, was promised a weekly sum for a term of fifteen weeks, and free transportation to a place where the free labor-bureaus may find him new work. These acts placed England in the lead of the large nations in the matter of "social insurance."

669. Political reform, too, was pushed forward. In 1911 the maximum duration of parliaments was limited to five years, instead of seven (§ 433 *b*), and salaries ($2000 a year) were provided for members of parliament. The same parliament "disestablished" the English church in Wales[1] (where the people were practically all dissenters) and at last passed *Irish Home Rule*. The Lords vetoed both measures in 1912 and in 1913, but in 1914 both became law over the veto. In Protestant Ulster, however, the Conservative "Unionists" threatened rebellion to prevent Home Rule going into effect. When, a few weeks later, the World War began, the leaders in this program of violence, in return for giving it up, secured through the ministry an act postponing the date when the Home-Rule law should go into operation.

670. This postponement was one of the most unhappy results of the great war. The old hatreds had seemed about to be wiped out. Previous reforms by the English parliament had

[1] This had been part of the Liberal platform since 1892.

disestablished the English church in Ireland and had tried honestly to undo the injustice of centuries of English landlordism there by making the Irish peasants again the owners of their own land. A final act of justice seemed about to be performed, which would have left further Irish reform in Irish hands. The delay (along with some other blunders of the English government) produced bitter resentment in Ireland; and now the Sinn Feiners (§ 662) became the dominant party there. On the whole Ireland still did its part nobly in the great war; but some leaders spent their energies instead (sometimes even in plots with German autocracy) in attempts to set up an independent Irish nation. On the other hand, fighting Germany for her life, England used unwise severity in putting down such plots by death sentences. This made any righteous settlement grievously hard.

671. It is most convenient to bring this **story down to date** at this point. In the first parliamentary election after the war, the Sinn Feiners displaced the Home Rulers, winning nearly all the seats outside Ulster. Of course they then left their seats vacant. In 1920 Lloyd George carried a new Home-Rule Bill, providing *two* subordinate Irish parliaments. The Ulster parliament organized; but the rest of Ireland would have nothing to do with the plan. For the next two years Ireland was ruled by martial law, with innumerable assassinations and riots and with frightful police retaliation.

At last, however, England had to recognize that the great bulk of the Irish people really were united in their demand for a new national life, and English public opinion began to rebel against the government's policy of armed repression. (No question, too, this change of feeling was hastened by the very strong and general sympathy for Ireland expressed in America — to whose public opinion England had grown sensitive.) At the same time, few Englishmen felt that, in these days of airships and submarines, England could safely run the risk of the neighboring island becoming a base of operations for an enemy in

some future war. Independence in all internal arrangements, and even in foreign trade, it was seen, had to be conceded, but along with retention of some vague oversight over foreign political relations.

And suddenly Lloyd George (to the dismay and wrath of the Tory elements in the coalition that had been supporting him) executed one more of his many political somersaults. He called into conference the Irish leaders whom just before he had been hunting down as traitors or felons, agreed with them upon a new plan of government for **an Irish Free State**, a self-governing unit within the British "Commonwealth of Free Nations," quite as independent as Canada or Australia. The English parliament readily approved the plan, and it was accepted by decided majorities in successive representative assemblies of the Irish. An "Irish Free State" parliament ratified the treaty with England, January 7, 1922, but an extreme party, holding out still for an absolutely independent Irish Republic, kept the island distracted with warfare for a year longer. Early in 1923, however, the English government withdrew its last soldiers; and an Irish parliament and its Irish ministry took charge of the destinies of Ireland — with Timothy Healey, long known as a leading Irish patriot, as Governor General.

672. Meantime suffrage reform had been completed in England. In 1912 the Asquith ministry introduced the "Fourth Parliamentary Reform Bill," extending the suffrage to *all* grown men and establishing the principle "one man, one vote"; but this bill was withdrawn, later, because of complications with the "equal suffrage" movement.

Until 1870, women in England (and in most European lands) had fewer rights than in America. But when the English "Board Schools" were created, women were given the right to vote for the Boards, and to serve upon them. In 1888 and 1894 they were given the franchise for the County Councils and Parish Councils, subject to the tax-paying restrictions that applied

to men. Then in 1893 the colony of New Zealand gave women full political rights, and in 1901 the new Australian Commonwealth (§ 680) did so, — as the separate Australian States had done or at once did do.

The action of these progressive colonies reacted upon Old England as did also the progress for equal suffrage in other European lands (§§ 723, 731–2) and in some Western states in America (West's *American People*, 689–90); and, in 1905, numbers of English women exchanged peaceful agitation for violence, in the campaign for the ballot. They made noisy and threatening demonstrations before the homes of members of the ministry; they broke windows; they invaded the House of Commons in its sittings; and at last they began even to destroy mail boxes and burn empty buildings. The purpose of these *suffragettes* was to center attention on the demand "Votes for women," since, the leaders believed, the demand was sure to be granted if only people could be kept thinking about it. When members of this party of violence were sent to jail, they resorted to a "starvation strike," until the government felt compelled to release them — after trying for a time "forceful feeding." For the time, however, the suffragettes lost public sympathy and alienated many Liberals, so that all franchise reform paused. But when the war of 1914 began, the suffragette leaders called upon their followers to drop all violence while the country was in peril; *and the devoted services of women throughout the war removed the last opposition to equal suffrage.* In 1918 the "Fourth Reform Bill" became law, giving one vote to each man and each woman.

CHAPTER XL

ENGLISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

673. Of all Peoples the English have been the most successful in colonizing new lands and in ruling semi-barbarous races. In 1776 England lost her most important colonies in North America; but the second hundred years of war with France (1689–1815) gave her a new empire (§§ 462–5, 545 *c*). **In the nineteenth century this empire was tremendously expanded again,** — mainly by peaceful settlement and daring exploration. In 1914 the British Empire covered nearly fourteen million square miles (nearly a fourth the land area of the globe), and its population numbered four hundred millions. Forty millions of this number dwelt in the British Isles, and about fifteen millions more of English descent lived in self-governing colonies, — mainly in Canada, Australia, and South Africa. The other seven eighths of the vast population of the Empire are of non-European blood, and for the most part they are subject peoples. (The World War gave England another vast accession of dependencies seized from the old German and Turkish empires, — mainly in the southern Pacific, in Southern Africa, and in Mesopotamia. Even after Egypt was set free (§ 675), there remain under British rule, in 1923, nearly 442 millions of people, or some 15 millions more than a fourth of the human race.)

The outlying possessions are of two kinds: (1) those of continental importance in themselves, such as Canada, India, Egypt, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the West Indian and South American colonies; and (2) coaling stations and naval posts commanding the routes to these possessions, such as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, St. Helena, Trinidad, and scores more.

Some colonies are completely self-governing, with no dependence upon England except in form. This is true of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. The English ministry appoints a *Governor General*, whose powers resemble those of the figurehead monarch in England. *But the people of the colony elect the local legislature; and the real executive is the local ministry, "responsible" to the legislature,* as the ministry in England is to parliament.

In another class of colonies, the governors and officials, sent out from England, really control the whole government. This class of "*crown colonies*" comprises most of the naval posts, like Gibraltar, and also those colonies lying in the torrid zone, where the population is mainly non-European.

674. India is a huge crown colony. The English ministry appoints a Viceroy and a Council, and these authorities name the subordinate officials for the subdivisions of the vast country. In the smaller districts the English officials are assisted by native officers, and to some extent by elected councils of natives. Outside the territory ruled directly by England there are also nearly a thousand native principalities, large and small, where the governments are really directed by resident English "agents."

The constant petty wars which formerly were always wasting the land have been wholly done away with, and the terrible famines, which from time immemorial have desolated it at intervals, have become fewer, and on the whole, less serious. As a result, population has increased rapidly, — over fifty per cent in a century, — and to-day more than three hundred million people dwell in India. England has built railroads, and developed cotton industries to such an extent that parts of that ancient Oriental land have taken on the appearance of a modern industrialized country. There are 800 newspapers (printed in twenty different languages); and 6,000,000 students are being educated in schools of many grades. The English, too, have been making a notable attempt to introduce self-government and

THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA, INDIA.
Built by Shah Jehan as a memorial to his favorite wife.

to get the natives to care for it. Towns are invited to elect municipal councils and to take charge of their streets and drainage and other matters of local welfare.

During the World War the attempts of German emissaries to stir up rebellion in India met little response. But the vehement insistence during those war years in England and America upon "democracy" and "the rights of subject nationalities" led soon afterward to a movement for Hindoo independence (1920–1922). This was in the main a "pacifist" agitation led by *Ghandi*, rather than a rebellion of violence; and the inexcusable cruelty used by some English officers in putting it down is the greatest stain upon the English rule.

India pays no taxes except for her own administration; but her trade is a chief source of English wealth.

675. Egypt in name was one of the tributary states of Turkey until 1914. In fact, however, it had been independent for most of the nineteenth century, until, in 1881, a new master stepped in. The government had borrowed recklessly and spent wastefully, and the land was misgoverned and oppressed by crushing taxation. Then, in 1879, England and France jointly intervened to secure payment of debts due from the Egyptian Khedive to English and French capitalists. In 1881 came a native Egyptian rising against this foreign control. France withdrew. England stayed, restored order, and "occupied" the country.

England had a special motive for staying. The Suez Canal had been opened in 1869. That gigantic undertaking had been financed by an international stock company. In 1875 Disraeli's administration had bought from the Egyptian government its share of the Canal stock, and the English intervention in Egypt was largely to protect this property — *and the shortest route to India.* Egypt was a base of operations, also, from which English rule was extended into the Soudan (map facing p. 626) far toward Central Africa.

After 1881, Egypt was really an English protectorate. The

Khedive and all the machinery of the old government remained unchanged; but an English agent was always present at the court "to offer advice." Many Englishmen entered the service of the Egyptian government, too; and all such officers looked to the English agent as their real head. In 1914, during the World War, England formally announced a full protectorate.

To Egypt itself, English rule was in many ways a decided good. The system of taxation was reformed, so that it became less burdensome and more productive. The irrigation works were revived and improved, so that Egypt became richer and more populous than ever before. Still, especially after 1900, there grew up an intelligent party among the Egyptian people who believed that their country was quite fit to stand alone — and that it had a right to try. After the World War had given its added impulse to "nationalism" everywhere, this situation led to occasional popular risings — and stern English repression. Then, quite unexpectedly to the world, in March of 1922, Lloyd George announced that Egypt was to be set free, and within a few months that ancient land, which had been under foreign rule for 2500 years, became once more an independent kingdom under a native sovereign, with relations to England much like those of Cuba to the United States.

676. One of the most important features of the nineteenth century was the development of self-government in the Anglo-Saxon colonies through "responsible" ministries. The loss of the American colonies had taught England a lesson, and the next colony to show violent dissatisfaction had all its wishes granted.

This event took place *in Canada in 1837–1847*. There were then only two "provinces." These thinly settled districts, known as Upper and Lower Canada, had been governed for many years much as Massachusetts or Virginia was governed before 1776, by a legislature of their own and by a royal governor from England with *a council of his own appointees*. There was

much discontent; and the accession of the girl-queen in England in 1837 was the signal for a rising. The rebellion was stamped out quickly; but *Lord Durham*, the English commissioner sent over to investigate, *recommended that the demands of the conquered rebels should be granted.* Parliament then ordered (1840) that thereafter the councils of the governors should be chosen by the provincial legislatures.

This by no means ended the struggle. For several years, the successive governors persisted in regarding their councilors merely as *advisers* and clerks, and continued to use executive power according to their own arbitrary discretion — in constant conflict with the representative assemblies. But in 1847 *Lord Elgin*, a new governor, began to act upon the principle that the governor was merely the *agent* of the councils (or cabinets), *who were the real executive.* From that time, this practice has always prevailed. England, in name, retains a veto upon Canadian legislation; but it is no longer used. (In 1850 a like plan for "responsible" self-government was granted to the Australian colonies; in 1852 to New Zealand; and in 1872 to Cape Colony in Africa.)

677. The growth of **the Australian colonies** is a romantic story, worthy of a book to itself. England's original claim rested on landings by Captain Cook in his voyage to the Pacific in 1769. No regular settlement was attempted for half a century; but in 1787 England sent a shipload of *convicts* to the coast of "New South Wales," and repeated this act from time to time for fifty years. After their terms of punishment, many ex-convicts became steady farmers, and finally the English government began to induce other settlers to "go out" by free grants of land and of farming implements. By 1821 the colony had a population of 40,000, and soon it became the main sheep-raising region of the world. Then New South Wales began to send out offshoots, so that by 1859 the continental island was occupied by six English colonies.

These Australian commonwealths have been pioneers in democratic progress. Before 1900, every man and *every woman* in each state had the right to vote. The government in each state owned the railroads. The "Australian ballot" and the Torrens system of land transfer came from these colonies; and a powerful Labor party in each has secured other radical reforms — which are seen better still perhaps in New Zealand.

678. New Zealand comprises a group of islands 1200 miles east of Australia. Settled and governed for a time from New South Wales, it became a separate colony in 1840. In 1911 it contained a million English-speaking inhabitants, and for many years it had then been perhaps the most democratic state in the world, with the most advanced "social insurance" and factory laws. Women secured the right to vote in 1893. Large estates had been broken up into small holdings by heavy taxation. A state "Farmers' Loan Bank" set the example followed in part by the United States in 1913.

679. South Africa was long an unsatisfactory part of the Empire for Englishmen to contemplate. England seized Cape Colony from the Dutch during the Napoleonic wars (§ 545 *c*). English settlers came in rapidly, but in 1834 a portion of the old Dutch colonists "trekked" (moved with families, ox-wagons, herds, and flocks) north into the wilderness, and set up an independent government in Natal. A few years later the British annexed Natal, and the Dutch again trekked into what is known as the Orange Free State, and, in 1848, once more into the country beyond the Vaal River. These "Transvaal" Dutch became involved in serious difficulties with the native Zulus, whom they enslaved and treated brutally, and a native rising threatened to exterminate all Europeans in South Africa. Under Disraeli (§ 654) England interposed, put down the Zulus, and extended her authority once more over the Boer states.

In 1880 the Boers rebelled, and with their magnificent marksmanship destroyed a British force at the *Battle of Majuba Hill.*

Gladstone adopted the view that the Boers had been wrongfully deprived of independence, and, without attempting to avenge Majuba Hill, he withdrew the British claims and left the Transvaal under only a vague British "protection."

Soon afterward, gold was discovered in the Transvaal, and English and other foreigners rushed in, so as to outnumber the Boer citizens. The Boers, who were simple farmers, unable themselves to develop the country, had at first invited immigrants, but soon became jealous of their growing numbers and refused them all political rights. England attempted to secure better treatment for her citizens among these new settlers, and, under Salisbury's Conservative and Imperialistic ministry, was bent upon reasserting her authority in general. The Boers declared war (1899). The Orange Free State joined the Transvaal, and the little republics carried on a marvelous and heroic struggle. They were finally beaten; and England adopted a generous policy toward the conquered, making large gifts of money to restock their ruined farms, and granting liberal self-government to her recent foes.

680. During the last half-century the English-speaking colonies (led again by Canada) **have made one more great advance in free government.** At the time of the American Revolution, "Canada" meant merely the St. Lawrence settlements. In the nineteenth century these expanded westward, forming a splendid band of states [1] spanning the continent. Then, **in 1867, the separate colonies of this British North America organized themselves into the Dominion of Canada.** This is a *federal state*, similar to the United States, composed now of nine members, with a number of other "Territories." The union has a two-house legislature, with a responsible ministry (and its figure-head "governor general" from England); and each of the eight states has its own local legislature and ministry. *A similar*

[1] Read Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Lady Merton, Colonist*, to get the spirit of the Canada of the West.

union of the six Australian colonies into one federal state was agitated for many years; and, after two federal conventions and a popular vote, it *was finally established on the first day of the twentieth century.* Finally, *in 1909*, the four South African States federated, with the name, "*The Union of South Africa.*"

Thus **three new English nations** were formed, — each at its birth large enough to command respect among the nations of the world (each one double the size of the United States at the time when its independence was achieved). The bond which holds together the Anglo-Saxon parts of the Empire is almost wholly one of feeling. Certainly, if either Canada or Australia wished to set up as an independent nation, England would not dream of trying to hold it. The English statesman, however, who should *invite* Canada to drop out of the Empire, or who should provoke her into doing so, would be universally regarded in England as a traitor to his race.

There is no present danger of separation. The colonists have had no cause to complain, except in one respect: namely, they have had no voice in deciding the policy of the Empire toward foreign nations. This evil has recently been removed in great part by the recognition of delegates from these colonial countries at the Peace Congress of 1919 and in the League of Nations, and, still more recently (1927), the recognition of the right of Canada to send her own ambassador to represent her interests at Washington. To-day the patriotic Canadian or Australian speaks proudly, not of the British *Empire*, but, with right, of "*the British Commonwealth of Free Nations.*"

All high school libraries should contain, for the study of current conditions in the various countries of the world, Keltie's *The Statesman's Year Book* (London) and *The New York World Almanac* (both revised annually), along with current periodicals.

PART IX

CONTINENTAL EUROPE, 1871–1914

CHAPTER XLI

FRANCE: THE THIRD REPUBLIC

681. The news of Sedan (§ 625) reached Paris September 3, 1870. The city had been kept in ignorance of the previous disasters to French armies. Now it went mad with dismay and terror. The next day, aided by a mob invasion of the legislative hall, a few Radical deputies tumultuously proclaimed the "Third Republic," and set up a provisional **Government of National Defense.**

This government tried at first to secure an honorable peace with Germany. But when Prussia made it plain that she intended to punish France by taking large slices of her territory, the Franco-Prussian War entered upon a new stage. Paris held out heroically through a four months' siege; and *Gambetta* (a member of the government) escaped in a balloon [1] to organize a magnificent, patriotic uprising in the provinces. Exhausted France raised army after army, and amazed the world by her tremendous exertions. But in the end it became plain that the iron grasp of the German armies could not be broken. The great population of Paris began to suffer the horrors of famine; the dogs and rats had been eaten; and on January 28 the city surrendered.

682. *There was no government in France with any real authority to make peace;* and so an armistice was arranged, to permit

[1] Airships had not yet been invented.

the election of a *National Assembly* by manhood suffrage. The Assembly met toward the close of February, 1871, and created a provisional government by electing *Thiers* "Head of the Executive Power of the French Republic." To this government **Bismarck dictated harsh terms of peace.** The Prussians took Alsace and a part of Lorraine (with the great fortresses of Metz and Strassburg), and a huge war indemnity of a billion dollars.

Bismarck Dictating Terms to Thiers in 1871, — a painting by Von Werner. The figure back of the table is Thiers' associate in the negotiation, Jules Favre, who had led the defense of Paris.

683. Hardly had the National Assembly accepted this peace before it had to meet a terrible rebellion at home. During the siege *all* adult males of Paris had been armed as National Guards. When the siege was over, every one who could get away from the distressed city did temporarily remove (including one hundred and fifty thousand of the *wealthier* National Guards), leaving Paris in control of the radical element. This element, too, kept its arms and its military organization; and it now set up a government of its own by choosing a large "Central Committee."

The National Assembly had established itself at Versailles. The Radicals of Paris suspected it of wishing to restore the monarchy. (In fact, a large majority of the members *were* Monarchists, as events were soon to prove.) Moreover, the Assembly had aggrieved the poorer classes of Paris: it had insisted upon the immediate payment of rents and other debts incurred during the siege; and it did away in large measure with the pay of the National Guard, which since the surrender had been a kind of poor-relief. In addition to all this, the Reds and Socialists still remembered bitterly the cruel middle-class vengeance of '48 (§ 596).

For two weeks Paris and Versailles faced each other like hostile camps. Then, indorsed by another popular election, the Central Committee *set up the Commune and adopted the red flag.*

The supporters of this program wished the central government of France to be merely a loose federation of independent "communes."[1] In 1848 the Paris Radicals had learned that the *country* districts of France were overwhelmingly opposed to Socialism and to "Red Republicanism"; but if each city and village could become an almost independent state, then the Radicals hoped to carry out their policy in the large cities.

But France, though still bleeding from invasion, refused to be dismembered by internal revolt. The excited middle class felt, moreover, that the institution of property itself was at stake, and they confounded all Communards together as criminals seeking to overthrow society. Like attempts to set up Communes took place at Marseilles, Toulouse, Narbonne, and Lyons; but they came to little, and the civil war was confined to Paris. April 2 the Versailles Assembly attacked Paris with the regular troops that had now returned from captivity in Germany. The struggle lasted two months and was utterly fero-

[1] So they called themselves "Federals." They are properly described also as "Communards"; but the name "Communist," which is often applied to them, is likely to give a false impression. That latter name is generally used only for those who oppose private property. Many of the Communards were also Communists, but probably the majority of them were not.

cious. The Assembly refused to treat the Communards as regular combatants, and shot down all prisoners. In retaliation, the Commune seized several hundred hostages from the better classes left in Paris. These hostages, however, were not harmed until the Commune had been overthrown. Then, in the final disorder, an unauthorized mob did put sixty-three of them to death, — the venerable Archbishop of Paris among them.

Destruction of the Vendome Column (p. 447) by the Communards — who declared the commemoration of wars of conquest unworthy of a free people. — A sketch by a contemporary Parisian artist. The monument was afterward restored.

The bombardment of Paris by the Versailles government was far more destructive than that by the Germans had been. Finally the troops forced their way into the city, which was already in flames in many sections. For eight days more, desperate fighting went on in the streets, before the rebellion was put down. Court-martial executions of large batches of prisoners continued for many months, and some thirteen thousand survivors were condemned to transportation, before the rage of the victorious middle class was sated. There are few darker

stains on the page of history than the cruelty and brutality of this middle-class vengeance.

684. The Assembly had been elected simply with a view to making peace. In choosing it, men had thought of nothing else. *It was limited by no constitution, and it had no definite term of office.* Certainly, **it had not been commissioned to make a constitution or to continue to rule indefinitely; but it did both these things.**

At the election, people had chosen conservative candidates, because they wanted men who could be counted upon not to renew the war rashly. The majority of the members proved to be Monarchists; and they failed to set up a king, only because they were divided into three rival groups, — Imperialists (Bonapartists), Orleanists (supporters of the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe), and Legitimists (adherents of the Count of Chambord, grandson of Charles X). These three factions agreed in believing that a new election would increase the strength of the Republicans; and so for five years they resisted all demands of the Republican members for dissolution.

However, now that peace had been made and the rebellion crushed, the Assembly felt compelled to replace the "provisional government" by *some* more regular form. Accordingly it made Thiers "President of the Republic," but it gave him no fixed term of office because the majority of the Assembly hoped to change to a monarchy at some favorable moment.

685. Thiers' presidency lasted two years (1871–1873), and it saw *France freed from foreign occupation.* Germany had expected the vast war indemnity (which was to be paid in installments) to keep France weak for a long period; and German garrisons were to remain in France until payment was complete. But France astonished all beholders by her rapid recovery. In eighteen months the indemnity was paid in coin, and the last German soldier had left French soil. The government loans (§ 693) were taken up enthusiastically by all classes of French-

men, — in great measure by the industrious and prosperous peasantry.

686. In 1873 a momentary coalition of Monarchists and Radicals in the Assembly forced Thiers to resign. In his place the Monarchists elected *Marshal MacMahon*, an ardent Orleanist. ***For some months a monarchic restoration seemed almost certain.*** Legitimists and Orleanists had at last united in support of the Count of Chambord, who agreed to adopt the Count of Paris as his heir. The Monarchists had the machinery of the government in their hands, and were just ready to declare the Bourbon heir the King of France, when the two factions split once more on the question of a symbol. The Orleanists wished to keep the tricolor, the flag of the 1830 Monarchy. But the Count of Chambord denounced the tricolor as the "symbol of revolution," and declared that he would not give up the white lilies of the old Bourbon monarchy, the symbol of divine right. On this scruple the chance of the Monarchists came to shipwreck.

687. Then, in 1875, despairing of an immediate restoration, the Assembly adopted a constitution. Modified slightly by later amendments, this is the present constitution of the French Republic. It has never been submitted to the people. It is brief, because the Monarchist majority preferred to leave the details to be settled by later legislation, hoping to adapt them to a kingly government. The first draft spoke of a "Chief Executive." An amendment changed this title to "President of *the Republic*"; but the change was adopted by a majority of only *one* in a vote of 705. (*In 1884* a new amendment declared the republican form of government "*not subject to repeal.*")

The legislature consists of two Houses. The Senate contains three hundred members, holding office for nine years, one third going out each third year. (At first, seventy-five of the members were to hold office for life, but in 1884 an amendment declared that no more life members should be chosen.) The Deputies (lower House) are chosen by manhood suffrage for a term

of four years. To amend the constitution, or to choose a President, *the two Houses meet together, at Versailles*, away from possible disturbances in Paris. In this joint form, they take the name *National Assembly*. A *majority vote* of this National Assembly suffices to change the constitution.

The executive consists of a *president*, elected for seven years by the National Assembly, and of *the ministry* he appoints. The president has much less power than the president of the United States. The ministers wield enormous power. They direct all legislation, appoint a vast multitude of officers, and carry on the government. Nominally, the president appoints the ministers; but, in practice, he must name those who will be acceptable to the Deputies. The ministry is obliged to resign when it ceases to have a majority behind it.

Neither France nor any other European republic gives to its judiciary the power to veto laws as unconstitutional (as our American Supreme Court may do). The legislature itself is the sole judge of the constitutionality of its acts.

688. Even after the adoption of the constitution, the Assembly did not give way at once to a new legislature. But almost every "by-election" (to fill a vacancy) resulted in a victory for the Republicans, and *by 1876* that party had gained a majority of the seats. It at once dissolved the Assembly, and **the new elections created a House of Deputies two thirds Republican.** The Senate, with its seventy-five life-members, was still monarchic; and, with its support, MacMahon tried to keep a Monarchist ministry. But under the leadership of the fiery Gambetta, the Deputies *withheld all votes of supply*, until MacMahon appointed a ministry acceptable to it. *In 1879* the renewal of one third of the Senate gave the Republicans a majority in that House also, and, soon after, MacMahon resigned. Then the National Assembly elected a Republican president.

For nearly a century, France had passed from revolution to revolution, until the world came to doubt whether any French government could be stable. The present constitution of France

is the eleventh since 1789. Four times between 1792 and 1871 had the Republicans seized Paris; three times they had set up a republic; but never before had they truly represented the deliberate determination of the whole people. In 1879 they came into power, not by violence, but by an eight years' constitutional struggle against the political tricks of an accidental Monarchist majority. *This time it was the Republicans whom the conservative, peace-loving peasantry supported.* Even the World War did not bring any thought of a change in this form of government.

689. The important units of local government are the Departments and Communes (§ 498). For each Department the Minister of the Interior *appoints* a prefect. Besides general executive power, this officer *appoints* police, postmen, and other local authorities. In each Department there is also a general council (*elected* by manhood suffrage), with control over *local* taxation — except that *its decisions are subject to the approval of the central government.* Indeed, the central government may dissolve a Departmental council at any time, and order a new election.

The Communes of France (since the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine in the World War) number about forty thousand. They vary in size from great cities to rural villages with only two or three hundred people. Each has a mayor and a council. Until 1884, *the mayor* was appointed by the Minister of the Interior; since 1884, he has been elected by the municipal council. The central government, however, may revise his acts or even remove him from office. *The municipal council* is elected by manhood suffrage; but its acts are subject to the approval of the prefect of the Department or of the central government.

Such conditions do not seem very encouraging at first to an American student; but, as compared with the past in France, the situation is full of promise. Political interest is steadily growing in the Communes, and *Frenchmen are learning more and more to use the field of self-government open to them.*

690. Unlike the previous French constitutions, **the present constitution has no "bill of rights."** That is, it has no provisions regarding jury trial, habeas corpus privileges, or the right of free speech. Even if it had, the courts could not protect the individual from arbitrary acts of the government by appealing to such provisions, because, in case of conflict between a citizen and the government, the suit is tried, not in the ordinary courts, but in *administrative courts*, made up of government officials. As a rule, the administrative courts mete out fair treatment; but in case of any supposed danger to the government, they *may* become its champions — at the expense of the rights of a citizen.[1] It is only too true, however, that in times of excited feeling other democracies with long bills of rights have shown quite as serious a disregard of personal liberty.

691. The zeal of the early Revolutionists for education (§ 513) was not given time to produce results; and the restored monarchy gave little attention to public schools. *In 1827 a third of the Communes of France had no primary school whatever*, and nearly a third of the population could neither read nor write. **The real growth of popular education** dates from the Third Republic. By 1911, in every Commune there was a primary school or group of schools. Education is free and compulsory, and the central government appoints teachers and regulates the courses of study. Each Department has an excellent system of secondary schools, called *lycées;* and the higher institutions are among the most famous in the world.

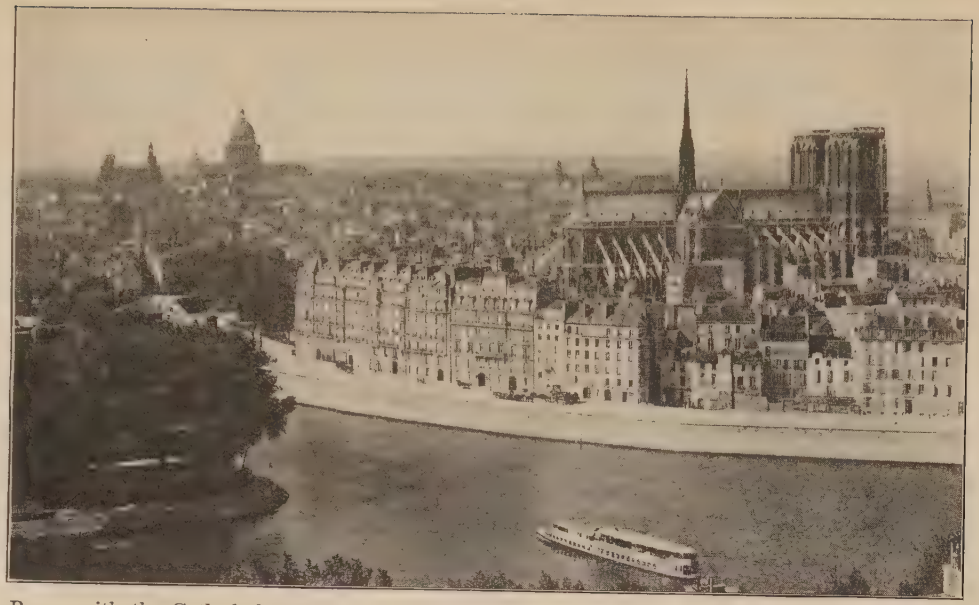
692. The advance of industry in the forty-three years between the Franco-Prussian and the World War was enormous. The yearly production of wealth tripled (though the population slightly decreased). Coal mines turned out four times as much coal in 1911 as in 1871, and the number of patents granted in 1911 was five times as many as in 1871. (It is to be kept in

[1] SPECIAL REPORT: the Dreyfus trials.

mind, too, that Germany had taken from France — in Alsace-Lorraine — its richest iron districts.)

This progress is the more remarkable when we remember that *France is preëminently an agricultural country.* The peculiar thing about French society, down to the World War, was the number of small land-owners and the prosperity of this landed peasantry. In 1900, more than half the entire population lived on the soil, and three fourths the soil was under crops. The great mass of cultivators owned little farms of from five to fifty acres. France supplied her population with foodstuffs, and exported a large surplus. The subdivision of the soil was carried so far that it was difficult to introduce the best machinery (though neighborhood associations were being founded to own machinery in common). The peasant was intelligent, industrious, thrifty, prosperous, happy, and conservative. He wished to educate his son, and he had a high standard of living, compared with other European peasantry. With five or six children, a farmer owning five or ten acres found it almost impossible to keep up this standard and to leave his children as well off as he himself had been. Therefore the peasantry have not wished large families, *and for a long time population has been almost stationary.* (By the census of 1921 it was a little under forty millions. The recovery of Alsace-Lorraine, with its two millions of people, somewhat more than balanced in numbers the losses in the World War.)

693. Before the War **this population was a "nation of little savers,"** and consequently a nation of money lenders. Through the nineteenth century, England had been the world's banker. In 1900, France was beginning to hold that place. After 1900, when a government wished to "float" a huge loan, or when capitalists wished to finance some vast industrial enterprise, France commonly furnished the cash. England still had more wealth than France; but it was largely "fixed" in long-time investments, while French wealth was held by a great number of people of small means, all seeking constantly for investments.



PARIS, with the Cathedral of Notre Dame on the right. The older European cities do not show the steel-built "sky-scrapers" of our later American cities. Cf. the cut of New York facing p. 617.

The French national debt was not held, like the American or the English, in 1911, by men of great wealth, in large amounts, but by some 3,000,000 French people, — shopkeepers, clerks, artisans, day-laborers, small farmers, — in small amounts. The French government encouraged this tendency of the workingman to "invest" savings, by putting "bonds" on sale at every village post office in small denominations — as low even as one franc (20 cents). (This admirable plan of encouraging all citizens to become "bondholders" — and "stockholders in the national prosperity" — was adopted by the United States during the World War.)

German invasion in 1914–1918 made much of the fairest part of France a hideous desert, and drained the rest of workers and of wealth. Since 1923, however, there has been a steady progress toward a return of prosperity.

694. **Politics** in France have been, much of the time, upon a lower level than business life. The best minds of France have not been present in the Assembly. That body has been broken into many parties, and the ministries have been kaleidoscopic in their changes. This meant woeful confusion and inefficiency; and the government has suffered from red tape and from a widespread taint of corruption in politics. After 1900 the Socialists gained power rapidly; and, in the election of 1914, they became the largest of the *nine* parties in the Assembly. But the war called back to power more conservative statesmen.

695. About 1750 France bade fair to be the great colonial power of the world. Thirteen years later saw her stripped of all possessions outside Europe, except a few unimportant islands in the Indian Ocean and in the Antilles and some small ports in India (§ 464). **In the nineteenth century France became again a colonial power.** In 1830 the government of Charles X took advantage of an insult by the Dey of Algiers to a French consul to seize territory in North Africa. In the middle of the century this foothold had grown, through savage and bloody wars,

into complete occupancy of Algeria. The Third Republic introduced civil rule; and, since 1880, Algeria has been not so much a foreign possession, or a colony, as a part of France separated from the rest by a strip of sea. The French make only a small part of the population, it is true, but the country is orderly and civilized. The settled portion, near the coast, is divided into Departments, like those in European France, with representatives in the French legislature. The inland parts are still barbarous and disorderly, but to this long-desolate Barbary *coast*, French rule has restored the fertility and bloom that belonged to it as the garden of the ancient Roman world.

Nearly all the rest of the vast French colonial empire has been secured since the Franco-Prussian War. Algeria was one of five large states on the Mediterranean coast of Africa, — Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt. All five had long been virtually independent Mohammedan kingdoms, though in name they had remained part of the decaying Turkish Empire. And all five, until Europeans stepped in, were in a vicious state of misrule, disorder, and tyranny. We have seen how in 1881 Egypt fell under England's "protection." France quickly regretted that she had so easily given up her claim to share in that rich land, and in the same year she seized gladly upon disorders in Tunis as an excuse for extending her authority, from Algeria eastward, over that country. In 1904 she began in like fashion to extend her sway in North Africa toward the west; establishing a protectorate over part of Morocco.

Before seizing upon Tunis in 1881 — an act sure to arouse violent resentment in Italy, which looked upon Tunis as her own prey — the French government thought it necessary to lay its plans before Bismarck. That astute statesman at that time had not begun to have any colonial ambition for Germany, and he encouraged the French project, welcoming the chance to arouse hostility between France and Italy. (Indeed, with characteristic crookedness, he at the same moment encouraged

Italy to hope for Tunis.) Soon afterward, however (§ 704), Germany herself entered the race for colonial empire; and in 1911 an extension of French rule in Morocco almost plunged Europe into war. William II of Germany sent a warship to Agadir, a harbor of Morocco, and "rattled the saber in the scabbard." But England supported France; and Germany was finally appeased by European consent to her seizing new territory in Africa.

France has huge possessions in other parts of Africa, on both the east and west coasts, besides the great island of Madagascar. (The World War enlarged these holdings at the expense of Germany, and consolidated them, so that France now rules practically all North Central Africa from the Mediterranean to the Congo, and from the Atlantic to Egypt and the Soudan.) In America she holds Guiana (Cayenne), with a few ports in the Antilles. In Oceanica, between 1884 and 1887 she obtained New Caledonia and several smaller islands. Her most important colonies, outside Africa, are in the peninsula of Indo-China in southeastern Asia. Napoleon III seized southern districts there, and the Third Republic, extended the seizure, in a series of savage wars, as far north as the Mekong river. For many years, moreover, the "imperialistic" forces in France ("jingo" politicians and some large business interests) had sought an indirect control in southern Syria much like that which Germany was trying to establish in Asia Minor; and the peace treaty after the World War turned over this rich district to France (§ 868).

At the same time, France is not herself a colonizing nation — any more than in the seventeenth century (§ 442). Even in the settled portions of her colonial empire the *European* population is small. The total area of the colonial possessions is more than five million square miles, five sixths of it in Africa. The colonial population is nearly 54 millions. The orderly regions (a very small part of the whole) have a share in self-

government, and even have representatives in the legislature at Paris. As an offset to this admirable fact, there stands the ominous truth, that, since the World War, France fills the ranks of her European army more and more from savage African tributary tribes. In recent years, such "colonials" make nearly half of her 700,000 men under arms.

696. Down to the World War, the most critical contest in the Third Republic was **the Kulturkampf**, the struggle between church and state for the control of education and indeed of other family relations. At the creation of the Third Republic, the state paid the expenses of all organized churches, Catholic, Protestant, or Mohammedan. Seventy-eight per cent of the French people in 1900 were members of the Catholic church;[1] but, even in so strongly Catholic a land, the people felt much distrust of *political* influence from the Catholic clergy.

This was largely because during the strenuous period from 1871 to 1879 the clergy threw their influence on the side of the Monarchists. Accordingly, when the Republicans came into power, they hastened to weaken the church by taking from it its ancient control over the family. Marriage was made a civil contract (to be performed by a magistrate) instead of a sacrament; divorce was legalized, despite the teachings of the Catholic church against it; and all religious orders were forbidden to teach in either public or private schools.

For a time, to be sure, the government let some of the anti-clerical laws rest unenforced. But about 1900, the Republicans and Radicals became alarmed again at the evidence of Monarchic sympathies still existing among the aristocracy, and convinced themselves that these sympathies were due to the remaining clerical influence in the schools. In the years 1901–1903, thousands of church schools were closed by the police, sometimes amid riots and bloodshed. Pope Pius X protested,

[1] Mohammedanism is confined to the African possessions. Two per cent of the people of France in 1900 were Protestants. Nearly twenty per cent had no church connection.

and deposed two French bishops who had acquiesced in the government's policy. The government recalled its ambassador from the papal court, and adopted a plan which it called " separation of church and state."

This law of 1905 declared the nation the owner of all church property in France. Each religious *congregation*, however, was invited to reorganize as a self-supporting " cultural association," with the permanent *use* of its old property. Protestant churches complied; but such organization was forbidden to Catholics by the pope as incompatible with the principles of the church.

In the elections of 1906, however, the nation gave an overwhelming indorsement to the whole anti-clerical policy; and then the government evicted great numbers of Catholic clergy from their homes (for refusing to obey the law of 1905) and banished multitudes of them. In 1914, when the great European war began, two thousand of these banished priests returned to France to fight in the ranks against the invaders of their country.

For Further Reading. — Andrews or Hayes. On the constitution, Lowell's *Greater European Governments*. For recent changes, *The Statesman's Year Book* or *The World Almanac*.

CHAPTER XLII

THE GERMAN EMPIRE, 1871–1918

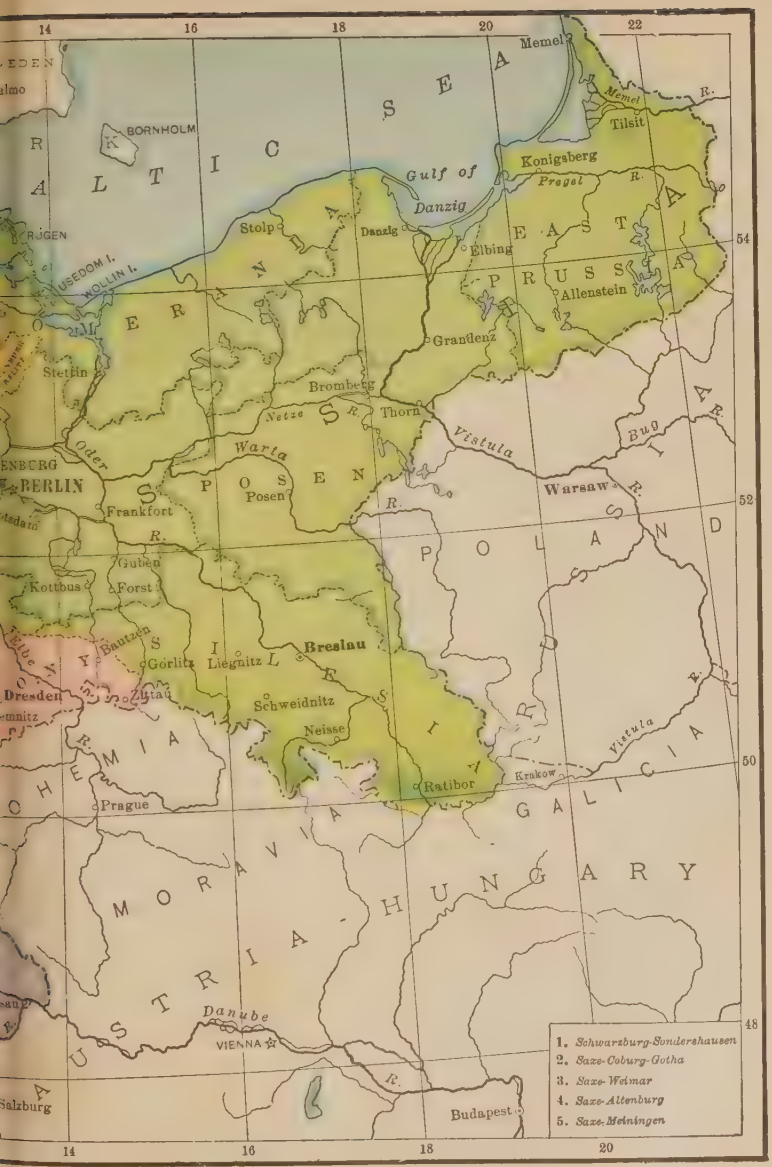
697. The Germanic Confederation of 1814–1867 was a loose confederacy of sovereign states. **The German Empire of 1871–1918 was a federal state.** The central government was strengthened by the change, somewhat as was ours in America when we exchanged our Articles of Confederation for our present Constitution.

698. But this German "federated" Empire was made up not of republican states but of monarchic states (4 kingdoms, 18 duchies, 3 "free cities"); and **its government was essentially undemocratic.** The controlling body in the Empire was the Federal Council, consisting during most of its history of 56 delegates, *appointed* by the rulers of the different states and *directed* from day to day by those princes. This council (Bundesrath) *prepared* measures for the legislature, and had a veto upon all laws.

The imperial legislature was the Reichstag — a one-House assembly elected by manhood suffrage. Of the 397 delegates, Prussia had 236. Practically, the power of this assembly was limited to accepting or rejecting proposals from the Bundesrath. Even its control over taxation was incomplete. Most revenue measures were *standing* laws. That is, once passed, they could not be changed without the consent of the Bundesrath. The imperial ministry, appointed by the Emperor, was called "responsible," but not in the English sense: it was not obliged to resign when defeated in the Reichstag.

The emperor, in theory, was only the life president of the federation. But this life presidency was *hereditary* in the kings of Prussia. The emperor was head of the army; and through

THE GERMAN EMPIRE
1871-1914
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160 180 200
NORTH SEA
HELGOLAND
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN
Kiel Bay
Kiel
Lubeck Bay
Cuxhaven
Altona
Hamburg
Harburg
Lubeck
Elbe
Bremen
Oldenburg
Weser
Zuyder Zee
Amsterdam
THE HAGUE
Osnabrück
Hanover
Brunswick
Hildesheim
Münster
Detmold
Halberstadt
Bernburg
Nordhausen
Essen
Dortmund
Cassel
Crefeld
Düsseldorf
Barmen
Elberfeld
Mülheim
Mulhausen
BRUSSELS
BELGIUM
Cologne
RHINE
Aachen
Bonn
Gotha
Erfurt
Coburg
Frankfort
Hanau
Wiesbaden
Mainz
Darmstadt
Würzburg
Bamberg
Treves
LUXEMBURG
Worms
Mannheim
Kaiserslautern
PALATINATE
Rheims
Fürth
Nuremburg
Heidelberg
Heilbronn
Metz
Karlsruhe
Pforzheim
Stuttgart
Nancy
Strasburg
WURTEMBERG
Danube
Ulm
Augsburg
Frieburg
Mülhausen
Constance
SWITZERLAND
Rhine
Maas
Mosel
Main
Lech
Isar


14
16
18
20
22
54
52
50
48
Memel
Memel R.
Tilsit
BORNHOLM
Konigsberg
Pregel R.
Gulf of Danzig
Danzig
Stolp
Elbing
EAST PRUSSIA
Allenstein
RÜGEN
USEDOM I.
WOLLIN I.
Grandenz
Stettin
Bromberg
Netze R.
Thorn
Vistula R.
Bug R.
Oder R.
Warta R.
POSEN
Posen
Warsaw
BERLIN
Frankfort
POLAND
Guben
Kottbus
Forst
Bautzen
Görlitz
Liegnitz
Breslau
SILESIA
Dresden
Zittau
Schweidnitz
Neisse
Vistula R.
Ratibor
Krakow
GALICIA
Prague
MORAVIA
HUNGARY
Danube
VIENNA
Budapest
Salzburg
1. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen
2. Saxe-Coburg-Gotha
3. Saxe-Weimar
4. Saxe-Altenburg
5. Saxe-Meiningen

his control over the ministry and over so large a part of the Bundesrath (he appointed the large Prussian delegation) he *controlled all foreign relations* and virtually held a veto upon all domestic legislation. *He held still mightier authority in the Empire from his position as despotic ruler of Prussia.* Prussia had three fifths of the population of the Empire, and more than that part of the power. Her divine-right "constitution," "granted" by the king in '48 (§ 603), left the king virtually an autocrat in Prussia; and Prussia's power made him an autocrat in the Empire.

At his coronation, **William I** took the crown from the communion table, declaring, "The crown comes only from God, and I have received it from His hands." In 1888 William was succeeded by his son, **Frederick III**. Frederick was an admirer of parliamentary government upon the English pattern; but his three months' reign brought no change in the government.

William II, the son of Frederick, returned to the principles of his grandfather. As a youth, he had been a great admirer of Bismarck; but it soon became plain that the two men were each too masterful to work together, and in 1890 the emperor curtly dismissed the chancellor from office. Thereafter, William II himself directed the policy of the Empire, and he was a greater force in European politics than any other sovereign in Europe. He believed thoroughly in the "divine-right" theory, and he repeatedly stated it in as striking a form as ever did James I of England or Louis XIV of France, two or three centuries ago. In the Visitors' Book in the Town Hall of Munich, he wrote, "The will of the king is the supreme law." In an address to his army, he said: "On me, as German Emperor, the spirit of God has descended. I am His sword and His Vice-regent." "All-Highest" was a recognized form of address for the emperor. And the phrase ironically attributed to him — "Me und Gott" — is no great exaggeration of the patronizing way in which he often referred to the Almighty as a partner in his enterprises.

The imperial government was frugal and efficient. It made justice in the courts easy to secure; it guarded against food adulteration long before the rest of the world did; and in other ways it zealously protected the public health. But alongside this watchful paternalism, there were grievous faults. Germany had been made by violence, and the result showed in *the spirit of militarism and in the predominance of the methods of the drill sergeant.* Police rule was all-pervading. Said a keen foreign observer (1896): "To live in Germany always seems to me like a return to the nursery." Even worse was the contemptuous and oftentimes brutal treatment of civilians by army officers. For years the newspapers contained reports of gross and unprovoked insults, and sometimes of violent assaults, by officers upon unoffending citizens, for which it was difficult to obtain redress in the courts. There was no security for personal rights. Trial by jury, freedom of the press, freedom of public meetings, and free speech existed only in a limited degree. To criticize the emperor in the press, ever so lightly, was likely to land the offender in jail for a considerable term.

Some survey like the foregoing is needful to guard us against the "tyranny of names." England and Germany in 1914 were both "constitutional monarchies"; but they stood at the two poles of government. England had a democratic government, in which the monarchic and aristocratic survivals were practically powerless — mere matters of form; the German Empire was one of the most absolute autocracies in the world. England's ideals were based upon industry and world-peace: Germany's ideals were based upon militarism and conquest.

699. This divine-right militaristic autocracy was upheld (1) by the landed squires, or junkers, and (2) by the capitalists. The junkers were rural and largely a Prussian class, especially strong toward the east. The capitalists were a new class in Germany. The factory system, which had grown up in England before 1800 and in France by 1825, did not begin to make headway in Germany until nearly 1870. Then, indeed, manufactures and trade grew by leaps — aided by the coal and iron

of Alsace-Lorraine and by subsidies from the huge war indemnity just then robbed of France. The whole artisan class was trained to "efficiency" in trade schools, — which were distinctly class schools, suited on this German plan to an undemocratic land only, in which the son of an artisan must look for no "higher" station than his father. And on the other hand there appeared a new figure in German life, the princely manufacturing capitalist. After 1880, the thousands of this class took their place — alongside the junker nobility — as a chief support of German autocracy, with a vivid expectation of favors to be received in the form of special privileges.

In Germany, as elsewhere earlier, this victory of the Industrial Revolution meant a tremendous growth of cities. Hamburg grew from 350,000 people in 1870 to 1,000,000 in 1910; Berlin from 820,000 to 2,000,000; Essen from 50,000 to 300,000; while many wholly new centers of trade appeared where had been only farming hamlets — especially in coal and iron districts, such as the Ruhr and Saar Valleys. The population of the Empire doubled in these forty years.

700. German autocracy had also its physical arm. After 1866, *the Prussian army system was extended over all Germany.* At twenty each man was compelled to enter the ranks for two years' active service. For five years more he was a member of the "active reserves," with two months in camp each year. These reserves were to be called out for regular service in case of war. For twelve years more he was listed in the territorial reserve — liable for garrison duty in time of war, and even for front rank service in special need. Exemption from training was usually allowed to the only son of a dependent widow and to those unfit because of physical defects.

701. The Prussian victories of 1866 and 1870 convinced all Europe of the superiority of this system over the old professional armies, **and nearly every state in Europe soon adopted it,** with slight variations. The burden was enormous — the most woeful waste of human energy the world ever saw — and the direct cost was far less than the indirect cost involved in withdrawing so large a part of each man's best years

from productive work. (England, trusting to her navy, and the United States, trusting to her position, were the only large countries that dared refuse the crushing burden — and for England the cost of her navy was almost as serious.)

Worse still, this militarism was a constant temptation to war. Rulers could not but regret leaving their costly tools to rust unused. Thousands of ambitious young officers in every land necessarily looked forward to war as a chance to justify their training and their cost to the nation. And in the whole population, militarism developed a disposition to trust to force in dealing with other nations, rather than to goodwill and reason.

Even worse, militarism develops a state of mind hostile to true democracy at home. Men come to exalt the army above the civil authorities, and to adopt a servile attitude toward autocratic army officers. All these evils were found in surprising degree in the German Empire, as compared with the rest of Europe, and in Prussia as compared with the rest of Germany.

702. For nearly twenty years after the Empire was established, Bismarck directed its course. The "Iron Chancellor" was a ruler of tremendous power of will; but he carried his policy of "blood and iron" into civil affairs — *and failed.* Three contests fill the period.

a. The Empire had brought Catholic and Protestant Germany under one government — which prepared the way for conflict. The first struggle, however, came within the Catholic church. In 1870 a General Council of the church declared the pope infallible (incapable of error) in promulgating doctrines of faith and morals. Many of the German Catholic clergy refused assent to this "innovation" in doctrine (as they regarded it) and took the name of *Old Catholics.* The orthodox bishops attacked this sect vigorously, and expelled instructors in the schools who did not teach the dogma of infallibility.

Then Bismarck stepped in to defend the Old Catholics and to assert the supremacy of the state over the church. Under his influence, the legislature expelled the Jesuits from Germany, and took marriage and all education, *private* and public (even

the education of the clergy) from the control of the church. To enforce these laws, priests were deprived of office, and were even punished by long terms of imprisonment or by exile. When the pope declared that the anti-clerical laws ought not to be obeyed, Bismarck confiscated ecclesiastical salaries and took into the government's hands all the property and revenues of the church. From 1875 to 1879, one fifth the parishes in Prussia had no clergy; schools and seminaries were closed; chairs of theology in the universities were vacant; houses of the clergy were raided by the police; and numbers of men of devoted Christian lives and broad scholarship languished in prison.

This persecution, however, steadily lost favor among the people. A growing "Catholic" party in the Reichstag hampered all Bismarck's projects; and finally he was forced to make terms with it, in order to secure the legislation he desired against the Socialists. In 1880 the government began its retreat; and *it abandoned step by step every position it had assumed in the quarrel.*

b. Socialism did not become prominent in Germany until after 1848, and it had no chance *politically* until manhood suffrage was introduced (in the election of the Reichstag of the North German Confederation). In the Reichstag of 1867 there sat eight socialists. Faithful to their doctrine of human brotherhood, these delegates earnestly opposed the war of 1870–1871 with France, especially after it became a war for conquest. The leaders were tried for treason, because of this "unpatriotic" position, and condemned to years of imprisonment; and in the first Imperial Reichstag (1871) the party had only two representatives. But in 1874 the number had risen to nine, and in 1877, to twelve.

Bismarck then began to feel it needful to put down Socialism. His effort to secure repressive laws called out two attempts by Socialist fanatics to assassinate the emperor (1877, 1878). This played into Bismarck's hands and made the Reichstag

ready to go all lengths against the "Red Specter." New laws gave the government authority to dissolve associations, break up meetings, confiscate publications, and imprison or banish suspects *by decree.* (Then Bismarck made these laws *retroactive,* and at once banished from Berlin seventy men who had *formerly* been connected with the Socialists.)

The Socialists met this ruthless severity with as much fortitude as the Catholic clergy had shown in their conflict. Socialism for a time became an underground current. In 1881, just after the beginning of the repressive legislation, its vote fell off somewhat; but in the election of 1884 it had risen to over half a million — much more than ever before — and in 1887 it was over three fourths of a million. Then the repressive laws were allowed to expire. *Again the Iron Chancellor had failed.*

During the latter part of the struggle, Bismarck used also a wiser policy. He tried to cut the ground from under the feet of the Socialist agitators by improving the condition of the working classes, along lines pointed out by the Socialists themselves. In 1884 he said, — "Give the workingman *the right to work* while he is well, and assure him care when he is sick, and maintenance when he is old, and the Social Democrats will get no hold upon him." In accordance with this program, Bismarck favored the introduction of great public works to afford employment, and he created a state fund to help insure the injured and the aged.

In this "Social insurance," Germany was a pioneer — though before the World War England and France had passed by her. The legislation, however, did not weaken Social Democracy. Indeed the Socialists railed at it as fear-inspired, poor-law legislation. To Bismarck, and to William II, it was the duty of the divine-right government to care for the laborer. To the Social Democrats, it was the right of the laborers themselves to control the government and to care for themselves through it.

It is convenient here to carry the topic of Socialism down to the Great War. After 1898 the Socialists were much the largest political party, gaining heavily in every election. In

1912 the total vote, 12,188,000, was split among fifteen parties, but the Socialists cast 4,239,000 of those votes — or more than twice as many as any other party. (This was largely, no doubt, because the Socialist party was the only German party to urge such ordinary progressive measures as universal suffrage including "votes for women," the initiative and referendum, equal electoral districts, payment of members of the Reichstag, and responsibility of the government to the Reichstag.)

c. Equally violent, and more long-continued, and equally futile, was Bismarck's effort to Germanize the Poles of Posen, the Danes of Sleswig, and the French of Alsace. To each of these subject peoples, Germany forbade the use of its own language. The Sleswig Danes were not allowed to teach any history in their schools prior to the time when they were seized by Prussia. The Poles were tempted by the government to sell their lands to German immigrants; and, when instead they sold cheap to men of their own race, the lands were seized by the government (with compensation). But even then the Germans whom the government induced to settle in Posen rapidly became Poles in feeling, as those induced to settle in Alsace often became French. To the end, the delegates in the Reichstag from these three districts were always "in opposition" to the government. *The Prussian system, begotten of force, had confidence only in force — and so proved itself unfit for the problems of modern life.*[1]

703. In another matter, Bismarck's failure was less blamable. The old Germany of his youth had been an agricultural country. Foreign trade had been of little consequence. The new commercial Germany that grew up after 1870 he never felt any real sympathy for; but after a short resistance, in 1878, **he yielded to its demands for high protective tariffs.**

[1] There should be no trouble in distinguishing between this policy of *forceful* Germanization of *un*willing, conquered subjects, and our Americanization, by inducement, of those foreigners who of their own will have sought homes in our midst.

704. The manufacturing interest began early to call also for a colonial empire, outside Europe, as a safe and "sole" market; and this demand Bismarck resisted for years. It was supported, however, by a people's demand. After 1880 the label "Made in Germany" began to be seen on all sorts of articles in all parts of the world, and before 1900 Germany had passed all countries except England and the United States in manufactures and trade. Still the nation was not content. Population was growing rapidly, and many millions had sought homes in other lands, mainly in the United States and in Argentina and Brazil. And so in 1884, partly to meet the commercial demands of the capitalists, and partly to keep future German emigrants under the German flag, **Bismarck reluctantly adopted the policy of acquiring colonies.**

At that time Germany had no possessions outside Europe, and no war navy. But, though late in entering the scramble for foreign possessions, she made rapid progress, especially after the young William II dismissed Bismarck from office in 1890. William stood, not for Bismarck's policy of *preserving* the great existing Germany of that day, but for a new "Pan-German" policy of making Germany greater — by means even more unscrupulous than those Bismarck had used — until she should be world-mistress.

Thereafter the colonial empire mounted by leaps. At the opening of the World War, Germany had vast possessions in Africa, a million square miles in all, mainly on the Guinea coast and in South Africa on both east and west coasts (map facing § 626), many valuable groups of islands in the Pacific, and the Shantung province of China.[1] None of these acquisitions, however, interested German ambition so deeply as did one other advance — into Asia Minor — which began in earnest about 1900, and which can be treated to better advantage later (§ 804 ff.).

[1] Two German missionaries were murdered in China in 1897, and the Kaiser made that a pretext for this last seizure. A German Socialist paper in a satirical cartoon represented him as saying, — "If only my missionaries hold out, I may become master of all Asia."

705. Germany came to look upon England as the chief foe to her colonial expansion, and **Kaiser William determined to make Germany a great naval power**. He constructed the Kiel Canal, so that the navy might have perfect protection, and so that it might instantly concentrate in either the North Sea or the Baltic; and year by year, against violent Socialist resistance, he forced vast appropriations through the Reichstag to construct more and huger superdreadnoughts.

For Further Reading. — Dawson's *Bismarck and State Socialism* and Russell's *German Social Democracy* are good treatments of their subjects. Gooch's *Modern Europe* is an excellent reference for all the matter of this chapter.

Review Exercise. — Make a "brief," or outline, for the history of Germany from the French Revolution to the World War. Do the like for France and for England.

CHAPTER XLIII

OTHER STATES OF CENTRAL EUROPE TO 1914

The brief summaries in this chapter attempt merely (1) to give the facts necessary to keep the thread of general European history unbroken, (2) to trace the universal progress in literacy and in the political franchise, and (3) to note for each country its *special* contribution to the world, if it has made one. The old Austrian Empire it proves more convenient to treat in a later chapter — in connection with the Balkans.

I. ITALY

706. The constitution of Italy is the one given to Sardinia in 1848. It provides for a limited monarchy with a ministry "responsible" to the legislature. Until 1882 voting was restricted by a high property qualification to about one man in seven, but by 1913, by successive steps, virtual *manhood franchise* had been established. Local government is patterned upon that of France.

707. In 1861 Italy had no schools except those taught by religious orders, and only 26 per cent of the population (above six years of age) could read and write. The next twenty years, through the introduction of free public schools, increased this percentage to 38; and twenty years more, to 44. The higher educational institutions are excellent; and in history and science Italian scholars hold high rank.

708. The kingdom of Italy at its birth was far behind the other great states of Europe. Its proper tasks were to provide for public education, to repress brigandage, to build railroads, to foster useful industries, to drain malarial swamps and reclaim abandoned lands, and to develop the abundant water power on the east slope of the Apennines so as to furnish electric power for manufacturing (particularly necessary since Italy has no coal). **Progress** in all this **has been hindered by the poverty of**

the people and by tremendous expenses for military purposes. Italy was freed by force of arms, in 1859–1861. The new-born state, for many years more, feared that the work might be undone by France or Austria; so it adopted *the usual European military system*, with even longer terms of active service than were required in Germany or France.

709. Taxation is crushing; and yet the government can hardly meet expenses. Even before the World War, a fourth of the revenue went to pay the interest on the national debt, and a large part of the rest was for military purposes, leaving only a small part for the usual and helpful purposes of government. The government was driven to desperate expedients: salt and tobacco were made government monopolies; the state ran a lottery; and taxation upon houses, land, and incomes was so exorbitant as seriously to hamper industry.

710. Economic distress led to political and socialistic agitation. The government at first met this by stern repressive legislation. Socialists and Republicans were imprisoned by hundreds; and for years at a time large parts of Italy were in "state of siege," or under martial law. The Socialists, however, gained slowly in the parliament; and after 1900 violent repression was given up. The Socialists then became a true political party, as in France; and, in the years just before the World War, they were strong even in the ministries.

After the war, however, in the midst of intensified distress, socialist workmen in many parts of the country took possession of the factories — with the temporary acquiescence of the government. But their failure to win industrial prosperity hastened a reaction; and in 1922 a secret and highly organized *Fascisti* movement seized ministerial and parliamentary control by a *coup d'état*, making its leader, Mussolini, a true dictator. The Fascisti claim that the world is weary of liberty, and that it wants order. For two years Italy accepted this doctrine. But, in 1924, Fascisti officials murdered a leading Socialist (*Matteoti*) to prevent disclosure of government corruption (of which he had said he had proof); and then the public indignation forced Mussolini to punish the guilty and to *promise* a constitutional government.

711. A large emigration leaves Italy each year, mainly for Brazil and the Argentine Republic. Partly in hope to retain these emigrants as Italian citizens, **the government took up a policy of securing colonies**. Indeed the new-born kingdom of Italy almost at once began to dream of renewing ancient Italian control in the Mediterranean. Just across from Sicily lay Tunis, one of the rich but anarchic provinces of the decaying Turkish Empire. To be ready to seize this plum when ripe, Italy began to build a navy, and, at crushing cost, she finally made hers among the most powerful in the world. But before she was quite ready to act, France stepped in (§ 695). Bitterly chagrined, Italy then used her military and naval force to secure valuable territory on the coast of Abyssinia (1885), and (1912–1913) to seize Tripoli from Turkey.

712. Another difficulty about territory long troubled Italy with better reason. When Austria gave back "Venetia" to Italy in 1867, it was not by any means the ancient Venetia in extent. Old Venetia had reached down the east coast of the Adriatic, through Dalmatia; and the modern seaport, Trieste, was still largely Italian in blood — though the country district about it was mainly Slav. Italy desired the Dalmatian coast, with complete control of both sides of the Adriatic.

In this matter, right and wrong were intermingled, so that a just solution of the problem was hardly to be expected. But another part of the same trouble was simpler. "Lombardy," redeemed in 1859, certainly should have included the Trentine district on the south slope of the Alps, with its purely Italian population; but, through the favor of Napoleon III, Austria retained it. This "**Italia Irredenta**" ("Unredeemed"), along with unredeemed Trieste, was a constant source of danger to European peace down to the World War.

713. **Italy has also a serious problem in the relations of state and church**. In 1870, when Italy took possession of Rome, Pope Pius IX protested against the act as a deed of brigandage — though the citizens of Rome ratified the union by a vote of

ninety to one. The government left the pope all the dignity of an independent sovereign, though his territory was reduced to a single palace (the Vatican) and some small estates. Within this domain the pope still keeps his own court, maintains his own diplomatic service, and carries on the machinery of a state.

In common with many zealous Catholics, however, Pope Pius IX felt that to exercise his proper influence as head of the church, he must be an independent temporal prince in fact as well as in form. He refused to recognize the Italian state or to have anything to do with it, never left his palace grounds, and styled himself the "Prisoner of the Vatican." His successors (1923) have followed this policy, and the Catholic clergy have usually approved it, — some of them believing, for a long time, that, in case of a general European war, Austria might restore the old papal states. The great majority of the people of Italy, however, though almost unanimously Catholic in religion, have supported the government's policy.

II. SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

714. We have seen that the Holy Alliance restored despotism in Spain in 1823. For the next ten years the Liberals were persecuted vigorously. To own a foreign book was a crime. In 1831 a woman was hanged in Madrid for embroidering on a flag the words, "Law, Liberty, Equality."

The cruel and suspicious King Ferdinand died in 1833; but, **for forty years more, Spain passed from revolution to revolution,** — none for liberty, each for some ruler or military chieftain — with many "paper constitutions." The government was "government by revolt" — with surprisingly little bloodshed. It has been wittily said that during this period "revolution in Spain became a fine art."

715. For two years (1873–1874) the Republicans got control of the government. They elected one of their leaders, **Castelar**, president, but they gave him an unworkable constitution. To save his country from bloody anarchy, Castelar after a few months

turned his vague legal authority into a beneficent dictatorship. The choice, he saw, lay between bayonet rule in the hands of disciplined troops controlled by good men, and pike rule in the hands of a vicious rabble led by escaped galley slaves. He candidly abandoned his old theories, and with wise energy brought order out of chaos.

It was natural that he should be assailed as a tyrant. When the Cortes reassembled, his old friends passed a vote of lack of confidence. The commander of the troops asked for permission to disperse the Cortes; but, by resigning promptly, Castelar showed that he had no wish to prolong his personal authority. To-day no one doubts his good faith or good judgment, and the name of this republican statesman-author-dictator stands out as the chief glory of Spain in the nineteenth century.

716. Castelar's resignation was followed by anarchy and more revolutions; but **in 1876 the restoration of the monarchy, with the present constitution, introduced Spain to a more hopeful period.** The government in theory rests mainly in the Cortes. This body consists of a Senate and a Congress. Half the senators are *elected*, while the rest are *appointed for life*. The congressmen are elected by *manhood suffrage* (since 1890). The ministry is expected to resign if outvoted in the Cortes, but, in practice, *parliamentary majorities do not yet really make ministries*. Instead, ministries make parliamentary majorities, as in England a century and a half ago (§ 434). From 1876 to 1923 no party "called in the infantry"; but just at this writing the ministry has again been changed by a military *coup d'état*, resembling the Fascisti movement in Italy.

717. Until 1881 the energies of the government went mainly to restoring order. Then, **for ten years, reform crowded upon reform.** Jury trial was introduced; civil marriage was permitted; popular education was encouraged; the franchise was extended; the slaves in the colonies were freed; and the system of taxation was reformed. As a result, trade has mounted by bounds; manufactures have developed; railroads and telegraphs have

been tripled. Population has doubled in the last century, rising from ten millions to twenty, and the number of peasant land-owners is rapidly increasing.

718. Until 1898, the surviving colonial empire (Cuba, the Philippines, and so on) **was a drag upon progress.** After 1876 a series of efforts was made to give good government and some measure of self-control to Cuba, which had been in incessant and wasting rebellion; but the problem was too difficult to be worked out by a country so backward at home. In 1894 Cuba rose again for independence. Spain made tremendous efforts to hold her, and for some years, at an immense cost, maintained an army of 200,000 men at a distance of 2000 miles from home. The warfare, however, was reducing Cuba to a desert; and finally, in 1898, the United States interfered. The Spanish-American War resulted in the surrender of all the Spanish colonies, except some small districts in northwest Africa.

It may be hoped that this loss will prove a gain. The poverty of the government has been serious. The interest charge on the huge national debt is a crushing burden, and until 1900 the debt itself was constantly growing. Now that Spain no longer has the task of holding distant colonial possessions, she may conclude to reduce her absurd army system and to use the money for the development of the intellect of the people and of the resources of the land.

719. Catholicism is the state religion. Though the constitution promises "freedom of worship," **no other religious services are permitted in public.** In this respect Spain is the most backward of European lands. **She is also sadly backward in education.** There is a compulsory education law, but it is a paper edict. Recently a government investigation found 30,000 towns and villages with no public school whatever, while in 10,000 other places the schools were in hired premises — many of them grossly unfit for the purpose, — connected with slaughterhouses, cemeteries, or stables. The only schools in most of the country, outside these public schools, are "nuns' schools," teaching

only the catechism and needlework. Only one fourth of the population can read and write.

720. Spanish Liberals have wished to change all this radically, (1) by *separating church and state*, and (2) by *excluding clerical control from the schools*. But **the introduction of manhood suffrage in 1900 proved disastrous to such reforms**. It strengthened the Clericals and Conservatives in the Cortes, because of the absolute obedience paid at elections by the peasants to their priests, and for many years progress has almost ceased. Indeed, in 1923 a reactionary dictatorship seized control of the government, much as the Fascisti had done in Italy.

721. Through most of the nineteenth century, **Portugal** was distracted by revolutions, and by wars between claimants for the crown; but **in 1910 a sudden uprising set up a republic**, which so far (1927) seems stable. English influence controls all foreign relations.

Until 1910 Catholicism was the state religion. Indeed there were only a few hundred people of other faiths in the country. But the Republican government at once established *complete religious freedom*, confiscated the church property, and adopted a plan for the "separation of church and state" like that set up in France in 1906. Education, by law, is universal and gratuitous; but the schools are not good, and the children of the poor do not attend. Portugal is more illiterate even than Spain. Colonies are still extensive (in the Verde islands, in Africa, and in India); but they do not pay expenses, and their administration is very bad. For thirty years *the national finances have been on the verge of bankruptcy*.

III. BELGIUM

722. **The constitution** of Belgium is still that of 1831, with a few amendments. The king acts only through "responsible" ministers. In 1831 *the franchise* rested upon the payment of a high tax; and even in the eighties only one man in ten could vote. Agitation began for further extension of the franchise;

but the parliament voted down bill after bill. Finally, in 1893 the Labor party declared a general strike, in order to exert political pressure, and the crowds of unemployed men in Brussels about the parliament house threatened serious riots. The militia, too, showed a disposition to side with the rioters. The members of parliament, looking on from the windows, changed their minds, and quickly passed a new franchise law, providing for *manhood suffrage, with plural votes (one or two extra votes) for wealth and education.* In 1919 (after the World War) plural votes were abolished. The leading political parties are the Clericals and the Laborites — most of the latter being "moderate" Socialists.

For many years Belgium ranked among the leading industrial nations. In 1910 the contented and prosperous population numbered seven and a half millions — more than twice as many as in 1815. Then for more than four years (1914–1918) this little land was ravaged by the World War.

IV. DENMARK

723. The king of Denmark granted a paper constitution in 1848; but **real constitutional government began only after the defeat of 1864.** Two years of democratic agitation then secured the constitution of 1866. This document promises freedom of speech and of the press, and creates a Diet (Rigsdag) of two Houses. The Landthing, or upper House, is composed partly of members appointed by the king, partly members elected on a high property basis. For the election of the Folkthing, or lower House, the vote was given in 1901 to all self-supporting men; and in 1915 the franchise became "universal," being extended to men *and women.* In 1901, after a thirty years' contest, ministries were made "responsible" to the Representatives.

724. Denmark is the special home of coöperation among farmers. The land is not naturally fertile. The people, until after the middle of the nineteenth century, were poor and

ignorant. Agriculture was backward, and the defeat by Prussia and Austria in 1864 left the little state impoverished. Its people were *forced* to seek some escape from their condition.

A new system of schools pointed the way. Denmark contains 15,000 square miles with nearly three millions of people. That is, it has more people than Indiana, in less than half the territory. More than a third of these people are farmers. For them, ninety-eight high schools give instruction in agriculture and domestic economy, — twenty of the ninety-eight being special schools in agriculture. Most of these schools, too, give special "short courses" in the winter, and these are largely attended by adult farmers and their wives. The schools are not merely industrial: even the short courses emphasize music and literature. They aim to teach not merely how to get a living, but also how to live nobly. And they have taught the Danish farmers the methods of successful coöperation.

Local coöperative societies sprang up quickly in every line of farm industry, — in dairying, in the hog industry, in marketing eggs, in breeding cattle, in producing improved seed, in securing farm machinery, in farm loans. The local societies were federated into *national* organizations. After 1890 the central society that marketed eggs and dairy products had an office in London as well as in Copenhagen, and owned its own swift steamers to ply daily between the two capitals. Thanks to the coöperative system, the profits went to the producers, not to middlemen; and best of all, the Danish peasant, on eight or ten acres of land, is an educated man, cultured because of his intelligent, scientific mastery of his work.

725. In 1914 Denmark was one of the most prosperous farming countries in the world. But **the World War ruined its two chief markets,** England and Germany, **and for several years that little neutral land** — industrious, frugal, intelligent — **suffered dire economic distress** through no fault of its own. This is one of the striking evidences of the close interdependence of the different parts of our modern world.

V. NORWAY AND SWEDEN

726. The Congress of Vienna, in 1814, took Norway from Denmark and gave it to Sweden (§ 545), to reward that country for services against Napoleon. **But the Norwegian people declined to be bartered** from one ruler to another. A Diet, or Storthing, assembled at *Eidvold*, declared Norway a sovereign state, and adopted a liberal constitution (*May 17, 1814*). Sweden, backed by the Powers, made ready to enforce its claims, but **finally a compromise was arranged.** The Diet elected the Swedish king as king of Norway also *on condition that he should recognize the new Norwegian constitution.* That document made the sittings of the Storthing wholly independent of the king's will, and also provided that the royal veto should have no effect upon a bill passed in three successive sessions.

727. The union lasted almost a century, but there was a growing chasm between the two lands. Sweden had a strong aristocracy and a considerable city population. Norway even then had only a weak aristocracy, and was a land of independent peasants and sturdy fisherfolk and sailors. In the early part of the century the Storthing succeeded in abolishing nobility in Norway, after two vetoes by the king, and *in 1884 it established manhood suffrage* against his will. Meantime there had begun agitation for a greater amount of self-government.

728. In 1872–1874 **the Storthing passed a bill three times, requiring the ministries to resign if outvoted.** King Oscar II declared that this was an amendment to the constitution. In such a case, he urged, the rule limiting his veto could not apply, and he declined to recognize the law. Civil war seemed at hand; but a new election in 1884 showed that the Norwegians were almost unanimous in the demand, *and the king yielded.* (Oscar II came to the Swedish throne in 1872, and his moderation and fairness had much to do on other occasions also with preventing an armed conflict, which impetuous men on either side were ready to precipitate. He was one of the greatest men who sat upon European thrones in the last century.)

729. This victory made the real executive in Norway *Norwegian*, for all *internal affairs*. **The Storthing passed at once to a demand for power to appoint Norwegian consuls.** But the constitution had left the regulation of *foreign* affairs in the king's hands; and the Swedish party exclaimed with some reason that the proposed arrangement would ruin the slight union that remained between the two countries, and that it was unconstitutional. Again King Oscar insisted that on such a matter his veto could not be overridden.

A Norwegian Fjord. — Sogndal.

730. Finally in 1905, after twenty years of strenuous struggle, **the Storthing by almost unanimous vote declared the union with Sweden dissolved.** The aristocratic element in Sweden called for war; but King Oscar was nobly resolute that the two peoples should not imbrue their hands in each other's blood. The Swedish labor unions, too, threatened a universal strike, to prevent violent coercion of their Norwegian brethren. In July the Norwegians declared in favor of independence in a great national referendum, by a vote of 368,000 to 184. Sweden bowed to the

decision. *In September, 1905, to the eternal honor of both peoples, a peaceful separation was arranged upon friendly terms;* and then independent Norway chose a Danish prince (Haakon VII) for king.

731. In 1901 the Storthing gave the franchise in all municipal matters to women who paid (or whose husbands paid) a small tax. *In 1907* the parliamentary franchise was given to the same class of women. **Norway was the first sovereign nation to give the franchise in full to women.**

732. Until late in the nineteenth century Sweden was backward in politics. The Diet was made up, medieval fashion, of *four* estates — nobles, clergy, burgesses, and peasants — and the king could always play off one class against another. In 1866 this arrangement was replaced by a modern parliament of two Houses, but for nearly half a century more the franchise excluded a large part of the adult males. Agitation for reform began vehemently in 1895. Seventeen years later, the right to vote for members of the lower House of the parliament was given to all adult men, but with " plural " votes for wealth. At the same time women secured the franchise for all matters of *local* government. **Then in 1919, sweeping reforms** abolished plural voting and **established simple universal suffrage for men and women** in both national and local affairs.

VI. THE SWISS REPUBLIC

733. The Congress of Vienna left the Swiss cantons in a loose confederacy not unlike that of the United States before 1789. The original " Forest Cantons " were pure democracies. They governed themselves (as some do still) by folkmoots, — primary assemblies of all the people. In Bern, Luzern, and some other of the rich " City Cantons," a few families had complete possession of the government. But in 1830, after the success of the French revolution, popular risings established liberal local constitutions in these cantons also.

734. The next change grew out of religious strife. The reorganized cantons of 1830 were Protestant, and had become pro-

gressive in politics. The old democratic cantons were Catholic, and were coming to be controlled by a new Clerical party. A final struggle between the two elements began in Aargau.

In this canton, in the election of 1840, the Progressives won. The Clericals rose in revolt. To punish them, after suppressing the rising, the Progressives dissolved the eight monasteries of the canton. This act was contrary to the constitution of the Union; and the seven Catholic cantons in alarm formed a separate league, — the Sonderbund, — and declared that they would protect the Clericals in their rights in any canton.

The Federal Diet, now controlled by the Progressives, ordered the Sonderbund to dissolve; *and "The Sonderbund War" began* (1847) — seven cantons against fifteen. The despotic Powers of the Holy Alliance were preparing to interfere in behalf of the Sonderbund, and did furnish it with arms and money; but the Unionists (warned and encouraged by the English government) acted with remarkable celerity and crushed the Secessionists in a three weeks' campaign. Metternich still intended to interfere, but the revolutions of 1848 rendered him harmless. **Then the Progressives remodeled the constitutions of the conquered cantons**, so as to put power into the hands of the Progressives there, **and adopted a new national constitution.**

There are many interesting points of likeness between the civil war in Switzerland and that a little later in the United States. In both countries there was a conflict between a national and a state's sovereignty party. In both, as a result of war, the more progressive part of the nation forced a stronger union upon the more backward portion. In both, too, the states which tried to secede did so in behalf of rights guaranteed them in the old constitution, which they believed to be endangered by their opponents.

735. By the constitution of 1848, which with slight amendments is that of to-day, **the union became a true Federal Republic.**

The Federal Assembly (national legislature) has two Houses, — *the Council of the States* and *the National Council.* The first

consists of two delegates from each canton. The delegates are chosen by the cantonal legislatures, by whom also their term of office is fixed and their salaries are paid. (This Council *represents the states' rights principle,* and in form it is a survival of the old Diet.)

The second House of the legislature, the National Council, *represents the people of the union.* The members are elected in single districts, like our Representatives, for a term of three years. The franchise is given to all adult males, and elections take place on Sundays, so that all may vote.

The Federal Executive is not a single president, but a committee of seven (*the Federal Council*), whose members are chosen by the Federal Assembly. One of the seven, especially named for the purpose, is the "President of the Council"; but he possesses little more authority than the other members. The Federal Council acts much as an English ministry, but it cannot dissolve the legislature, and it need not resign if its measures are rejected.

There is also *a Federal Judiciary,* chosen by the Federal Assembly; but it lacks the power of our American Supreme Court to declare laws void: it is bound to accept as valid all acts of the legislature.

Each canton, like each of our States, has its own constitution and government. In a few cantons the old folkmoot, or primary Assembly, is still preserved; in the others the legislature consists of one chamber, chosen by manhood suffrage. In each there is an executive council.

736. As a rule in modern democratic countries, the people govern themselves only *indirectly.* They choose representatives (legislatures and governors), and these few delegated individuals attend directly to all matters of government. **Switzerland was the first country to show clearly how "direct democracy" can work under modern conditions.** The two Swiss devices for this end are known as *the referendum* and *the popular initiative.*

737. The referendum consists merely in referring laws that have been passed by the legislature to a popular vote. This practice *originated* in America. The State of Massachusetts submitted its first constitution to a popular vote in 1778 and in 1780. A little later, the French Revolutionists adopted the principle for their constitutions, and the plebiscites of the

CHAMONIX, a typical Alpine town.

Napoleons extended it to some other questions besides constitutions. In America, after 1820, nearly all our States used the referendum on the adoption of new constitutions and of constitutional amendments; and sometimes other important measures were submitted to popular decision, both in State and city governments.

But Switzerland taught the world how to go farther than this. By the Constitution of 1848, all constitutional amendments, cantonal or national, must be submitted to popular vote, and

in some cantons *this compulsory referendum is extended to all laws;* while, by an amendment of 1874, a certain number of voters *by petition may require the submission of any national law.* This last provision is known as the *optional referendum,* and it has been in use in the separate cantons for most of the nineteenth century.

738. The popular initiative is a purely Swiss development. It consists in the right of a certain number of voters, by petition, to frame a new bill and to compel its submission to the people. A little before 1848, this device began to be regarded as the natural complement of the referendum. Four cantons had already made some use of it, and the new Constitution of 1848 required all cantons to permit it on constitutional amendments, if a majority of voters so petitioned.

The cantons themselves rapidly adopted more generous measures than this; and, by 1870, in nearly all of them a small number of voters could introduce any law they desired. In 1891, by amendment, this liberal principle was adopted for the national government: *a petition of fifty thousand voters may frame a law, which must then be submitted to a national vote.*

Thus, without the intervention of the legislature, the people can frame bills by the initiative, and pass on them by the referendum. These devices for direct legislation are the most important advances made in late years by democracy. Recently, many of the more progressive States of the American Union have carried them (with the further device of the *recall*) to a higher degree of perfection even than in their Swiss home.

739. Switzerland fills a far larger place in history and in human interest than her territory fills on the map. The defeated party quickly accepted the result of the Sonderbund War in good faith, and now all Swiss look upon one another as fellow-countrymen. The schools are among the best in Europe: no other country has so little illiteracy. Comfort is well diffused. No other country to-day gives such complete equality of oppor-

tunity in industry and in politics. The army system is a universal militia service, lighter than has been known anywhere else in continental Europe during the last forty years.

Two thirds of the people are German; but French and Italian, as well as German, are "official" languages, and the debates in the Federal Assembly are carried on in all three tongues. The universal patriotism of the people is a high testimonial to the strength of free institutions, and of the flexible federal principle, in binding together diverse elements. Says President Lowell, of Harvard, "The Swiss Confederation, on the whole, is the most successful democracy in the world."

For Further Reading. — Seignobos' *Europe Since 1814*, 255–284. Fuller accounts may be found in Lloyd's *A Sovereign People* and Crawford's *Switzerland of To-day* (1911).

CHAPTER XLIV

RUSSIA TO 1914

740. Russia's destruction of Napoleon's Grand Army, in 1813, revealed her tremendous power. In the fifteenth century the Russians held only a part of what is now South Central Russia, nowhere touching a navigable sea. **For nearly two hundred years more, expansion came mainly by colonization** — the ceaseless movement of pioneers into the savage wilderness north and east.

Like swarming hives, Russian villages along the frontier sent forward bands of people, each band to advance a little way and form a new village, driving out or absorbing the Tartar barbarians. On the east much of the advance was made by another kind of frontiersmen, called *Cossacks*. The Cossacks lived partly by agriculture, partly by grazing, and often they waged war on their own account against Turks and Tartars, somewhat as our early American frontiersmen won Kentucky from the Indians and Texas from Mexico. As early as the time of Ivan the Terrible (§ 454), a Cossack horde seized part of Siberia, and the movement to the Pacific was completed in 1707 by the seizure of Kamchatka.

741. Expansion by organized war began in earnest with Peter the Great. We have seen how he and his successors won on the west the entire Baltic coast, with much of Poland (§§ 456, 457, 466). But the Baltic offered little more as a door to the outer world than did the ice-blocked Archangel and Kamchatka, since, in time of war, its narrow straits could be closed easily by a hostile power.

Peter also began a struggle for the Black Sea, and a century of war against the Turks (1772–1878) made Russia mistress of the whole north and west coast, from Azof to the Danube.

But here, too, Turkish Constantinople still closed the exit to the outer world, and so Russian ambition long aimed at that ancient capital of the Greek faith.

742. In Asia, Russian advance after 1800 was steady and terrifying. She aimed at ice-free Pacific ports on the east, and at the Persian Gulf and the Indian seas on the south, besides the rich realms of Central Asia and India. In 1858 she reached the Amur, seizing northern Manchuria from China. Two years later she secured Vladivostok — ice free for most of the year. **In 1895 the Trans-Siberian Railway was begun,** and in 1902 that vast undertaking was completed to Vladivostok. (This road is more than 5000 miles long, — nearly double the length of the great American transcontinental roads. Eventually it must prove one of the vital steps in the advance of civilization; and it has been fitly compared in importance to the finding of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope or the building of the Suez and Panama canals.) In 1898, too, Russia had compelled China to cede the magnificent harbor of Port Arthur and the right to extend the Trans-Siberian Railroad through Chinese Manchuria to that port.

On the south, just after the opening of the nineteenth century, Russia secured the passes of the Caucasus. By the middle of the century she had advanced into Turkestan. From that lofty vantage ground she planned a further advance, and by 1895 she extended **a great Trans-Caspian railway** to within seventy-five miles of Herat, the "key to India." Great Britain seemed ready to resist further advance by war; but a clash in Central Asia was postponed by Japan's victory in the extreme East (ch. xlvi).

743. In the last years of the nineteenth century Russia was busied with vast internal improvements, — not only the great railroads mentioned above, from Moscow to the Pacific and to the frontiers of India, but also a stupendous system of canals to connect her internal waterways. She was still in a primitive

stage industrially, and these useful projects were carried on largely by foreign workmen and foreign capital. Under such conditions at home, Russia had every reason to desire peace abroad; but **in 1904 the arrogant folly of her military classes plunged her into the war with Japan**, as unjust as it proved ruinous. To the amazement of the world, Russia's huge power collapsed utterly on land and sea, and she was thrust back from Port Arthur and Manchuria.

744. In 1910 Russia covered eight and a half million square miles or **about one seventh the area of the habitable earth**; and she had a population of one hundred and sixty millions. The population was made up of some seventy different nationalities, but the great central core, comprising over two thirds the whole, was composed of Russian Slavs. The largest of the subject nationalities were the Poles (twelve millions) and the Finns (something over three and a half millions). There were also about five million Jews dispersed throughout the larger cities of the empire, especially at the seaports, and more than thirteen million widely scattered Tartars.

745. Down almost to the World War, the government was an absolute despotism, — and highly centralized. In the middle of the nineteenth century no village could build a church or a school until the plan had been approved by a dilatory Board at St. Petersburg, and even a private house with five windows had to have a royal permit. But **during all the century, too, a ferment of revolution was spreading through the land.**

At the end of the Napoleonic wars, many young Russian officers came back to their homes full of the ideals of the French Revolution. The Tsar himself (Alexander I, 1801–1825) had been educated by a liberal French tutor; and for a time, in a weak, sentimental, indecisive way, he favored a liberal policy, and introduced a few reforms. Metternich won him from these tendencies; and then many educated and liberal Russians began to be conspirators against Tsarism.

The cause of the conspirators was long hopeless, because it had no interest for the masses. Nowhere else in the world was the gap so complete between upper and lower classes. Four fifths the population of European Russia were serfs, filthy, ignorant, degraded, living in a world wholly apart from that of the small class of educated Russians.

Besides the serfs, the rural population comprised a numerous nobility, who were landed proprietors; and in the cities there were small professional and mercantile classes. For two hundred years (since Peter the Great) these upper classes had had at least a veneer of Western civilization. At the opening of the nineteenth century their conversation was carried on, not in Russian, but in French; and their books, fashions, and largely their ideas, were imported from Paris.

The revolutionary conspirators from these upper classes were romantic dreamers. In December of 1825, the revolutionists attempted a rising. They met with no popular support, and the new Tsar Nicholas (a violent reactionary) exterminated almost the entire group with brutal executions, often under the knout. This cruelty, however, made "the Decembrists" martyrs to the next generation of generous-minded Russian youth; and their ideas lived on in the great Russian writers of the middle of the century, like Gogol and Turgeniev.

746. The reign of Nicholas I was marked also by the beginning of **the Slavophil movement.** This was a revolt among the educated classes to establish a native Russian culture, in contrast to the imported Western veneer. The Russians had begun to believe in themselves as the future leaders of a new civilization. They looked forward to a vast Pan-Slav empire (to include Bohemia and the Slav states of the Balkans) which should surpass Western Europe both in power and in the character of its culture. Nicholas gave his support heartily to the Slavophils, in large part because he despised the Western ideas as to liberty and constitutional government.

747. In the closing years of Nicholas, however, the humiliation of the Crimean War (§ 613) revealed the despotic bureaucratic system as weak, when pitted against Western Europe; and **this helped the Russian liberals to win to their side the new Tsar**, Alexander II (1855–1881). Alexander struck the shackles from the press and the universities, sought to secure just treatment for the Jews, introduced jury trial, established a system of graded representative assemblies in the provinces (the zemstvos), and, in 1861, against the almost unanimous opposition of the nobles, **emancipated the fifty million serfs.**

The serfs had always dwelt in little village communities. Now each village (mir) was left to manage its own local matters, and was given land for its support. The land, like the serf, was taken from the noble; *but not enough of it.* Each mir was to pay for its land. The Tsar paid the noble landlord down; and the mir was to pay the Tsar in small installments spread over forty-nine years. Alexander and his liberal friends intended each village to receive at least as much land as the villagers had had for their support while serfs. But the noble officials, who carried out the details, managed to cut down the amount of land and *to make the price unduly high.*

The peasants found themselves at once forced to eke out their scanty income by tilling the land of the neighboring landlord — on his terms. The annual "redemption payments" to the government, too, were excessive. More than half the peasant's labor went to satisfy the tax-collector. By 1890, one third the peasant body had pledged their labor one or more years in advance to the noble landlords — and so had been forced back into a new serfdom. They remained ignorant and wretched, with a death-rate double that of Western Europe. As late as 1900, half their children died under the age of five; and every now and then large districts were devastated by famine — while vast tracts of fertile land lay uncultivated.

748. Alexander "the Emancipator" after all was almost as vacillating in his liberalism as his father Alexander I had been.

The peasants refused to believe that the Tsar meant them to pay for their land, or to give them such small allotments; and in countless places they rose in bloody riots against the nobility and the Tsar's officers. The reactionary parts of society urged upon Alexander that such risings were the product of the progressive writers and newspapers he had encouraged. As early as 1862 the Tsar was won to this view. He began at once to suppress the liberal press. Writers who had thought themselves within the circle of his friendship were imprisoned in secret dungeons or sent to hard labor in Siberian mines, — without trial, merely by decree, — and the brutal police sought to crush out all liberalism by barbarous cruelty.

749. The liberals, in the sixties, had come to include the great body of university students. These youths, — men and women of good family, — ardent for the regeneration of their country, now organized societies to spread information about the peasants' misery among the upper classes, and socialistic ideas among the peasants. These "Intelligentsia" were horribly persecuted, and in the later seventies one branch of the radicals decided to meet violence with violence — the only alternative to submission. Their secret organization was popularly known as **the Nihilist society.** They deliberately resolved to sacrifice their own lives to the cause of liberty, and by assassination after assassination they sought to avenge the barbarous persecution of their friends and to terrify the Tsar into granting representative government. Alexander at last decided to grant part of their demands. He prepared a draft of a constitution which was to set up a National Assembly; but the day before this plan was to be announced, the Nihilists dynamited him.

750. Alexander III (1881–1894) **returned to the policy of Nicholas.** What remained of Alexander II's reforms was undone — except that serfdom could not well be restored in law. The press was subjected to a sterner censorship. University teachers were muzzled, being forbidden to touch upon matters of government in their lectures. Books like Green's *English*

People were added to the long list of standard works whose circulation was forbidden. The royal police were given despotic authority to interfere in the affairs of the mirs.

751. All this reactionary policy was continued by the next — and the last — of the Tsars, the incompetent Nicholas II (1894–1917) — who also renewed the despotic Slavophil movement. The Finnish and German Lutherans of the Baltic regions, the Polish Catholics, the Armenian dissenters, the Georgians, and the Jews were all cruelly persecuted. Children were taken from parents to be educated in the Greek faith; native languages were forbidden in schools, churches, newspapers, legal proceedings, or on sign boards; and against the Jews (who had already been cruelly crowded into "the Jewish Pale") bloody "pogroms" were organized *by police officers* with every form of outrage, plunder, torture, and massacre.

More than half the Jewish race then dwelt in Russia — whither they had fled in the Middle Ages from Western persecution (§ 396). The peasants and poorer townsmen hated them because of their financial ability — for in modern Russia as in medieval England the Jews were the chief money lenders; and the official classes hated them because a large part of the Intelligentsia and of the more radical revolutionary leaders came from the Jewish race. To escape brutal persecution, great numbers of Russian Jews now fled to America.

In one respect the Baltic districts had more cause for complaint even than the Jews. Finland, the old German provinces (Livonia, Esthonia, Courland), and Poland all excelled Russia proper in civilization, and *each of them, at its acquisition by Russia, had been solemnly promised the perpetual enjoyment of its own language, religion, and laws.* Russianization may sometimes have been a not unmixed evil to barbarous regions on the east; but it was bitterly hard upon these progressive western districts.

752. By 1890, the police seemed to have crushed all reform agitation and all *open* criticism of the government. But there

was an " Underground Russia " where modern ideas were working silently. Many liberals were growing up among the increasing class of lawyers, physicians, professors, and merchants, and, sometimes, among the nobles.

More important still was the fact that **about 1890 Russia began to be touched by the " Industrial Revolution,"** which had transformed England a hundred years, and Germany twenty years, before. Moscow had been a " sacred city " of churches, marked by spires and minarets. In 1890, it was becoming an industrial center, with huge factories and furnaces, marked by smoke-hung chimneys.

In such cities Socialism made converts rapidly among the new working class. There were two distinct bodies of these Russian Socialists. The larger body looked forward only to peaceful reform, like the Social Democratic party in other lands. The other was made up of Socialist-Revolutionists. This was a secret society, perfectly organized, which had absorbed the old Nihilists. It held that violence was necessary and right in the struggle to free Russia from the despotism which choked all attempts at peaceful reform. In this day of perfectly disciplined standing armies, with modern guns, open revolution is doomed to almost certain extinction in blood. So the Revolutionists worked by the dagger and the dynamite bomb, to slay the chief ministers of despotism. The society selected its intended victims with careful deliberation, and, when one had been killed, it secretly posted placards proclaiming to the world the list of " crimes " for which he had been " executed." Spite of every precaution, the Revolutionists, with complete disregard of their own lives, managed to strike down minister after minister among the most hated of the Tsar's tools.

753. The opportunity of the reform forces seemed to have come in 1905. The failure of Russia in the Japanese war showed that the despotic government had been both inefficient and corrupt. High officials had stolen money which should have gone for rifles and powder and food and clothing for the armies.

During the disasters of the war itself, other officials stole the Red Cross funds intended to relieve the suffering of the wounded. The intelligent classes were exasperated by these shames and by the humiliating defeat of their country, and began to make their murmurs heard. The peasantry were woefully oppressed by war-taxes. The labor classes in the towns were thrown out of employment, or lost wages in the general stagnation of industry. While the war was still running its disastrous course, Russia was convulsed, as never before, by strikes, peasant risings, and mutiny in army and navy.

For a while longer the government thought to stifle such popular manifestations in blood. One instance, under the eyes of foreign ambassadors, sent a thrill of horror through the civilized world. A great number of loyal citizens in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) had sent a petition to the Tsar, asking him to hear them in person when, on the following Sunday, they should march to the palace to present their grievances — since they had lost faith in his officers. Then, Sunday morning, January 22, 1905, dense masses of men, women, and children, wholly unarmed, filled the streets leading to the royal palace. The Cossack cavalry charged these helpless throngs, and the palace troops mowed them down with machine guns.

754. Now, for once, the educated classes spoke out forcefully. The day after *Red Sunday*, leading citizens of the capital joined in a public declaration that " the government has declared war on the Russian people " and in an appeal to all good citizens to support the cause of reform. In March the terrified Tsar promised free speech and a Duma (representative assembly), *providing, however, that it should be elected by land-owners and that it should have no power except to advise.* Then followed a general strike. By October the railways were idle. In the cities, stores were closed, power houses shut down, and electric lights went out. **And now Nicholas called a Duma, to be elected by manhood suffrage and to hold true law-making power.**

755. As after the Emancipation Edict forty-five years before, the Russian people went wild with joy and hope; and **again bitter disappointment followed.** All Russia had seemed united against autocracy in demands for *political* reform; but nevertheless **Russia was divided within itself by a bitter class conflict.** The city proletariat was struggling for radical economic change as well as for political reform; especially for shorter hours and higher wages, for which many long-continued strikes were then in progress. The middle-class liberals, and especially the employing capitalist class, hoped that representative government — with only the grant of more land to the peasants — would remedy Russia's ills. Immediately after issuing the October decree for the Duma, the Tsar threw himself once more into the arms of the reactionary official party, and sought to take advantage of this class division among the Liberals. The prisons were emptied of criminals, who were then organized by the police as "patriots" — better known in history as the Black Hundreds; and within three weeks, in a hundred different places, some four thousand radicals and labor leaders were assassinated.

756. This brutal violence of the government's friends gave increased standing among the people to the radical Socialist movement. In all great cities there had been organized a Council of Workmen's Deputies to guide the strikes. These Councils now began to be mighty political forces. The peasants, too, organized Councils of Deputies in many districts, and, in some places, revolutionarily inclined regiments made common cause with peasants and workingmen, and elected Councils of Soldiers' Deputies. This was the birth of the later famous *soviets* — a desperate attempt to meet the Tsar's duplicity and brutality by a new working-class government.

But these soviet organizations at once began to antagonize the Liberal capitalists by ill-timed demands as to hours and wages, enforced by general strikes. *Accordingly the middle classes held aloof* while the Tsar's government used all its remaining strength in the early winter to crush the new soviets.

757. In April of 1906, midst gloom and anarchy, with 75,000 of Russia's finest men and women suffering torment in dungeons as political prisoners, **the Duma was at last brought together** — the first representative assembly of the Russian nation. The Tsar had arranged the elections so as to leave most weight in the hands of the wealthy and noble classes, and the police interfered actively against radical candidates; but the revolutionary movement had swept everything before it. The largest party among the members were middle-class liberals, who called themselves *Constitutional Democrats*. The chief leader of this group was Miliukof, and it contained many other men of wise and moderate statesmanship. Next in numbers came the *Peasants*, with a program of moderate Socialism. The Socialists of the towns (*Social Democrats*) had in great measure refused to take part in the elections. Still they counted 25 members. Of the total of 400, only 28 were avowed supporters of autocracy. The Tsar's repudiation by the nation was complete.

The world was amazed at the political ability and wise moderation of this first, inexperienced Russian Assembly. After its requests for a responsible ministry and for the abolition of martial law had been insultingly refused, it concentrated its efforts upon securing state lands for the suffering peasants. The Tsar, now in the hands of intensely reactionary advisors, was " sadly disappointed " that the Duma insisted upon " meddling with matters that did not pertain to it"; and July 21 he dissolved it, declaring that he himself would care for the needed reforms. *In vain now did the Constitutional Democrats appeal for support to the masses* — whose soviet organizations they had refused to help to save.

758. Months of anarchy followed. The government fell back upon stern repression and intimidation, *to suppress not only disorder, but also political agitation*. To meet this tyranny, the extreme Revolutionists resorted to a new campaign of systematic political assassination. The unhappy land was again dis-

tracted also by peasant risings and by strikes, — which were put down brutally by Cossack " punitive expeditions," in which thousands of *unoffending* people perished. More than a thousand political offenders were executed (many of them learned and gentle scholars who had led a wholly constitutional opposition), and fifty thousand were sent to Siberia or to prison, while the Revolutionists counted up 24,239 others slain by the soldiery in putting down or punishing riots. Prisoners were tortured mercilessly, and in many cases were flogged to death.

759. A second Duma met March 5, 1907. The liberal members of the former assembly had been made ineligible for election, but this time the Social Democrats went into the campaign in earnest and elected nearly one third the members in spite of desperate efforts of the police to close their meetings and imprison their leaders. With the remnants of the Constitutional Democrats and the Peasants, there was a large majority opposed to the government. In June the Tsar ordered that some sixty Socialist members be expelled as " traitors "; and when the Duma appointed a committee to investigate, he dissolved it. Then, by arbitrary decree, he changed the plan of elections, so as to give power mainly to the great land-owners. **A third and a fourth Duma** (1907 and 1912), elected on this basis, **proved properly submissive.** The Revolution, men said, had been stifled.

THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW, — a view from the Moskvaretzky. "Kremlin" is the Russian name for a city *fortress*, somewhat like the Greek *acropolis*. The walls of the Moscow Kremlin inclose 98 acres, with the most famous temples and palaces of old Moscow and with the modern government buildings in the background.

New York City, "down town." — Woolworth Building (right), Municipal Building (center), Brooklyn Bridge (right), Manhattan Bridge (left), Brooklyn beyond East River. This official photo of the Air Service of the United States Army shows the effect of the use of steel in city architecture (p. 618). Cf. cut of Paris facing p. 572.

PART X

THE WORLD IN 1914

CHAPTER XLV

THE PROMISE OF A NEW AGE BEFORE 1914

760. In spite of certain remaining dark spots on the globe, it was usual in 1900 to speak of the preceding hundred years as "**the wonderful century.**" No thousand years before had seen so much progress. Theodore Roosevelt's day was farther removed from Napoleon's than his from Charlemagne's. In this mighty transformation, the main agents had been *scientific invention*, *humane sentiment*, and *democracy*.

PROGRESS IN SCIENCE

761. Very wonderful was the scientific advance. The close of the eighteenth century saw those inventions in England that created the age of iron, substituted steam and machinery for hand power in production, and so created the "Industrial Revolution" (§ 565 ff.). Toward the middle of the next century came a second remarkable burst of scientific invention, in which America led, again revolutionizing daily life and in particular applying machinery to *farm* production (§ 575 ff.). Then, toward the close of that same century began the third group, replacing the age of steam by the age of electricity, and transforming once more the face of the world and the daily habits of vast populations, before the eyes of men still under middle age. Gasoline engines and electric engines furnished new power for locomotion, for factory, and for field. Men ex-

plored the sea bottom in submarines and conquered the air. The electric street railway, the automobile and auto trucks made for cleaner city streets, better country roads, and a vast saving of time and labor. Electric lights helped to banish crime along with darkness. Telephone, phonograph, wireless telegraphy gave men new power to do and to enjoy. And along with this went such a transformation of all earlier machinery and processes as made those of 1850 quaint curiosities.

Two inventions which have had increasing importance since about the middle of the nineteenth century deserve special attention.

a. The rapidly growing use of machinery called insistently for still better material than ordinary iron. Steel, an alloy of iron and carbon about midway in structure between cast iron and wrought iron, had been prized for centuries; but no way was known to produce it rapidly out of iron ore. The Bessemer process made steel available and relatively cheap. This invention gave a tremendous impulse to all forms of industry, transforming even the landscape, with our lofty "iron" [steel] bridges, and the exterior of our cities, with our modern "skyscrapers." Before the World War the consumption of steel in the arts of peace exceeded 40,000,000 tons a year.

b. Coal became the chief manufacturing fuel about 1800; but before the close of the nineteenth century its place in many industries was challenged by mineral oil, or petroleum. Mineral oil had been known in small quantities, and was used in America as a liniment ("Seneca Oil") before 1850. The first gushing oil well was discovered in western Pennsylvania in 1859, and the use of oil for light, heat, and power began. "To strike oil" soon became a byword for success — equivalent to a "ship come home" in the days of primitive commerce; and to-day an adequate command of "oil" is a fundamental necessity for any nation's progress in industry.

762. Underlying all this change was **a more important change in scientific ideas** about the world and man. In 1833 *Sir Charles Lyell* published his *Principles of Geology*. Men had believed that the earth about them was essentially as it came from the hand of God, five or six thousand years before, modified in places by tremendous convulsions. Lyell explained mountains, plains, valleys, rock strata, as the results mainly of the slow action

of water, frost, and other forces which we still see at work about us. This uniformitarian theory (supported by the discovery of fossils in the rocks) quickly induced men to reckon the age of the earth by æons of time; and soon the discovery of human remains in old geologic strata compelled a new conception of the length of man's life upon the earth.

In the study of the animal world a like change was taking place. Here and there some thinker had hinted that the plants and animals we see about us must have all "evolved" by slow changes from one or at least from a few elementary types. In 1859 *Charles Darwin* gave this theory of evolution a definite form (so that it is commonly associated with his name), and showed one of the forces that has brought it about, in his *Origin of Species by Natural Selection*. Revolutionary as this idea was at first, it has become widely accepted among educated people, although, in accounting for the process, other factors have been added to the "survival of the fittest" — the cause upon which Darwin laid almost sole stress. Large bodies of people, however, regard the doctrines as irreligious and unproved.

Still earlier (about 1840) came the discovery that each animal or vegetable organism is made up of minute cells of *protoplasm* (a living substance of a character resembling gelatine). These cells in each living thing, it was discovered, come from one original parent cell, and develop in different ways according to the nature of the organ they are to form (hair, skin, muscular tissue, etc.). This cell theory made possible a new scientific study of animal life — which is called biology.

763. And biology has produced a new science of medicine. In the 80's the French biologist, *Pasteur*, broke the way, proving the germ theory of disease, and inventing methods of inoculation against some of the most dreaded forms, like hydrophobia. Devoted disciples followed in his footsteps. During the American occupation of Cuba after the Spanish-American war, *Major Walter Reed* showed that ordinary malaria and the deadly yellow fever alike were spread by the bite of mosquitoes. In

like manner it has been proved that certain fleas, carried by rats, spread the bubonic plague. In 1903 *Dr. Charles W. Stiles* proved that the inefficiency and low vitality of the "poor whites" in the southern United States were due to the parasitic hookworm. The special causes of typhoid and tuberculosis have become well known; and recently, it is claimed, the germ that causes the dreaded infantile paralysis has been discovered. Each such discovery has enabled men to fight disease more successfully. It is not improbable that in the not distant future all deadly contagious diseases may be practically banished from the earth, — as, according to medical journals, yellow fever is just now banished. Between 1850 and 1900 the average human life in civilized lands was lengthened by a fourth, and population was trebled.

SOCIAL UPLIFT

764. This larger and better life of the twentieth century, too, is bound together, for good and for ill, in a new human solidarity. Our big world is more compact than the small world of 1800 was. Ox-cart and pack-horse have been replaced as carriers by long lines of cars moving thousands of tons of all kinds of freight swiftly across continents. For bulkier commerce the most distant "East" and "West" have been drawn together by the Suez Canal (opened in 1869) and the Panama Canal (opened in 1914);[1] while now the more precious articles and mails begin to be moved as by magic in airships, as Tennyson dreamed when in his youth he

> "Saw the heavens fill with commerce — argosies of magic sails,
> Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales."

New methods of banking make it possible to transfer credit in an instant, by wire or wireless, between the most distant portions of the earth; and lines of communication are so organized that it costs no more to send a letter or parcel around

[1] Special reports upon the building and use of these canals.

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TWO VIEWS OF THE PANAMA CANAL.

ABOVE. — The Miraflores Locks, with the S.S. *Santa Clara* leaving the upper west chamber under tow of an electric motor.

BELOW. — The first boat through after navigation had been temporarily blocked (in 1916) by "the big slide" from Culebra Hill (shown on the left). The steamer is the *St. Veronica* of Liverpool.

the earth than around the nearest street corner. The Minnesota farmer's market is not Minneapolis, but the world. The Australian sheep-raiser, the Kansas farmer, the South African miner, the New York merchant, the London banker, are parts of one industrial organism.

765. All this solidarity means *one more revolution in industry.* **The age of small individual enterprise has given way to an era of vast consolidation of capital and management** — department stores, mighty corporations, huge trusts, flouring centers like Minneapolis, meat-packing centers like Chicago, money centers like Wall Street. And this consolidation has brought incalculable saving of wealth in economy of management and in utilization of old wastes into by-products. The new unity of society, too, has its *moral* side. Any happening of consequence is known within the hour in London, Petrograd, Peking, New York, San Francisco, and, within a day, in almost every hamlet where civilized men live. A world opinion shapes itself, in ordinary times, as promptly as village opinion could be brought to bear upon an individual citizen a century ago.

766. But even before the horrible catastrophe of the World War, it was plain enough that **all this modern progress had a darker side.** True, there was more life, and better life; and there was more wealth to support life. The workers, too, though they got too little of that wealth, got vastly more than they got in 1800. An industrious, healthy artisan of to-day usually has a more enjoyable life than a great noble a century ago. Still the industrial organization which produced wealth with gratifying rapidity failed to distribute it *equitably.* The world had become rich; but multitudes of workers remained ominously poor. And this modern poverty is harder to bear than that of earlier times because it is less necessary. Then there was little wealth to divide. Now the poor man is jostled insultingly by ostentatious affluence and vicious waste.

767. Throughout the civilized world **earnest men and women,** as never before in history, **had begun to band themselves into**

many kinds of "social uplift" organizations to relieve or remove this misery. Until toward the close of the nineteenth century such movements were mainly charitable in their character. Then they began to work, not merely to treat the social disease, but to remove its cause. They ceased to call for charity, and began to work for social justice — for such an organization of industry as should secure to the worker a larger share of the product of his labor and so insure him against the need of charity. Enlightened thinkers and statesmen entered upon a new and more promising "war against poverty," recognizing that such a course was necessary, not merely for the welfare of the poor, but also for the salvation of all society.

DEMOCRACY TRIUMPHANT

768. As late as 1830, we have seen, England, Switzerland, and Norway were the only Old-World countries which were not absolute despotisms; and these countries were far from being the democracies they are now. During the remaining two thirds of the nineteenth century, constitutional government spread eastward from England through Europe, and west from the United States to Japan. In 1900 Russia and little Montenegro (with the possessions of Turkey) were the only European states still unaffected by the movement, along with Turkey, Persia, China, and Siam in Asia; and in 1913 Siam was the only sovereign state on earth without a representative assembly and *some* degree of constitutional government.

Except for Japan and China (ch. xlvi below) the story has already been told for the more important lands. In Turkey soon after 1900, a "Young Turk" organization began agitation for a parliament; and, winning over most of the officers of the army, in 1908, this party forced the Sultan to accept a constitution, after an almost bloodless revolution. Persia in 1906–1907 had already had a very similar revolution. In such countries, however, it will of course take time for a real constitutionalism to permeate the masses of the people.

769. Quite as significant as this spread of constitutional forms into Oriental lands was **the swift extension of the franchise in western countries.** We have traced that growth for most European countries to full manhood suffrage, and have seen the beginning of a powerful movement for equal suffrage for men and women, with victories in Norway, Denmark, Australia, New Zealand (and in a large part of the States of the American Union). After the World War, it may be noted here, this universal suffrage movement won swift success in the United States, Great Britain, the new German Republic, Austria, Soviet Russia and its allied soviet republics in the Ukraine and Siberia, and in the new European countries, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Finland, and Lithuania.

Democracy is triumphant over other political forms. But its supreme test is still to be met. It has now to show not only that it can within each nation secure social justice at home, but also that it can establish lasting world peace by securing international justice. The tremendous difficulties of this task will appear in the next chapters.

CHAPTER XLVI

WORLD POLITICS TO 1914

ENCROACHMENTS UPON AFRICA AND ASIA

770. Trade Imperialism. — Modern civilization is based upon "industrialism." The greater the industrial development of a country, the more employment and better pay for its workingmen, and the more profit for its capitalists. Now the life blood of industrialism is trade: trade not merely with civilized nations, but with tropical and subtropical countries for oil, rubber, ivory, minerals, and other raw materials needed by factories in civilized lands. Moreover, thanks to modern factory processes, every industrial country (which can get adequate supplies of raw materials) has a much greater factory *output* than its own people can buy. The factories cannot keep running full speed without *outside* markets in which to sell. In the industrial states, too (before the World War), wealth accumulated faster, at times, than it could be invested profitably, — so that capitalists were anxious for outside investments, especially in countries with naturally rich but as yet undeveloped resources.

Add to these facts a fourth fact, — that in most of the rich tropical and subtropical regions there have been (until lately) no strong states to protect the inhabitants against outside encroachments — and we have the main explanations of the rivalries among the great civilized nations for colonial empire. Each seeks the largest possible part of the world's raw materials for its factories to work up into finished products, the largest markets for those products (all the better if a sole, or exclusive, market), and the best "concessions" from semi-barbarous states to its capitalists for exclusive rights to build railroads or develop mines.

This "imperialism" (or desire for empire for the sake of trade) has been the underlying cause of most wars. And yet, under existing conditions, it is useless to blame any one nation for trying to grab the oil of Mesopotamia, the coal of China, the ivory of the Congo, or the rubber of Mexico. The blame lies in the amazing fact that the nations have not made more serious attempts to change the system of commercial cannibalism. Rightly seen, the vast raw wealth of the globe belongs to no one or two arbitrary political divisions of the globe's population: it is the heritage of the whole world, present and *to come*. When we grow civilized enough, there will be some world-organization to conserve these resources and to see that all nations may share on some basis of equal opportunity or of need. True, this is much to expect while each nation still permits grasping individuals to engross within its own borders that natural wealth that should belong to all its people. But, if the task is great, so is the need. It must be solved, if civilization is to survive. Until there is such a world organization, annihilating world-war will not cease to threaten. The real work of a League of Nations will be not so much to *forbid war*, as to remove the chief excuse for war by doing justice among the peoples.

In the eighteenth century, trade rivalry became world-wide war. From 1689 to 1783, France and England wrestled incessantly for world empire, grappling on every continent and every sea; while, as allies of this one or of that, the other powers grasped at crumbs of European booty. The close saw France almost stripped of her old dependencies; and a little later, when she seemed helpless in her Revolution, England sought to complete the victory. Then for a while Napoleon seemed likely to regain the Mississippi valley and India; but Waterloo left England "the mightiest nation upon earth," for some seventy years without an aggressive rival for world dominion. During that period, other European nations got along somehow because trade had not yet become the supremely vital thing it was soon to be.

771. But steam and electricity were swiftly drawing the globe's most distant provinces into intimate unity, and, with the spread of the Industrial Revolution, world trade was taking on a new importance. Accordingly, after 1871, the new indus-

trial French Republic began to seek expansion in north Africa and southeastern Asia; and in 1884, at the Congress of Berlin, the new industrial German Empire gave notice that thenceforth it meant to share in the plunder. **The next quarter-century saw a mad scramble** between Germany, France, and the already partially sated England **for the world's remaining rich provinces** defended only by "inferior" races. European politics were suddenly merged in world politics. The possession of petty counties on the Rhine or the Danube ceased to interest peoples who had fixed their eyes on vast continents.

772. Australia was already English. North America was held by the United States or England. South and Central America were protected beneath the shield of the Monroe Doctrine. **Africa**, however, was largely unappropriated, and now its seizure was swift. In 1880 only a few patches here and there on the coast were European;[1] in 1891 (except for Liberia and Abyssinia) the continent was mapped out between European claimants (map opposite) — mainly between England, France, and Germany, though Belgium held the "Congo Free State," a rich territory of 1,000,000 square miles in the heart of the continent with 30,000,000 native inhabitants. (It must be understood, however, that, except for English South Africa, and part of French Algeria, European *settlement* has not entered the continent to any considerable degree, nor have the natives been Europeanized.)

773. By 1890, also, the partition of Asia was well under way — though in this continent too, except for a few trading stations, there has been no real European "colonization." Central and Northern Asia had become Russian; the vast, densely populated peninsula of India (with adjoining Burma) was English; the southeastern peninsula was mainly French. Of the five remaining native states, Afghanistan, Persia, and Siam were merely weak and helpless survivals permitted to exist by cautious Euro-

[1] SPECIAL REPORT. the explorations of David Livingstone and Henry Stanley.

AFRICA
1914
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600 800 1000
British
German
French
Italian
Spanish
Portuguese
Congo State
CAPE VERDE IS.
(Portugal)
SAN ANTONIO I.
ST. VINCENT I.
ST. NICHOLAS I.
BOAVISTA I.
BRAVA I.
ST. JAGO I.
C. Verde
EUROPE
RUSSIA
ASIA
ARABIA
SPAIN
FRANCE
GERMANY
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
ITALY
TURKEY
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Danube R.
Adriatic Sea
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Strait of Gibraltar
Tangier
Fez
Morocco
MADEIRA IS.
(Portugal)
CANARY IS.
(Spanish)
MOROCCO
SPANISH TER.
Algiers
Tunis
1830-32
ALGERIA
Tripoli
LIBYA
(Tripoli)
FEZZAN
1912
BARCA
Alexandria
Cairo
1881
EGYPT
Assouan
Suez Canal
Nile R.
RED SEA
Persian G.
Mecca
SAHARA
FRENCH TERRITORY
SENEGAL
1880
1882
Niger
SUDAN
NIGERIA
1885
1884
1884
1861
1883-85-1898
Khartum
KORDOFAN
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Fashoda
Asmara
1883
ERITREA
FRENCH SOMALILAND
Gulf of Aden
BRITISH SOMALILAND
1884
Addis Abeba
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
1880
Monrovia
Bingerville
Akkra
Lome
Porto Novo
Old Calabar
FERNANDO PO
(Span.)
Duala
KAMERUN
1900
1895
EQUATOR
ST. THOMAS I.
(Port.)
Libreville
Franceville
FRENCH
Gulf of Guinea
EQUATORIAL AFRICA
Congo R.
CONGO STATE
(Belgian)
1885
Kassai R.
Boma
St. Paul de Loanda
ASCENSION I.
(British)
ST. HELENA
(British)
ATLANTIC OCEAN
1890
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
Victoria Nyanza
Formosa Bay
Mombasa
Zanzibar
Dar-es-Salam
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
1885
L. Tanganyika
1890
L. Nyassa
PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA
1884
RHODESIA
Zambezi R.
Salisbury
Buluwayo
1891
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
1500
Mozambique
Beira
MADAGASCAR
(French)
1896
Tananarivo
GERMAN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA
1884
Windhoek
TRANSVAAL
Pretoria
COLONY
Lourenco Marquez
Johannesburg
Kimberley
ORANGE RIV. COL.
NATAL
Pietermaritzburg
Bloemfontein
Orange R.
CAPE COLONY
1806
Cape Town
Port Elizabeth
INDIAN OCEAN
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

pean diplomacy as "buffer states," separating England from Russia on one side and from France on the other; and, before the century closed, the Turkish Empire and even the ancient Chinese Empire had begun to go to pieces.

774. Moreover, in the closing years of the nineteenth century **two new actors appeared to dispute world empire** with the old claimants. A war between Japan and China (§ 777) revealed despised Japan as a great modernized World Power that must henceforth be reckoned with, especially in Asiatic questions; and the Spanish-American War of 1898 brought the United States to the door of Asia. The United States had been sufficiently occupied for a hundred years in appropriating and developing her own vast territory from ocean to ocean, and had resolutely kept herself free from European complications; but now, her great task accomplished, she had already begun to reach out for the islands of the sea and for Asiatic trade. Then, during the war with Spain she annexed Hawaii, and at the close she retained the Philippines.

JAPAN

775. Japan proper consists of a crescent-shaped group of islands with an area a fourth larger than the entire British Isles. Population is only slightly larger than the British, but it increases rapidly and it is already much more "crowded," because only a small part of the land is tillable (much of that only with immense toil, in terraces of built-up soil on steep mountain sides), and because factory industry, though now growing rapidly, is still far less developed than in America or Europe. Accordingly, labor is very cheap, and the standard of living is low. In spite of this, the short, brown people have remarkably vigorous and well-developed bodies and strong, alert intellects. Their manners are marked by Oriental courtesy (which our ruder Western world sometimes looks upon as extravagant if not deceitful), and naturally many of their customs are strange and even shocking to Europeans and Americans.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Japan kept herself sealed against the outside world. For two centuries, even to trade with foreigners had been punishable with death. The Mikado (emperor) was absolute and was worshiped as a god; and a small class of feudal nobles, backed by numerous hereditary military retainers (*samurai*) kept the common people in a bondage not unlike that in ancient Egypt. But in 1853 Commodore Perry, under orders from the United States government, by a show of force secured the opening of Japanese ports to American trade.

776. *Humiliated by this demonstration of the superior strength of Western civilization,* **the intelligent Japanese swiftly adopted many of its features.** Before the close of the century, army, navy, schools, and industry were made over on Western models. Even sooner, feudalism and serfdom were abolished; and in 1889 a liberal Mikado proclaimed a constitution which created a parliament and ministry at least as powerful as that then existing in the German Empire. In recent years the ministry *tends* more and more to become truly "responsible"; and a progressive labor movement is likely to become a factor in politics. At the same time, it remains true that, since the fall of German and Russian autocracy in the World War, Japan is nearer a military despotism than is any other great power.

777. Soon after Japan had become Westernized, she began to look eagerly for **colonial acquisitions** — partly as an outlet for her overcrowded population; and in 1894 her attempts to secure new privileges in the neighboring kingdom of Korea (a dependency of China) **brought on war with the huge Chinese Empire.** The Chinese fought with their usual fanatic bravery; but their arms and organization were Oriental, and little Japan won swift victory on land and sea. China agreed to cede not only Korea with the neighboring Port Arthur, but also the island of Formosa. But Japan in Korea would have forever blocked the natural Russian ambition for an ice-free Pacific port; and so the Russian Tsar, backed by France, insisted

HASEDERA TEMPLE, PROVINCE OF YAMATO, JAPAN. — Number eight of the thirty-three places sacred to Kwannon, the goddess of mercy, who, according to Japanese belief, divided herself into parts in order to minister to as many as possible, in accordance with their particular need.

THE WALL OF PEKING, fifty feet by fifty, and thirty miles in circumference.

that Japan should renounce Korea and Port Arthur (which meant virtually that China should turn these districts over to Russia instead of to Japan).

Japan was unprepared for war with European powers, and was wise enough to yield for the time; but she began at once to make ready patiently and skillfully for a struggle with Russia — which came ten years later (§ 785). Meantime the European powers felt at least obliged to recognize Japan more nearly as an equal. A series of new treaties removed various restrictions which had interfered with Japanese control of her own trade, and also abolished the European courts which had been set up within her territory to try cases in which Europeans were interested. Then in 1902 Japanese diplomacy secured a twenty-year treaty with England, in which each party agreed to aid the other in war if it were engaged with more than one power. (This meant that when the war with Russia should come, Japan would have only Russia to deal with.)

CHINA

778. Including its many outlying and loosely dependent districts (like Thibet and Mongolia) **China has an area and a population about equal to those of Europe**; but China proper, containing half the area and three fourths the population, consists of eighteen provinces in the basins of the Hwangho and Yangtse river systems. Here, near the coast especially, population is densely crowded, considering the backward nature of industry. Most of the soil of China proper is fertile; but, in the absence of suitable means of transportation and communication, agricultural produce away from the coast has little value. The mineral deposits (including coal and oil) are probably the richest in the world; but, except for recent "concessions" to Europeans, they are almost untouched.

Even in China proper, the people belong to many distinct tribes with quite different dialects and with little in common except their patriotic pride in their common Chinese civiliza-

tion and their contempt for all outside "barbarians." The Chinese civilization was old before that of Rome began. Printing, gunpowder, paper, delicate work in silks and in "chinaware," the mariner's compass, were all known in China for centuries before they appeared in Europe. The individual Chinamen, too, are industrious and energetic. *But for the past 2000 years, Chinese culture has made no advance.*

779. Three causes help to explain this stationary or stagnant character of Chinese civilization. (1) The very complex system of picture writing, employing thousands of symbols instead of only twenty-six, imprisons the mind of the educated class. This is the more serious because the educated class of mandarins is also the ruling and the official class. There is no hereditary nobility in China: the mandarin class is open to any youth who acquires the necessary ability to read and to pass a satisfactory examination in certain sacred books. But the strenuous attention which all mandarin youth must give for so many formative years to the mere *forms of words*, and then to *memorizing* books of maxims, works against interest in new ideas.

(2) Perhaps as a result of this, Confucius, the moral teacher of China, who about 500 B.C. compiled and arranged these sacred volumes, makes reverence for ancestors and for precedent fundamental virtues. To men so trained, innovation becomes a sin.

(3) For thousands of years China was effectively shut off from all other civilized countries by almost impassible deserts and mountains, so that she received no new ideas from without.

780. In the seventeenth century **the Mongol Tartar rule** over China (§ 252) **was succeeded by the rule of the Manchus** (a conquering tribe from north-central Asia). An early monarch of this line compelled every Chinaman to wear his hair in a queu as a sign of subjection. This line of emperors continued absolute — *in form* — down to our own time; but very soon after the conquest the real management of the empire reverted to the mandarin class.

After the voyage of Da Gama round the Cape of Good Hope,

European traders began to try for admission into Cathay (China) to secure its tea and silk in exchange for Western goods. **For three centuries, however, the government permitted foreigners to deal only in the one port of Canton** — where Portuguese, Dutch, and English established posts.

781. The English found the greatest profits in bringing in opium from India. The Chinese government saw that this drug was ruining thousands of its people, and, very properly, in 1839 it tried to stop that trade altogether. The English government then entered upon **the "Opium War,"** and it was supported (it is instructive to note) by English public opinion, which ignorantly supposed that England at most was merely breaking through barbarous trade restrictions — as the United States was soon to do in Japan (§ 775). England of course was speedily victorious, and **the treaty of peace forced China to cede the island of Hongkong** (which is still British) *and to open to foreign commerce a number of important ports.* The helpless Empire was soon compelled also to admit Christian missionaries and to permit foreigners to travel through its realms.

782. Next came the actual seizure of whole outlying provinces — Burma by England, much of Indo-China by France, and the valley of the Amur by Russia. After the Jap-Chinese War of 1894–1895, too, Russia, in return for her "protection," induced China to "lease" her Port Arthur for a hundred years (!) and to grant her railway rights across Manchuria (with the admission of Russian soldiers to guard the railway).

Then followed swift seizures of territory in China proper. How Germany entered the Shantung peninsula has been told (§ 704). That act stimulated England to "induce" China (by the appearance of a fleet of warships) to "lease" to her the port of Waihaiwai — just between Port Arthur and the new German port Kiaochow. France then secured Kwangchow-wan toward the south.

783. But the peril called forth a violent outburst of patriotism. The mass of the people resented bitterly the interference of

"foreign devils" in their affairs, and a secret society (the Boxers), pledged to rid China of foreigners, swept the country. In 1900 came **a widespread Boxer rising.** Many missionaries and travelers were massacred; the German minister was slain; and the other European embassies in Peking were besieged.

The siege was soon raised and the Boxer rising crushed, with savage retaliation, by a relief expedition in which Russia, Japan, the United States, England, France, and Germany joined. It seemed probable that the European powers would now seize large "indemnities" in territory, and perhaps break China in fragments. *Largely through the insistence of the United States, the indemnities were finally taken instead in money.*

784. Even before the Boxer rising, **the American Secretary of State, John Hay, had urged upon the powers the policy of preserving Chinese territorial integrity, in return for an "open door" policy** by that country, suggesting also that each of the powers should apply that policy in those "spheres of influence" it had already acquired. This "open door" program, forcefully supported by America and England and by all the small commercial countries — against both open and secret opposition by Kaiser William of Germany — had much to do now with preventing the complete dismemberment of China. Of course the main incentive of American policy was the wish to keep rich Oriental provinces open to American trade. But this policy — perfectly proper in itself — fell in happily with the interests of humanity.

785. During the Boxer rising, however, Russia had occupied Chinese Manchuria. She claimed that such action was necessary to protect her railroad there, and promised to withdraw at the return of peace. In 1902 this pledge was solemnly repeated; but, before 1904, it was clear that such promises had been made only to be broken, and that Russia was determined not to loosen her grasp upon the coveted province. Moreover, she began to encroach upon Korea. **To Japan this Russian approach seemed to imperil not only her commercial prosperity, but her independence, and she resorted to war.**

To most of the world, Japan's chances looked pitifully small. Russian advance in Asia seemed irresistible, and the small island state appeared doomed to defeat. But Russia fought at long range. She had to transport troops and supplies across Asia by a *single-track* railroad. Her railway service was of a low order (like all her forms of engineering), and her rolling stock was inferior and insufficient. To be sure, it was supposed that immense supplies had already been accumulated at Port Arthur and in Manchuria, in expectation of war; but it proved that high officials of the autocracy had made way with the larger part of the money designed to secure such equipment. Inefficiency, corruption, lack of organization, were matched only by boastful overconfidence.

Japan, on the other hand, had the most perfectly organized army, hospital service, and commissariat, the world had ever seen. Her leaders were patriotic, honest, faithful, and always equal to the occasion; and the whole nation was animated by a spirit of ardent self-sacrifice. By her admirable organization, Japan was able, at all critical moments, to confront the Russians with equal or superior numbers, even after a year of war, when she had rolled the battle line back several hundred miles toward the Russian base.

At the outset, Japan could hope for success only by securing naval control of Asiatic waters. Russia had gathered at Port Arthur a fleet supposedly much stronger than Japan's whole navy; but (*February 8, 1904*) Japan struck the first blow, torpedoing several mighty battleships and cruisers. The rest of the Russian fleet was blockaded in the harbor; and, to the end of the war, Japan transported troops and supplies by water almost without interference.

Korea was swiftly overrun. The Russians were driven back from the *Yalu* in a great battle, and again defeated at *Liaou Yang;* and after a seven months' siege, marked by terrible suffering and reckless sacrifice on both sides, the Japanese captured the "invulnerable" *Port Arthur* (January, 1905). The

severe northern winter interrupted the campaign; but in March, 1905, the Japanese resumed their advance. The *Battle of Mukden* was the most tremendous military struggle the world had seen. It lasted fifteen days. The battle front extended a hundred miles, and a million men were engaged, with all the terrible, destructive agencies of modern science at their command. The Russians were completely routed, and driven back on Harbin.

Russia's only chance was to regain command of the sea. During the winter of 1905, after a year of delays, a huge fleet, far exceeding the Japanese navy in number and in size, but poorly equipped and miserably officered, had set out on the long voyage from the Baltic. By a breach of neutrality on the part of France, it was allowed to rest and refit at Madagascar, and again at the French stations near Southern China; and in May it reached the Sea of Japan. There it was annihilated by the splendidly handled Japanese fleet, under Admiral Togo, in the greatest of the world's naval battles.

786. Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, now "offered his good offices" to secure peace; and a meeting of envoys was arranged (August, 1905, at Portsmouth, N. H.), at which the **Treaty of Portsmouth** was signed. Japan's demands were exceedingly moderate, and she yielded even a part of these at President Roosevelt's urgent appeal for peace. Russia agreed (1) to withdraw from Chinese Manchuria, (2) to cede the Port Arthur branch of her railroad to China, (3) to recognize a Japanese protectorate in Korea, and (4) to cede to Japan the southern half of Sakhalin, — an island formerly belonging to Japan but occupied by Russia in 1875.

The most important results of the war were indirect results. Russia was checked in her career of aggression in Europe and toward India, as well as in the Far East, and the collapse of her despotic government gave opportunity for the beginning of a great revolution in society and politics (§ 753). Her defeat was a blessing to her own people. On the other hand, victory intensified imperialistic and militaristic tendencies in

Japan, and her cruel rule in Korea soon alienated much of the sympathy her gallantry had won in America and England.

787. One other change, vast and beneficent, is at least closely connected with the war. China had recently begun to follow Japan's example in sending part of her youth abroad to complete their education, especially to America; and Western ideas had begun to spread among the mandarin class. The national humiliation in the war with Japan in 1894 and in the Boxer War, and now the marvelous victory of Westernized Japan over Russia, reinforced the advocates of **Western civilization for China.** In 1909 the regent (Empress Dowager, whose Emperor-son was still a babe) promised a constitution "in the near future." The agitation of the liberals then forced her to fix the date for 1913. But this was not soon enough. In 1911 Central China rose in revolution, to make the many provinces of the empire into a federal republic.

The movement spread with marvelous rapidity, and in a few weeks the Republicans, in possession of the richest and most populous parts of the empire, set up a provisional republican government, at Nanking, under the presidency of *Dr. Sun Yat Sen.* In an attempt to save the monarchy, the Empress then issued a constitution, and called to power a moderate reformer, *Yuan Shih Kai* (yoo-an she ki). When it quickly appeared that this was not enough, the Manchus abdicated. Yuan Shih Kai established a provisional republican government at Peking, and opened negotiations with the Nanking government. Sun Yat Sen resigned, and the two provisional governments elected Yuan Shih Kai president of **the "Republic of China."**

In April, 1913, the first Chinese parliament assembled, representing four hundred million people. The new president, however, proved self-seeking and reactionary. Leading liberals were assassinated, supposedly by his orders, and probably only his own death kept him from making himself emperor.

The Peking government remained a military dictatorship, engaged in wasting struggles with a series of military adventurers. Relations to the World War and to the Washington Conference are treated elsewhere. In 1927 a mighty civil war was still in progress — with some prospect that China might emerge a united and modernized nation.

A fourth of the population of the globe cannot lift itself into orderly freedom in a day. Progress, however, has gone further than change in political forms. Western types of schools and of industry have been introduced and much advance has been made in freeing women from servile customs.

"ALLIANCES" AND "ARBITRATION"

788. The new social solidarity (§ 764) had its peril as well as its promise. By 1910, Europe had fallen into two hostile camps, the *Triple Alliance* and the *Triple Entente*.

a. After 1871 Bismarck sought to isolate France, so as to keep her from finding any ally in a possible "War of Revenge." To this end he cultivated friendship especially with Russia and Austria. Austria he had beaten in war only a few years earlier (1866); but the ruling German element in Austria was quite ready now to find backing in the powerful and successful German Empire.

Soon, however, Bismarck found that he must choose between Austria and Russia. These two were bitter rivals for control in the Balkans. The Slav peoples there, recently freed from the Turks, looked naturally to Russia, who had won their freedom for them, as the "Big Brother" of all Slavs and all Greek religionists. But Austria, shut out now from control in Central Europe, was bent upon aggrandizement to the south. In particular her statesmen meant to win a strip of territory through to Saloniki, on the Aegean, so that, with a railroad thither, they might control the rich Aegean trade. Now Serbia, one of these Slav states, dreamed of a South Slav state reaching to the Adriatic. This would have interposed an insuperable barrier across

the path of Austria's ambition. Accordingly Austria sought always to keep Serbia weak and small; while Russia, hating Austria even more than she loved the Balkan Slavs, backed Serbia.

This rivalry between Austria and Russia became so acute by 1879 that there was always danger of war; and in that year Bismarck chose to side with Austria as the surer ally. Accordingly he formed a definite written alliance with Austria to the effect that Germany would help Austria in case she had a war with Russia, and Austria would help Germany in case she were attacked by France and any other Power. Two years later, while Italy was bitterly enraged at the French seizure of Tunis (§ 695), Bismarck added Italy to his league, making it the Triple Alliance.

b. Then Russia and France, each isolated in Europe, drew together for mutual protection into a "Dual Alliance" (1893). England long held aloof from both leagues. In the eighties and nineties, England and France were bitter rivals in Africa, and England and Russia, in Asia. But after Bismarck's fall, England began to see in the German emperor's colonial ambitions a more threatening rival than France; and Russia's defeat by Japan made Russia less dangerous. German militarism, too, was deeply hateful to English democracy. Moreover, England and France were daily coming to a better understanding, and in 1903 a sweeping arbitration treaty put any war between them almost out of question. Soon afterward, England and Russia succeeded in agreeing upon a line in Persia which should separate the "influence" of one power in that country from the "influence" of the other, so removing all immediate prospect of trouble between the two. From this time the Dual Alliance became the Triple Entente — England, France, and Russia.

789. Each of the two huge armed leagues always protested that its aim was peace, and for half a century after 1871 Europe

did have no war, except the struggles in the half-savage Balkans. But this "**peace**" **was based upon fear**, and it was costly. Year by year, each alliance strove to make its armies and navies mightier than the other's. Huge cannon were invented, only to be cast into the scrap heap for still huger ones. A dreadnaught costing millions was scrapped in a few months by some costlier design. The burden upon the workers and the evil moral influences of such armaments were only less than the burden and evil of war (§ 701). In every land voices began to cry out that it was all needless: that the world was too Christian and too wise ever again to let itself be desolated by a great war.

790. And then came some interesting if not very zealous **efforts to find new machinery by which to guard against war** — in standing arbitration treaties, permanent international tribunals like the Hague Court, and occasional World Congresses.

The first case of arbitration between nations in modern times was arranged by one clause [1] of the Jay Treaty of 1794 between England and the United States. For nearly a hundred years this sensible device continued to be used mainly by the two English-speaking nations; but before the close of the nineteenth century it began to spread rapidly to other lands. During that century several hundred disputes were settled honorably, peacefully, and justly, by this process.

791. But in each of these cases a special treaty had to be negotiated before arbitration could begin — with every chance for war before such an arrangement could be made. Now the closing years of the nineteenth century saw agitation for "**general arbitration treaties**" by which nations might agree *in advance* to submit disputes to a certain court of arbitrators. In 1897 a treaty of this kind between England and the United States failed of adoption because of opposition in the United

[1] Regarding the disputed boundary between Maine and Nova Scotia. See West's *American People*, § 406.

States Senate, though it had been recommended vigorously first by President Cleveland and afterward by President McKinley. Then leadership in this great movement passed for the time away from the English-speaking peoples.

792. On August 24, 1898, by order of Tsar Nicholas (a sentimental lover of peace), the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs handed to the representatives of the different nations in St. Petersburg a written suggestion for a *world conference* to consider some means for arresting the danger of war and for lessening the burden of the armed peace. Out of this suggestion there grew **the Hague Peace Conference of 1899**. Twenty-six nations were represented, including Mexico, Siam, Japan, China, and Persia, — practically all the independent states of the world except the South American republics. Never before had any gathering so nearly approached a " parliament of man." It was found impossible to put any limit upon armament, because the German representatives refused to consider that matter; but agreements were reached to regulate the methods of war in the interests of greater humanity (futile though such agreements were soon to prove), and, in spite of German opposition, the Congress provided a standing International Tribunal for arbitration between nations.

No nation was compelled to submit its quarrels to this Hague Tribunal, but machinery was now ready so that nations *could* escape war, without loss of dignity, if they desired. (In the following years many important cases were so settled.) The next step was for groups of nations to pledge themselves to make use of this machinery, or of similar machinery. This pledge is the essence of a " general arbitration treaty."

793. While the Hague Conference was sitting, Chili and Argentina (which had not been invited to the Conference) were on the verge of war over a boundary dispute in the Andes. For the next two years both governments made vigorous preparations, — piling up war taxes, increasing armaments, building

and buying ships of war. But at the last moment a popular movement, led by bishops of the Catholic Church in the two countries, brought about arbitration; and soon after, the boundary was adjusted rationally by a commission of geographers and legal experts. So well pleased were the two nations with this individual case of arbitration that they proceeded to adopt a "general treaty" by which they bound themselves, for a period of five years, to submit *all* disputes which might arise between them to a specific tribunal.

THE CHRIST OF THE ANDES, — a "monument of good-will," erected, at an elevation of 1200 feet, by Chile and Argentina on the arbitrated boundary line.

794. This was the first "general arbitration treaty" ever actually adopted (June, 1903). But others were already in preparation in Europe; and, four months later (§ 788), France and England adopted one, agreeing to submit future disputes to the Hague Tribunal. Others followed swiftly, until most civilized states (except Germany) were joined with one or more other states in such agreements, usually, however, with important reservations as to "national honor," which often destroyed the force of the agreement.

795. Excursus upon Spanish America. — The splendid example to the world set by Argentina and Chile **suggests forcibly that Spanish America must be taken into account** in the future world progress. In recent years these two countries, along with Brazil, have shown a growing disposition to act in close agreement in foreign relations, so that they are sometimes referred to (from their initials) as the A B C Concert. The first striking instance of such concert was a joint suggestion from the three, in 1915, for mediation between the United States and Mexico, — apparently with view to protecting Mexico against unfriendly designs mistakenly attributed to the United States. (Cf. West's *American People*, 703–704.)

How the Spanish-American states became independent has been briefly told (§§ 554–558). Argentina's war of independence lasted from 1816 to 1823. Some years of turbulent disorder followed; but the adoption of the present republican constitution, in 1853, ushered in an orderly and stable era of progress. The country comprises fourteen "States" and ten "Territories," under a federal system similar to that of the United States. In the sixties, the government began to build up an excellent system of public schools, with Normal schools officered largely by teachers drawn from the United States. The population is about as large as that of Canada; and indeed Canada and Argentina may be said to be close rivals for second place in power and civilization upon the Western continent.

Brazil became independent of Portugal in 1821, but it kept a monarchic government until 1889. In that year the "emperor," Dom Pedro II, bowed magnanimously to the rising republican sentiment of the country, and, by his abdication, removed the danger of a violent revolution. Brazil's area is greater than that of the United States, but the country is mainly undeveloped. Of a population of 25 million, only about a third are whites, and these are settled near the coast.

Argentina and Brazil are the most progressive of the South

American republics, though some of the others press them closely. Until very recent times, the main interest of the outside world in these countries has been in regard to their trade. They export large quantities of agricultural products and of raw materials. Argentina sends to Europe immense shipments of frozen meats and of hides and grain. Brazil exports coffee, sugar, tobacco, cotton, rubber, cocoa, dyewoods, and nuts. Chile sells costly nitrates and large supplies of precious metals. They are making rapid progress in manufacturing; but they are still buyers of factory goods on a large scale.

The trade of the South American countries is largely in the hands of England — though before the World War Germany had begun to make rapid inroads upon England's control. In spite of her favorable position geographically, the United States has not a sixth as much of that trade as England has.

One of the promising features in present world conditions, however, is the marked tendency in the United States for the people to free themselves from their old ignorant and silly contempt for Spanish America. The increased attention to Spanish in our high schools is a hopeful sign. A true understanding of one another's civilization between the great Republic of the northern continent and its younger sisters to the south will count for progress in many ways — of which improved trade relations will be only the least important.

796. In 1907, at the suggestion of the United States, **a Second Hague Conference** met. This time the South American republics were represented. The Conference extended somewhat the work of the first meeting, but again England's proposals to limit navies and armies failed *because of opposition from Germany and Austria.* It was growing more and more plain that all these noble efforts for peace were vain unless supplemented by radical measures of disarmament; and Germany's implacable opposition made this unattainable except by a better organized world.

COPOCABANA, a suburb of Rio de Janeiro, showing the entrance to that city's famous harbor.

797. Germany's resistance to disarmament was due of course to the militaristic spirit dominating her government (ch. xlii), but it **was also closely connected with her insistent feeling that she must acquire** (by force, since she saw no other way) a larger "place in the sun," — **greater colonial dominion.** The nineteenth century "expansion" of Europe into Africa and Asia (unlike the colonial expansion of the eighteenth century) had been carried forward at the expense of savage or semi-barbarous peoples only. For a hundred years no "great" war had been waged between Christian nations avowedly for greed. Indeed, toward the close, whenever one nation made an important seizure of booty, some international conference arranged compensatory gains for any seriously discontented rival — and so preserved temporarily a delicate "balance" of interests.

798. But **this balance was one of exceedingly unstable equilibrium.** A touch might tip it into universal ruin. *And there were no materials to continue adjusting it on the old plan.* The world was now parceled out. Further expansion of consequence by any "power" meant direct conflict with some other "power." Moreover, so complicated had rivalries and alliances become, any conflict at all now meant a *world* conflict; and, so "improved" were agencies of destruction, a world struggle now meant ruin out of all comparison with earlier wars.

To-day this is plain enough. But until the late summer of 1913 the certain danger was glimpsed but dimly (outside the German war lords) and by only a few "dreamers." Complacently the peoples and their "practical" statesmen continued to drift on the brink of unparalelled disaster. *They did not seriously expect ever to use their crushing armaments; but neither did they resolutely seek to get rid of them and to develop this feeble arbitration movement into a real guarantee of peace.*

For Further Reading. — Edward Fueter's *World History;* W. S. Robertson's *History of Latin-American Nations.*

PART XI

THE WORLD WAR

CHAPTER XLVII

THE BALKAN FUSE

We have seen materials heaped for a world conflagration. A fuse was found in the Balkan situation and in the relations of the Balkan district to Austria.

I. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

799. Down to the World War, the "**Austrian Empire**" remained "**a tangle of races and a Babel of tongues.**" The peoples spoke eleven distinct languages, besides numerous dialects. A fourth of them were German (11 millions); a fifth Magyar, or Hungarian (9 millions); the rest were Italians, Jews, Illyrians, or Slavs. These Slavs made half the population, but they were broken up into many sub-races. Only the German language was allowed in the schools, the press, or the courts. For a Bohemian to publish a paper in his native language was a crime.

But in her wars of 1859 and 1866, Austria found her subject peoples a source of weakness rather than of strength, and saw that they rejoiced at her defeats. German Austria at last was given a free parliament; but this did not conciliate the powerful non-German populations; and finally the *two* strongest elements (German and Hungarian) joined hands to help each other keep control over all the others. "Austria-Hungary" became a dual monarchy, a federation of two states. Each half of the Empire had its own constitution, and the two halves had the same monarch and a sort of common legislature.

These arrangements of 1867 sacrificed the Slavs. The Germans remained dominant in the Austrian half of the Empire, and the Magyars in the Hungarian half. The union of the two was not due to any internal ties, but wholly to selfish fears. Without Hungarian troops the Austrian Germans and their emperor could not any longer hold Bohemia in subjection; and without Austria to support her, Hungary would lose her border Slav districts and perhaps be herself absorbed in Slav Europe.

800. Such a union was one of unstable equilibrium. Bohemia continued to demand, if not independence, at least that she be admitted into the imperial federation as an equal third state. The Poles of Austria and of Hungary hoped for a revival of an independent Poland. The Italians longed to be annexed to Italy. The Roumanians of eastern Hungary wished to be joined to free Roumania. The Croats and Slovaks desired independence, or union with free Serbia. For years, historical students had prophesied that, if a general European war came, it would result in the dissolution of this ill-assorted conglomerate state.

And yet, the deliberate act of this state, we shall see, was the immediate occasion for such a war. Half a century before, Cavour had thrust Austria out of Italy, and Bismarck had excluded her from Germany. Ever since, **she had turned predatory eyes toward the weak states along the Danube and between herself and the Aegean.**

II. THE BALKANS

801. The Balkan district is a crumpled criss-cross of interlacing mountains and valleys, peopled by tangled fragments of six mutually hostile races.

A century ago (and for four centuries before) all southeast Europe beyond Austria and Russia was part of Turkey. But *the Turks* were mere invaders and scattered rulers. They were not numerous in Europe except near Constantinople, and they

had no part in European civilization. In the old Hellenic peninsula dwelt *the Greeks*, with the memories of their ancient greatness. North of the Danube lay *the Roumanians*, proud of their legendary descent from Roman colonists in Dacia and with a language closer to-day to the old Latin than is any other living European language. In blood the Roumanians are no doubt now mainly Slav. Only half their race lived in "Roumania." One fourth dwelt in Bessarabia, which Russia had seized from the Turks in 1812; and another fourth were in Transylvania, which Hungary had held ever since she conquered it from the Turks in the eighteenth century.

Between these Greek and "Roman" peoples lay the Bulgarians, the Serbs, and, along the Adriatic just north of Greece, the Albanians. These last were wild herdsmen, descendants of the ancient Illyrians. For the most part they had adopted Mohammedanism and they willingly supplied excellent troops for the Turkish army; but in other respects their poverty and their mountains made it possible for them to keep a rude sort of self-rule, without much interference from Constantinople.

The Serbs were the leading survivors of the conquering South Slavs who settled in the Balkan regions in the sixth century. They had long been imbued with a natural ambition to restore their ancient empire as it stood when the Turk overthrew it in the fatal battle of Kossova, in 1389 (§ 320). But even more than the Roumanians, the South Slavs had been broken up by accidents of war. The northwestern part, the Bosnians, had remained independent longer than Serbia proper: and then, when they were conquered, their nobles became Mohammedans, to secure Turkish favor, though the peasants remained Greek Christians — like most of the subject peoples outside Albania. Other northern parts of Serbia, lands of the Croats and Slovenes, were reconquered from Turkey by Hungary in the eighteenth century, and so were no longer part of the home land, to which by race and language they belonged. Moreover, in the fastnesses of Montenegro ("Black Mountain") dwelt some 200,000 half-

savage Serbs who had never yielded to the Turks, but had kept their freedom at the cost of "five hundred years of ferocious heroism." In Serbia itself, the Turks had for the most part killed off the nobles. The village life was left, however, much as it had been of old. The people managed their local matters in small democracies, and earned their living as farmers and herdsmen of droves of pigs. As in all Christian lands ruled by the Turk, oppression and cruelty dwarfed their civilization.

East of Serbia, beyond a dividing mountain range, lay *the Bulgarians*. The "Bulgars" came into the peninsula as conquerors from Central Asia some two centuries later than the Slav Serbs. Originally they were baggy-trousered Asiatic nomads, akin to Tartars and Turks, and to-day they have intense pride in their ancient history as a race of conquerors. But in blood they have been so absorbed by the Slavs among whom they settled that there is little real difference in race between them and Roumanian on the one side or Serb on the other.

Still a long history of rivalry, warfare, and mutual cruelty has left an intense "race" hatred between Bulgars, Serbs, and Greeks; and this hatred has been made hotter by the fact that each one of the three races had hoped to win for itself the northern Aegean coast from the decaying Turkish power.

There are, we can see now, four great divisions of European Slavs: (1) *the Russians*, influenced by long Tartar domination in the Middle Ages, by admixture with various border peoples, and by the Greek Church; (2) *the Poles*, set off from the Russians by the adoption of Latin Christianity and by German instead of Tartar influence; (3) *the Bohemians* and neighboring Slavic peoples, now known as Czechoslovaks, resembling the Poles in their history but dominated in recent centuries by Austrian Germans; and (4) *the "South Slavs"* of the Balkans, with a promising Greek influence in the early Middle Ages, followed by a long and crushing subjection to the Turk. The third of these divisions, and fragments of the fourth, were held in bondage by Austria.

802. We have seen how the rule of the Turk in the Balkans began to disintegrate. Greece won independence in an eight-

year war (1821–1828); and Roumania and Serbia were advanced to the position of merely tributary states, ruled thenceforth by their own princes. The Crimean War (1856), in which France and England attacked Russia, bolstered up the tottering Ottoman Empire for a time, but a great collapse came twenty years later. The Sultan had promised many reforms for his Christian subjects; but these promises bore no fruit, and in 1875–1876 the Bosnians and Bulgarians rose for independence. There

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN IN 1878. Bismarck in the central foreground is clasping the hand of the Russian representative. Lord Salisbury, the English delegate, is seated on the left. Turkish and Bulgarian representatives are indicated by their headgear.

followed the horrible events long known as the "Bulgarian Atrocities." Turkish soldiers destroyed a hundred Bulgarian villages with every form of devilish torture imaginable, and massacred 30,000 people, carrying off also thousands of Christian girls into terrible slavery. Then Serbia sprang to arms; and Tsar Alexander II of Russia declared war on Turkey. The horror in Western Europe at the crimes of the Turk prevented for a time any interference; and in ten months the Russian armies held the Turks at their mercy. **The Peace of San Stefano**

(1878) arranged for a group of free Slav states in the peninsula and for the exclusion of Turkey from Europe except for the city of Constantinople.

803. But now Europe intervened. Austria wanted Balkan plunder, and England feared the advance of Russia toward her communications with India; so the Peace of San Stefano was torn up. **The Congress of Berlin** (§ 654), dominated by Disraeli, the English Conservative, restored half the freed Christian populations to their old slavery under the Turk; handed over Bosnia to Austria to "administer" for Turkey, *with a solemn provision that Austria should never annex the territory to her own realms;* and left the whole Balkan district in anarchy for a third of a century more. In fixing responsibility for the World War of 1914, this crime of 1878 cannot be overlooked.

804. The English government was chiefly responsible for that crime, but the English people promptly repudiated it at the polls (§ 655). **From this time England drew away from her old policy of courting Turkish friendship. Herein her place was quickly taken by Germany.** Kaiser William II loaned to the Sultan skilled officers to reorganize his armies, and supplied him with the most modern arms and munitions against revolt by Christian subjects (as when Crete rose for freedom in 1897).

This change of English and German policy appeared plainly during the horrible "Armenian Massacres" of 1894–1895. To check a probable move for Armenian independence, the Turkish government had turned loose upon that unhappy province — for the first of several times to come — hordes of savage soldiery to carry out a policy of frightfulness by licensed murder, pillage, and ravishment of a peaceful population. At once the English people in monster mass meetings called upon their government to interfere by arms. From his retirement (§ 660) the aged Gladstone once more lifted his voice, urging that, even alone, England should alone take up the work of mercy; but the Tory prime minister, Lord Salisbury, confessing regretfully that in 1854 and 1878 "we put our money on the wrong horse," felt powerless to act. For Russia, fearful lest *her* Armenians might be encouraged to rebel, supported Turkey; France, just then hostile to England in colonial matters and bound to Russia as an ally, took the same side; and the German

emperor chose this moment to send his photograph and that of his wife to the assassin-in-chief of Turkey, as a pledge of friendly policy.

805. In return for such shameful "gifts," the Kaiser expected eventually to make Turkey into a vassal state; and he did at once secure rich "concessions" in Asia Minor guaranteeing to Germany for long periods the sole right to build and operate railroads and to develop valuable mining and oil resources. This "economic penetration" she expected confidently to convert into full ownership.

Moreover, *the prospect of German dominance in Asia Minor brought Germany and Austria into closer sympathy* in their Balkan policies. Austria's interference in those regions had been purely bad, aiming to keep the little Balkan states weak and mutually hostile, and especially to prevent the growth of a "Greater Serbia." Then, in 1898, 1899, Germany obtained a concession from Turkey for a railway from "Berlin to Bagdad," to join the Persian Gulf to the Baltic and to open up the fabulously rich Oriental trade. A powerful Serbia, through which that line must pass, might have hampered the project. *Thenceforward Germany was ready to back Austria unreservedly in Balkan aggression.* **And, in return, Austria permitted herself to sink virtually into a vassal of Germany** in all other foreign relations. Such was the origin of the German dream of a "Mittel-Europa" empire, reaching across Europe from the North Sea to the Aegean and the Black seas, and on through Asia Minor to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf. (See map, p. 689.)

806. In 1908 came a step toward fulfilling the plan. Taking advantage of internal dissensions in Turkey that followed the reforms by the young Turks (§ 768), **Austria formally annexed Bosnia**, in flat contradiction to her solemn pledges. This was not only a brutal stroke at the sanctity of treaties, but it seemed also a fatal blow to any hope for a reunion of that Slav district with Serbia. Serbia protested earnestly, and was supported by Russia. But the Kaiser "took his stand in shining armor by the

side of his ally," as he himself put it; and Russia, still weak from her defeat by Japan and from her revolution of 1906, had to back down. Serbia was then forced by rough threats to make humiliating apologies to Austria — while at the same time an Austrian embargo against Serbia's pork closed to the chief Serbian industry its only outlet to world markets.

807. Then came an event less favorable to the Teutonic designs. United action by the mutually hostile Balkan states had seemed impossible. But **in 1912**, *Venizelos*, the Greek premier, persuaded **Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece to join in a war to drive the Turk out of Europe.** The allies won swift victories, and in a few months were almost at the gates of Constantinople. "Europe" intervened to arrange the peace terms. Italy, like Austria, was hostile to a Greater Serbia; and at the insistence of these powers, backed by Germany, a new Kingdom of Albania was created, shutting off Serbia once more from the sea she had reached, while Montenegro was forced, by threat of war, to give up to Albania Scutari, which she had conquered at the cost of a fifth of her armed population. Turkey was to surrender, mostly to Bulgaria, her remaining territory in Europe except for Constantinople. (Germany had carried her points in this settlement; but her ally, Turkey, had collapsed, and events were at once to show that in siding with Bulgaria she had blundered.)

808. The treaty left Bulgaria almost the only gainer. The cheated allies demanded that she now share her gains with them. She refused; and at once (June, 1913) followed **the Second Balkan War.** Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania attacked Bulgaria. The Turks seized the chance to reoccupy Adrianople and were permitted to keep it. In a month Bulgaria was crushed, and a new division of booty was arranged. Greece won the richest prize, including the city of Saloniki; but each of the other allies secured gains.

Roumania was now a half larger than any other Balkan state. Then came Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria, each with about four

and a half million people. Montenegro had risen to a half million, while "Turkey in Europe" kept nearly two million. All these nations were frightfully illiterate, and all were poor. Moreover, they now hated one another with an intensified ferocity. Especially did Bulgar now hate Serb and Greek. Serbia, too, was still cheated of her proper desire for an outlet on the

THE BALKAN STATES.

Adriatic, her only natural gateway to the outside world, and she resented fiercely the Austrian and Italian policy which had so balked her, so that large secret societies grew up in Serbia pledged to hostility to the "odious and greedy northern neighbor who holds millions of Serb brothers in chains." On her part, Austria felt deeply humiliated by the outcome of the Second Balkan War, and was planning to redress her loss of prestige by striking Serbia savagely on the first occasion.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE IMMEDIATE OCCASIONS FOR WAR

809. One reason why the world drifted so complacently toward catastrophe was the general belief that, despite their armaments, the great "Christian" states were too good or at least too wise ever again to engage in war with one another merely for plunder — with the terrible ruin that such war must bring under modern conditions. And this belief was in itself a safeguard, in a measure. The catastrophe might at least have been postponed, except that one great government did not share the faith in peace, or the desire for it. Other countries were infected with imperialistic greed; but **in Germany, in a peculiar measure, this commercial imperialism had struck hands with a blatant and all-pervading militarism.**

810. For half a century Germany had been ruled by a Prussian despotism resting upon an old bigoted and arrogant oligarchy of birth, and a new, greedy, scheming oligarchy of money. That rule had conferred on Germany many benefits. It had cared for the people as zealously as the herdsman cares for the flocks he expects to shear. But in doing so it had amazingly transformed the old peace-loving, gentle German people. It had taught that docile race to bow to Authority rather than to Right; to believe Germany stronger, wiser, better, than "decaying" England, "decadent and licentious" France, "uncouth and anarchic" Russia, or "money-serving" America; to be ready to accept a program, at the word of command, for imposing German *Kultur* upon the rest of the world *by force;* to regard war, even aggressive war, not as horrible and sinful, but as beautiful, desirable, and right, — the final measure of a nation's worth, and the divinely appointed means for saving

the world by German conquest; and finally to disregard ordinary morality, national or individual, whenever it might interfere with the victory of the "Fatherland."

This diseased "patriotism" began with the war-begotten Empire. As early as 1872, Von Schellendorf, Prussian War-Minister, wrote:

"Do not forget the civilizing task Providence assigns us. Just as Prussia was destined to be the nucleus of Germany, so the new Germany shall be the nucleus of a future Empire of the West. . . . We will successively annex Denmark, Holland, Belgium, . . . and finally northern France. . . . No coalition of the world can stop us." Leaders of German thought adopted this tone, until it dominated pulpit, press, university, and all society. Treitschke, a leading historian, could teach impiously: "War is part of the divinely appointed order. . . . War is both justifiable and moral, and the idea of perpetual peace is both impossible and immoral. . . . The salvation of Germany can be attained only by the annihilation of the smaller states." School children had these ideas drilled into them. And *Jung Deutschland*, official organ of the Young German League (an organization corresponding in a rough way to our Boy Scouts), explained more specifically: "*War is the noblest and holiest expression of human activity.* For us, too, the glad, great hour of battle will strike. Still and deep in the German heart must live the joy of battle and the longing for it. Let us ridicule to the utmost the old women in breeches who fear war and deplore it as cruel and revolting. No; *war is beautiful.* Its august sublimity elevates the human heart beyond the earthly and the common. In the cloud palace above sit the heroes Frederick the Great and Blücher; and all the men of action — the great Emperor, Moltke, Roon, Bismarck — are there as well, but not the old women who would take away our joy in war. . . . *That is the heaven of young Germany.*"

And so on, almost without end. It is no pleasant task now to recall how this monstrous ritual of war-idolatry was chanted so universally by the leaders of a great nation, to foment international envy and suspicion and bloodshed. Nor is it recorded here to throw discredit on the new Germany struggling, since the war, toward a better life. The story must be recorded, because it carries a lesson for the world, a lesson for the conquerors of Germany "lest *they* forget," — lest, in the rebound from vic-

torious war, they bow down in a like worship of violence before some misshapen idol of nationalism.

811. True, even in that *old* Germany, **a few lonely voices,** mainly Socialists, **protested against this doctrine of insolent and ruthless Might.** Indeed the bulk of the peasants and artisans wished not war but peace; but these were *silent* social forces, unorganized and passive. And even these elements were deeply influenced by the persistent propaganda that England hated their country and was only waiting a chance to destroy it. Between 1912 and 1914, to be sure, the German ambassador to England, Prince Lichnowsky,[1] repeatedly assured his government of England's friendly and pacific feeling. But these communications, so out of tune with the purpose of the German government, never reached the German people.

812. It is to be added, too, that leaders of the Junkers and of the capitalist class looked to foreign war as the only means of preserving their class rule at home against the rising tide of social reform. And all these forces had talked war so long that they themselves now believed it sure to come. This belief spread. For some years the Kaiser had inclined, on the whole, to the maintenance of peace and had been a moderating influence in the councils of the war lords. But early in 1914 he announced repeatedly that war with France was inevitable, and so delivered himself into the hands of the war party. The American, Colonel House, in Berlin in May on a diplomatic mission from President Wilson, was appalled at the dominance there of the military spirit. "The whole of Germany," he wrote, "is charged with electricity. . . . It needs only a spark to set the whole thing off."

[1] This cultivated and able German Liberal, wholly free from the spirit of German jingoism, had been selected for the position apparently in order to blind English opinion as to Germany's warlike aims. When the war came, he found himself in disgrace with the Kaiser and the German court; and at the opening of the third year of the war (August, 1916) he wrote an account of his London mission for *private* circulation among his friends, to justify himself in their eyes. A copy fell into the hands of the Allies during the next year, and became at once one of the most valuable proofs of German guilt in forcing on the war.

In June, 1914, the Kiel Canal was finally opened to the passage of the largest ships of war. Now Germany was ready, and her war lords were growing anxious to use their preparations before the cost became too crushing. Moreover, Russia was distracted just then by violent strikes of revolutionary workingmen; France, by a tumultuous resistance to a new army law; and England, by an embryo civil war in Ireland (p. 551).

813. And **now came just the kind of occasion the German war lords wished.** Ever since its unjust seizure by Austria, Bosnia had been seething with conspiracies against Austrian rule. June 28, 1914, the heir to the Austrian throne, the Archduke Francis, while in Bosnia, was assassinated, with his wife, by some of these conspirators — who, it is now known, included high Serbian officials.

Europe was aghast. Horror at the dastardly murder was mingled with fear of a great European war. If Austria used this murder as an excuse to crush Serbia, Russia would surely defend that country. A conflict between Austria and Russia could not but draw in at once Germany and France; but Germany and Austria felt secure because they believed that England, having no selfish interest any longer in the Balkans, would not fight on such a question.

814. Austria had long looked upon her unruly little neighbor to the south as a threat to her own existence — because so many of her unwilling Slav subject-peoples longed for union in a "Greater Serbia." Here was an excuse for trying to put an end to the danger.

Austrian papers at once loudly declared Serbia responsible for this murder, inasmuch as she had not suppressed societies of conspirators within her borders agitating for Bosnian liberation. A month passed quietly before the Austrian government took open action — *but during that time it secretly secured from the German Kaiser a promise of support "to the hilt" in whatever action it might decide to take.* **Then, July 23, without warning, Austria**

launched her forty-eight hour ultimatum to Serbia — including demands that would have degraded that country into a mere vassal state, and *which*, the minutes of the Austrian Cabinet show, *were purposely made impossible of acceptance.* In twelve days a world conflagration was ablaze. Certain facts regarding the negotiations during those days are significant.

a. Austria was entitled, in world opinion, to some sort of reparation from Serbia and to greater security for the future. Accordingly, *England persuaded Serbia to offer humble submission* (reserving only her national independence), and then implored Germany to help get Austria's consent to arbitrate the remaining points. Failing this, England pleaded, in vain, that Germany herself suggest some plan to preserve peace. Lichnowsky (§ 811) believed that, if his country had wished peace, a settlement could easily have been secured, and he "strongly backed" the English proposals; but in vain. "We insisted on war," he says in his account to his friends; "the impression grew that we wanted war under any circumstances. It was impossible to interpret our attitude in any other way."

b. The only "peace plan" Germany had to suggest was to "localize" the war by an agreement of the great powers to allow Austria her will with Serbia. It is likely that at first the German government expected, not the huge crime of a world war, but only the bloody destruction of Serbia — which would gratify and strengthen its ally Austria and also remove an awkward obstacle from the path of German ambition (p. 624). Moreover, if Russia *could* be intimidated or persuaded to abandon Serbia to ruin, the small Slav peoples would never again trust to Russia's protection against German plans among them; and that result would be worth as much to Germany as victory over Russia in war.

c. But Russia gave no sign of backing down. Austrian cannon were already battering Belgrade; and (July 29), unable to obtain a satisfactory pledge that Serbia would be left inde-

pendent, Russia began to mobilize.[1] Late that same night, now that a *general* war seemed more imminent, Germany hesitated and strongly urged her ally to renew negotiations with Russia — *though at the same time she carefully disclaimed any idea of suggesting that the conquest of Serbia should pause meanwhile.* The Tsar had ordered only a *partial* mobilization, against Austria; but his ministers trickily took advantage of the order to begin instead a *general* mobilization, and by the morning of July 31 they had finally persuaded their master that that step was necessary if Russia were not to back down altogether.

d. But Russian general mobilization threatened German safety, though perhaps not very immediately. Some members of the German war-council thought the danger could be adequately met by counter-mobilization — which would still leave time for negotiations; but the majority and the Kaiser decided that, to get full advantage from her better military organization, Germany must strike first, before the unwieldy Russian giant should really be ready. So, on that same morning (July 31), a German ultimatum gave Russia the choice of stopping her mobilization within twelve hours or accepting war. Russia declared that day for war.

Here then is the order of war-breeding events: (1) Germany's foolish "blank check" to Austria; (2) Austria's criminal ultimatum to Serbia, followed swiftly by invasion; (3) Russia's over-hasty mobilization, at a moment, too, when Germany seemed ready to draw back; and (4) Germany's warlike ultimatum to Russia.

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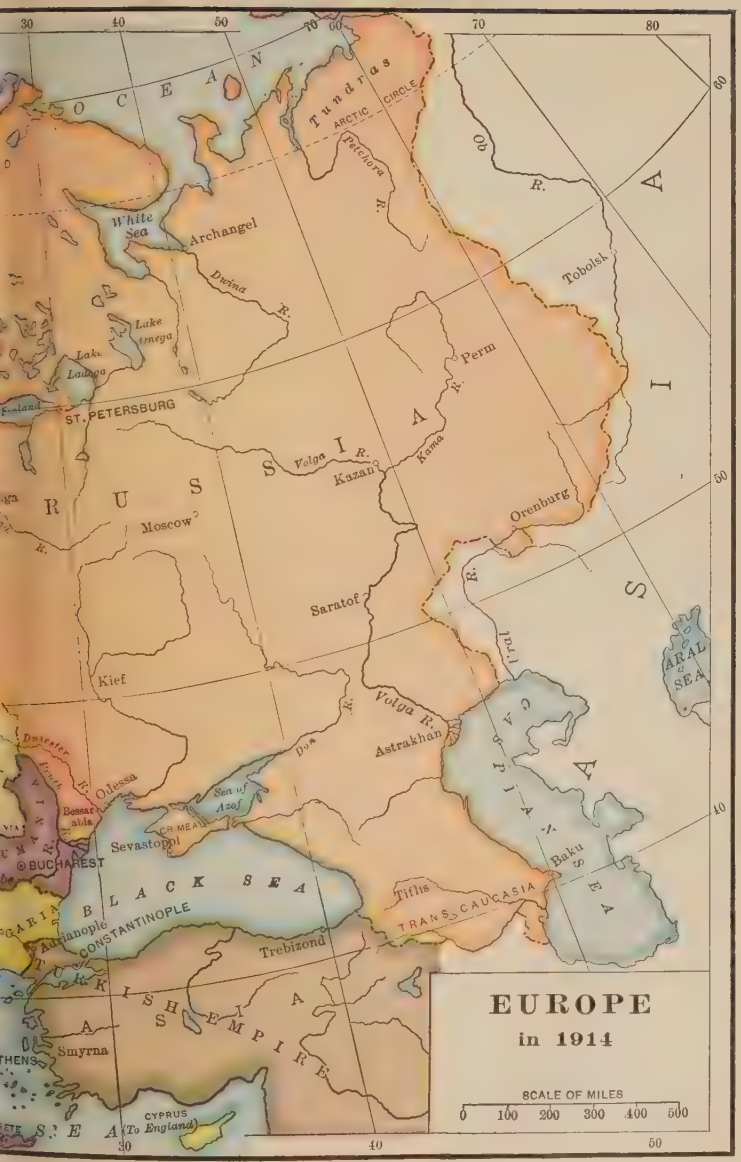
[1] Some Russian "statesmen" had long been anxious to use the Balkan disorders as an excuse for seizing Constantinople; and (especially in 1913) they had carried on *secret* negotiations with such French leaders as Poincaré as to the division of spoils in case of a general war. True, there is no proof that the *Frenchmen* looked to *causing* a war; but it is true, too, that any such negotiations were a dangerous part of an immoral international system. They made the partakers more willing for war; and distorted rumors about them made the Teutonic powers more ready to believe war inevitable (p. 656). It is true, however, that in France any [illegible] of a war for national aggrandizement would have been received unfavorably.

30
20
10
0
10
60
50
40
ARCTIC
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Reikiavik
ICELAND
(To Denmark)
FAROE IS.
(To Denmark)
SHETLAND IS.
HEBRIDES
ORKNEY IS.
LOFODEN IS.
Trondhjem
Bergen
CHRISTIANA
Gothenburg
COPENHAGEN
Kiel
Hamburg
BERLIN
Dresden
Belfast
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Dublin
Cork
BRITISH ISLES
Manchester
Liverpool
Birmingham
LONDON
NETHERLANDS
THE HAGUE
Amsterdam
Antwerp
BELGIUM
BRUSSELS
English Channel
Cologne
Leipzig
Frankfort
Havre
Seine R.
PARIS
Loire R.
Rhine R.
Prague
Danube R.
Munich
VIENNA
AUSTRIA
FRANCE
Bay of Biscay
C. Finisterre
Bordeaux
BERN
Geneva
Zurich
SWITZERLAND
Lyons
Milan
Venice
Trieste
Oporto
Douro R.
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
MADRID
Tagus R.
Genoa
Po R.
Monaco
Marseilles
Adriatic Sea
BOSNIA
Barcelona
CORSICA
Valencia
Guadalquivir R.
MINORCA
BALEARIC IS.
SARDINIA
ROME
ITALY
Naples
Malaga
Gibraltar
(To England)
Palermo
SICILY
Fez
Algiers
Tunis
AFRICA
MALTA
(To England)
J.I. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.
Longitude West
Longitude East
from Greenwich


EUROPE
in 1914
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
OCEAN
Tundras
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Petchora R.
Ob R.
White Sea
Archangel
Dwina R.
Tobolsk
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
Perm
ST. PETERSBURG
Volga R.
Kama R.
Kazan
RUSSIA
Moscow
Orenburg
Saratof
Ural R.
ASIA
ARAL SEA
Kief
Volga R.
Astrakhan
Don R.
Dniester
Pruth R.
Odessa
Sea of Azof
Bessarabia
CRIMEA
Sevastopol
BUCHAREST
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Baku
Tiflis
TRANS CAUCASIA
Adrianople
CONSTANTINOPLE
Trebizond
TURKISH EMPIRE
ASIA
Smyrna
CYPRUS (To England)
SEA

Germany and Russia were each *afraid* to wait, lest the other gain some advantage. And there was no world organization to hold them back until a proper settlement could be considered. One cause of the war was this " international anarchy," this lack of a world organization to secure justice and so prevent war.

815. On that same fateful July 31st, Germany demanded of France that she choose at once between peace and war, and that, if she decided to remain neutral, she should permit German troops to occupy her great fortresses of Toul and Verdun as a guarantee. France, of course, chose war (August 1). That day Germany demanded of Belgium that she allow German troops to pass through her territory against France — a demand contrary to solemn treaty obligations of both countries.[1] Two days later (August 3), on Belgium's refusal, German armies invaded that little country, as the easiest road to Paris. This deed shifted world attention from Austria, as the aggressor against Serbia, to Germany as the aggressor against the sacredness of treaties and the safety of small neutral nations. The same day, England " went in," as her government had strongly intimated to Germany that she would do if Belgian neutrality were violated.

The English ministers had been claiming in parliament and to foreign countries, that, so far as defending *France* was concerned, England was absolutely free to enter a war or not, according to her own judgment. Technically this was true. England had not been formally bound to aid France. At the same time, some of these same ministers had *secretly* entered into such engagements with the French government (as to the disposition of the English fleet, for instance) that, when the crisis came, they must have felt bound *in honor* to join France. England, however, was exceedingly averse to going to war upon a " continental matter ";

[1] Prussia had been one of several powers to join (1839) in guaranteeing Belgium's neutrality; and at the formation of the German Empire that state had formally taken over all Prussia's treaty obligations. By the same treaty of 1839, Belgium was bound to defend her neutrality to the utmost of her power.

and it is by no means sure that the ministry could have carried parliament or the nation with them if Germany had kept out of Belgium.[1]

816. The entrance of England into the war sadly upset German calculations. Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg had not believed that "shop-keeping England" would fight; and to the departing English ambassador he expressed bitterly his amazement that she should do so anyway "just for a scrap of paper."

Both parties declared they fought to establish peace; but German leaders made it plain that they looked only to a sort of *peace by slavery*, — a peace won by making Germany so supreme in the world that no other power could possibly dream of withstanding or disobeying her. Said Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg (May 28, 1915): "We must endure till we have gained every possible guarantee, so that none of our enemies — not alone, not united — will again dare a trial of strength with us." Over against this ideal of a Roman peace, English statesmen set up the ideal of a *peace of righteousness*. Said Sir Edward Grey, the English Foreign Minister: "What we and our allies are fighting for is a free Europe. We want a Europe free, not only from the domination of one nationality by another, but from hectoring diplomacy and the peril of war, free from the constant 'rattling of the sword in the scabbard,' from perpetual talk of 'shining armor' and 'warlords' [pet phrases of the Kaiser]. We are fighting for equal rights; for law, justice, peace; for civilization throughout the world as against brute force."

For Further Reading. — The best treatment up to this time (1927) is to be found in Gooch, *Modern Europe, 1878–1919* (published in 1922), especially pp. 520–559.

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[1] At the last moment (many hours after the German generals had received their orders for the invasion), the German ambassador at London asked Lord Grey (the English minister for foreign affairs) whether England would remain neutral *if* Germany respected Belgian neutrality. Grey replied by asking whether the ambassador (Lichnowsky) had authority to propose such a bargain; and Lichnowsky was obliged sorrowfully to confess that he had not. This incident has been twisted into the charge that England *refused* to secure the safety of Belgium by agreeing to remain neutral!

CHAPTER XLIX

THE WAR BEFORE AMERICA ENTERED

THE FIRST YEAR, 1914

817. The Germans had planned a short war. They expected (1) to go through Belgium swiftly with little opposition, and to take Paris within four weeks; (2) then to swing their strength against Russia before that unwieldy power could get into the war effectively, and crush her; and (3) with the Channel ports at command, to bring England easily to her knees, if she should really enter the war.

Thanks to Belgium, the first of these expectations fell through — and the others fell with it. The Germans had allowed *six* days to march through Belgium. But for *sixteen* days little Belgium, alone in her agony, held back mighty Germany. When the French began mobilization, after August 2, they began it to meet an honest attack through Lorraine; but before the Belgians were quite crushed, the French managed to shift enough force to the north, along with a hurried and poorly equipped "Expeditionary Army" of 100,000 from England, to delay the German advance through northern France for three weeks more — ground that the German plan had allowed eight days to win. Tremendously outnumbered, outflanked, trampled into the dust in a ceaseless series of desperate battles, the thin lines of Allied survivors fell back doggedly toward the Marne.

818. There, September 6, when the boastful invaders were in sight of the towers of Paris, the French and English turned at bay in a colossal battle along a two-hundred-mile front — **the "First Battle of the Marne."** Joffre, the French commander-in-chief, issued to all corps commanders his famous order: "The hour has come to let yourselves be killed rather than to yield

ground." The crisis came on the fourth day when the Germans, anxious to use their superior numbers in an enveloping movement around both the Allied wings, had perilously weakened their center. With true military genius, General Foch, a trusted lieutenant of Joffre's, divined the situation, and, with splendid resolution, hurled his exhausted troops desperately at that key-position. Joffre had sent an anxious inquiry to ask Foch's condition. The dogged Foch telegraphed back hastily: "My right is beaten back; my center is crushed; my left has been repulsed. *Situation excellent.* I am attacking with my left." And when a subordinate reported, "My men are exhausted," Foch replied curtly, "So are the enemy. Attack!" This time, the attack broke the invader's line.

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FERDINAND FOCH.

To save themselves from destruction, the Germans retreated hastily to the line of the Aisne (map facing 691). There they entrenched themselves along a range of hills running northwesterly from Rheims, and the Allies were too exhausted to dislodge them.

819. On the East front the Russians had mobilized more swiftly than friend or foe had believed possible, and were swarming into East Prussia, threatening Austria. August 26 they were defeated ruinously at **Tannenberg** by Hindenburg,[1] a Prussian veteran of 1870, with the most fearful slaughter

[1] Aided, Ludendorff's "Story of the War" now shows us, by the treason of a Russian general.

ever known in one battle in all history; but against the Austrians they fared better. After winning a great battle on the frontier, they forced their way into Austrian Galicia and captured Lemberg. Germany was forced to divert troops from France to succor her Austrian ally, and, even so, the Russians held their positions for the rest of the 1914 campaign.

820. *Through 1914, the West remained the real center of interest.* The Battle of the Marne had wrecked the original plan of the invaders. Then **the overwhelming British sea power** began to count. In August and September, German shipping was swept from the seas, and the German war navy was bottled up in the Baltic, while America's resources in food and munitions were kept available only for the Allies. England established a virtual blockade of the North Sea, requiring all neutral ships from the outside world to submit to inspection at the Orkneys, to see that (even though bound for Holland or Scandinavia) they did not carry contraband really designed for Germany. Early in the war, too, Germany had declared a government control over all food in the country, to make sure of proper supplies for the army. Then England added food destined for Germany to the list of contraband. At first this blockade was not enforced rigidly, for fear of offending American opinion; but at once Germany raised loud outcry against the " inhumanity " of thus " starving a nation." Certainly, if the war were to be a long one, a successful strangling of German commerce would be decisive.

821. Accordingly, the Germans realized the need of attacking England directly, without waiting to conquer France. As a necessary step, **they turned to complete their conquest of the Belgian coast.** King Albert of Belgium and the bulk of his heroic little army were still holding Antwerp. The huge German siege guns now beat to powder the protecting forts, and the invaders captured that city on October 9, — though in an exulting parade they permitted the Belgian army to escape towards France. Immediately after, they secured Ostend and most of the rest of the Belgian coast.

To attack England successfully, however, against her unconquerable fleet, the Germans needed nearer ports for a base, — at least Dunkirk and Calais; and October 16 they began the four weeks' *Battle of the Yser* in order to force the last natural barrier protecting those Channel ports. Checked by the cutting of the dikes, they next brought their force against the thin English lines near Ypres. The gallant resistance offered the magnificent "Prussian Guards" in the *First Battle of Ypres* by the outnumbered and ill-armed English, makes one of the most heroic stories in all history. In vain, day after day for a long month, with slight intervals for preparation, did the overwhelming German forces deliver their reckless mass attacks upon the opponents whom they had styled "a contemptible little army." They wore themselves down upon that dying but unconquered line without ever becoming able to deliver a knock-out blow, losing more men than the total English force; and winter conditions set in, November 17, with the desired ports still in the hands of the Allies.

822. Thus closed the first war season. On the west, both sides had "dug in" along a 360-mile front from the North Sea to Switzerland. Now began a trench warfare, new in history. In spite of constant and horrible slaughter, the positions were not materially changed on this front until the final months, four years later.

While England's gallant first army died devotedly to gain her time, England reorganized herself for war — built new munition factories — though for a long time not enough; poured forth gold lavishly for Russia and France; saved and toiled and drilled at home, and put into the field eventually a splendid fighting force of six million men, — a million ready for the second

And the war had spread beyond Europe. England's laughter-commonwealths, — Canada, Australia, New uth Africa, and even her Indian Empire, — were selves splendidly to the defense of their common

civilization. Japan, too, England's ally in the Orient, had entered the war, to aggrandize herself by seizing Germany's holdings in China and in the northern Pacific. On the other hand, in November, Turkey joined the Teutonic powers.

THE SECOND YEAR, 1915

At the opening of 1915, England and France believed, without good reason, that the Russian "steam-roller," fully prepared, would now crush its way to Berlin. But Russia was near the end of her supply of munitions, and her industries were too primitive to cope with longer war. The minister of war, too, had secretly sold himself to Germany, and was doing his best to hinder military movements and to waste and misdirect the scanty supplies.[1] Similar treason permeated a large part of the official classes and of the court circle, centering around the Hohenzollern wife of the Tsar. The Germans understood this situation and planned now to concentrate their energies in putting Russia quickly out of the war.

Russia was almost isolated from the other Allies. If she were to receive badly needed supplies, the Allies must force the Dardanelles and capture Constantinople. Success in this project in 1915 would have ended the war. The wavering Balkan states would have joined Russia; Turkey would have been crushed; the ill-cemented Austrian Empire would have been open to invasion from the south; and the Allies must have won.

824. Thus both parties planned now to transfer the decisive struggle to the East front. In February, **the Allied navy attacked the Dardanelles.** The outer forts were taken or battered down, but the inner fortresses resisted successfully. In March a more formidable attack all but succeeded. Had the Allies known how exhausted the Turkish ammunition was, they

[1] Two years later this man was executed for high treason. Of Russia's four important munition factories, the largest was directly controlled, secretly, by Germany

might have opened the straits. Not informed of this, however, and discouraged by heavy losses in ships, the navy now waited nearly two months for the arrival of land forces. When the British transports from Australia arrived, late in April, the Turks were perfectly prepared; and the heroic attempts of the Anzacs [1] to storm the fortresses of the Gallipoli Peninsula failed after horrible slaughter.

825. Meantime, in May, **the Germans opened their drive against Russia in Galicia with the first enormous concentration of artillery in the war.** The Russians were admirably commanded in the field, and they fought, as always, with reckless valor. But their cannon were useless from want of ammunition, and even with the infantry many a soldier had to wait until a comrade had fallen before he could get a gun to fight with. The Austrians recaptured Lemberg in June, and the Germans took Warsaw early in August. The Teutonic armies then cleared most of eastern Poland of Russian garrisons, before they halted their drive late in September, in order to attempt a more important drive on the southeast (below). Russia had lost an enormous number of lives, with a million and a half of prisoners; she had been driven out of a huge territory; and her offensive power had been destroyed for months to come.

826. On the West front, there was continuous trench fighting, with much loss of life, but **the only important event of the year was the German offensive at Ypres** (*Second Battle of Ypres*, April 17–May 17) where the English line was almost broken by the German asphyxiating gas, then first used in war. That the line held against this attack was due largely to the splendid gallantry of the new Canadian divisions. Lack of high explosives kept the Allies from attempting a serious offensive until just before the season closed — in September — and the event proved that the supplies even then were insufficient to

[1] Australian New Zealand Auxiliary Corps.

prepare the way for successful infantry attack, so that the only result was one more terrible lesson with pitiful sacrifice of lives.

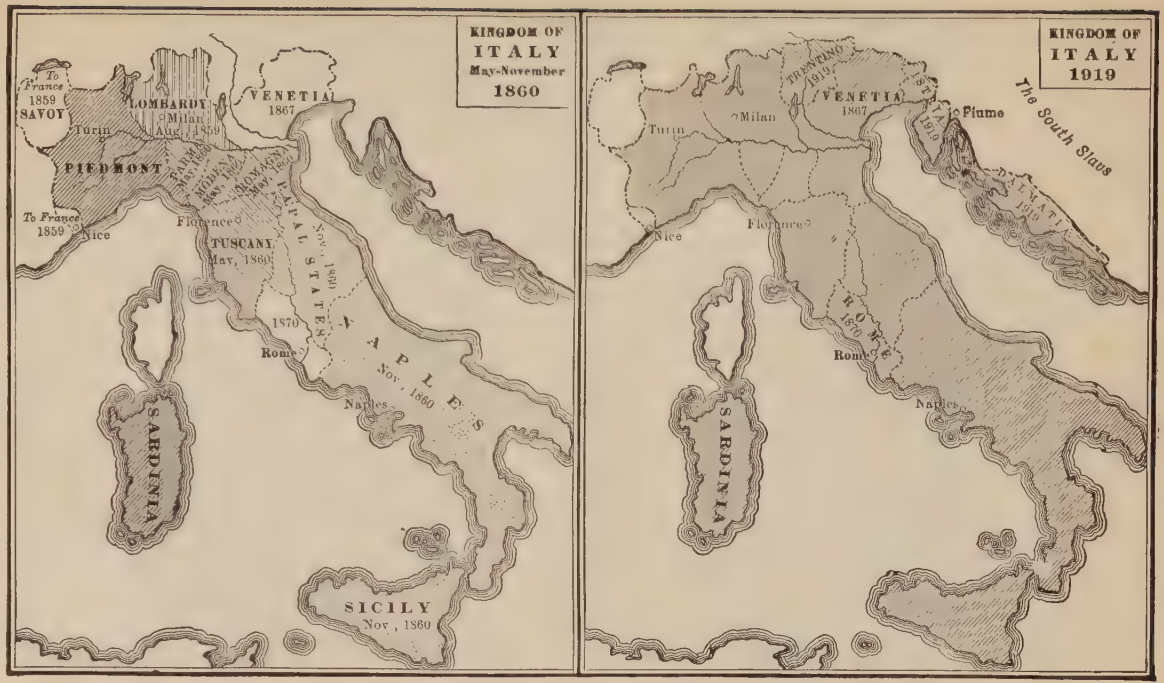
827. The Germans had stopped their triumphant progress into Russia only to avail themselves of a more attractive program. In October, **Bulgaria finally joined the Central Powers** (fear of Russia gone), hoping to wreak vengeance on Serbia for 1913 and to make herself the ruling state in the Balkans. Her secretly prepared army **invaded Serbia** from the east while a huge Teutonic force attacked from the north. Serbia had counted upon her treaty of 1913 with Greece for protection against possible Bulgarian attack. But King Constantine of Greece, brother-in-law of the German Kaiser, now repudiated that treaty and dismissed from office Venizelos (§ 807), who desired to keep Greece faithful to her ally. A Franco-British army had been sent to Saloniki, but, after the defection of Greece, it could accomplish nothing. Serbia was overwhelmed, and along with Montenegro and much of Albania, was occupied by the Bulgars and Teutons; and the Bulgarian atrocities toward the conquered populations during the next years exceeded anything those unhappy peoples had ever suffered from the Turk.

The military gain by Germany in this campaign was immense. **She now dominated a solid broad belt of territory from Berlin and Brussels and Warsaw to Bagdad and Persia.** (Cf. map, p. 689.) True, Germany had begun to feel the English blockade terribly. Her stocks of fats, rubber, cotton, and copper were running low, and her poorer classes were suffering from underfeeding — with a horrible increase in the infant death rate. But the ruling classes felt no pinch, and looked hopefully now to the control of the East for new sources of trade.

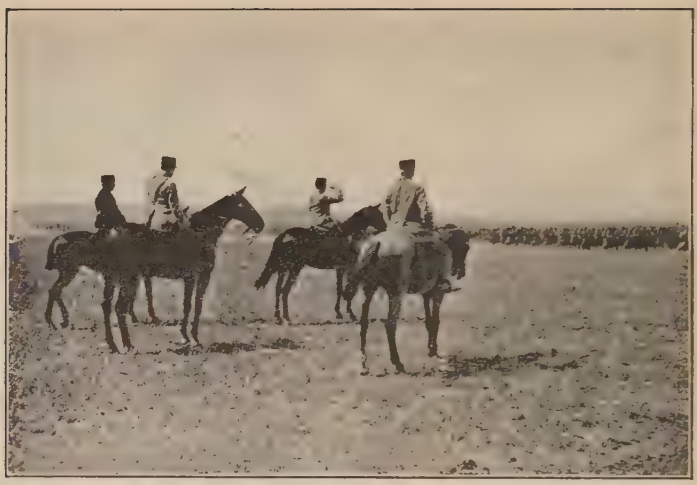
828. This gloomy second year of the war brought to the Allies only one gain. From the outset, Italy had repudiated the Triple Alliance. The Teutonic powers, who had forced on the war without cousulting her, had expected only that she would remain neutral. But the Italian government saw its

opportunity to recover the "unredeemed" Italian territory — and more — by joining one side or the other. When the Teutonic powers had refused its terms, it drove a hard bargain with the Allied governments, securing in a secret treaty (since known as the Pact of London, April, 1915) promises for not only Trieste and the Trentino but also for Dalmatia — at the expense of martyred Serbia — and for various islands in the Aegean. Accordingly, just when the Russian retreat was beginning, **Italy declared war on Austria**, and launched her armies in a drive across the Isonzo for Trieste. But the Austrians had fortified the Alpine passes with every modern device, and for two years the Italians made little advance. They did, however, keep large Austrian forces busy, and so lessen the pressure upon the Allies elsewhere.

829. From the first the warfare in the field was marked by **new and ever more terrible ways of fighting**, with increasing ferocity and horror from month to month. Ordinary cannon were replaced by huge new guns whose high explosives blasted the whole landscape into indescribable and irretrievable ruin — burying entire battalions alive, and forming great craters where snipers found the best shelter in future advances. Ordinary defense works were elaborated into many lines of connected trenches, protected by mazy entanglements of barbed wire and strengthened at intervals by bomb-proof "dugouts" and underground chambers of heavy timbers and cement. To plow through these intrenchments, cavalry gave way to monstrous, heavily armored motor-tanks. New guns belched deadly poison gases, slaying whole regiments in horrible strangling torture when the Germans first used this devilish device, in April, 1915, — until English and French chemists invented gas masks that afforded fair protection if donned in time — and infernal "flame-throwers" wrapped whole ranks in liquid fire. Scouting was done, and gunfire directed, by airplanes equipped with new apparatus for wireless telegraphy and for photography; and daily these



ITALY IN 1860 AND IN 1919.



ABOVE. — REVIEW OF FRENCH TROOPS AT MOSELLES.

BELOW. — RANGE-FINDING. French artillery officers discovering position of an enemy battery with the "range-finder," and telephoning directions to their own battery far behind them. A scene in the Argonne forest.

aërial scouts, singly or in fleets, met in deadly combat ten thousand feet above the ground, — combat that ended only when one or both went hurtling down in flames to crashing destruction. Worse than these terrors even, the soldiers dreaded the beastly filthiness of trench war; the never absent smell of rotting human flesh; the torture of vermin; the dreary monotony.

830. One phase of the war early compelled the attention of the world outside Europe. This was **the policy of Frightfulness**, deliberately adopted by the German High Command. For centuries, international law had been building up rules of "civilized" war, so as to protect non-combatants and to preserve some shreds of humanity among even the fighters. But German military rulers, for some years, had referred slurringly to such "moderation" as a deceitful attempt on the part of the weak to protect themselves against the strong. Humane considerations the official German War Manual referred to as flabby sentimentality.[1]

The first practical application of this German doctrine of Frightfulness had been given to the world in 1900. In that year a force of German soldiers set out to join forces from other European countries and from the United States in restoring order in China, after the massacre of Europeans there in the Boxer Rebellion. July 27 the Kaiser bade his troops farewell at Bremerhaven in a set address. In the course of that brutal speech he commanded them: "Show no mercy! . . . As the *Huns* made a name for themselves which is still mighty in tradition, so may you by your deeds so fix the name of German in China that no Chinese shall ever again dare to look at a German askance. . . . Open the way for *Kultur*."

At the opening of the World War, the new German policy was put into effect in Western Europe. Belgium and northeastern France were purposely devastated — not by the passionate

[1] Wild stories of *individual* crime by German soldiers upon prisoners and non-combatants were widely believed in Allied lands during the war. It is a relief to be assured now by the excellent authority of Sir Philip Gibbs, a famous English war correspondent, that such stories are essentially without foundation. See Gibbs' *Now It Can Be Told*.

fury of brutalized soldiers, but by deliberate order of polished, soft-living "gentlemen," just to break the morale of the enemy, to make it easier to hold conquered territory with small forces, and to intimidate neighboring small peoples — Danes and Dutch. So, too, Zeppelins raided England, not mainly to destroy military depots but to drop bombs upon peaceful resident districts, murdering thousands of women and children before the Allies adopted retaliation in kind. And soon German airplanes in France bombed hospitals and Red Cross trains, assassinating doctors and nurses along with the wounded soldiers, and German submarines began even to torpedo hospital ships.[1] Nor is it easy to find any imaginable crime against the war customs of civilized nations[2] that was not committed and boasted of by Germany within a few months after this war began. No wonder that even neutral lands began to know the German soldier no longer as the kindly "Fritz" but only as "Hun."

AMERICAN NEUTRALITY

831. *To the United States*, even more than to France or England, the war had come as a surprise; and for some time its purposes and its origin were obscured by a skillful German propaganda in the American press. **President Wilson issued the usual proclamation of neutrality**, and followed this with unusual and solemn appeals to the American people for a real neutrality of feeling. **For two years the administration clung to this policy**. Any other course was made difficult for the President by the fact that many members of Congress were

[1] The Germans claimed that such trains and ships abused their flag by carrying munitions.

[2] Later, peaceful Belgian workmen were enslaved on a large scale, and deported into Germany, where by cruel punishments they were forced to labor in war industries, to aid the enemy of their country and to release German man power for the army. It seems established, too, that the German government deliberately destroyed Belgian and French factories or factory machinery, in order to wipe out certain industries and leave their districts economically dependent upon Germany even after the war should be over.

either pro-German or bitterly anti-English, or extreme pacifists. Moreover, the President seems to have hoped that if the United States could keep apart from the struggle, it might, at the close, render mighty service in establishing a lasting world peace.

True, the best informed men and women saw at once that France and England were waging America's war against a militaristic despotism; and tens of thousands of young Americans, largely college men, made their way to the fighting line as volunteers, in the Canadian regiments, in the French "Foreign Legion," or in the "air service." But to other millions — long a majority — the dominant feeling was a deep thankfulness that their sons were safe from slaughter, their homes free from the horror of war. Nor was this attitude as strange or as grossly selfish then as it seems now. Vast portions of the American people had neither cared nor known about the facts back of the war: to such, that mighty struggle was merely "a bloody *European* squabble," and even the better informed found it not altogether easy to break with a century-long tradition of a happy aloofness from all Old-World quarrels.

Some leaders, too, in all the great reform movements believed that in *any* war the attention of the nation would be diverted from the pressing need of progress at home, and failed to see that German militarism and despotism had suddenly towered into the one supreme peril to American life. And then, cheek by jowl with this misled idealism, there flaunted itself a coarse pro-German sentiment wholly un-American. Sons and grandsons of men who had fled from Germany to escape despotism were heard now as apologists for the most dangerous despotism and the most barbarous war methods the modern world had ever seen. Organized and obedient to the word of command, this element made many weak politicians truckle to the fear of "the German vote."

Moreover, the country had begun to feel a vast business prosperity. The European belligerents were clamoring to buy all America's spare products at any price — munitions

of war, food, clothing, raw materials. To be sure, the English navy soon shut out Germany from direct trade, though she long continued an eager customer, indirectly, through Holland and Denmark; but in any case the Allies called ceaselessly for more than America could produce. Non-employment vanished; wages rose by bounds; new fortunes piled up as by Aladdin's magic. A busy people, growing richer and busier day by day, ill-informed about the real causes of the war, needed some mighty incentive to turn it from the easy, peaceful road of prosperous industry into the stern, rugged paths of self-denial and war — even though certain huge financial interests may secretly have intrigued for war, to make safe their investments in French and English bonds. A little wisdom, and Germany might readily have held us bound to neutrality in acts at least, if not always in feeling.

832. But more and more Germany made neutrality impossible. From the first the German government actively stirred up bad feeling toward America among its own people because Americans used the usual and legal rights of citizens of a neutral power to sell **munitions of war** to the belligerents. Germany had securely supplied herself in advance, and England's navy now shut her out from the trade in any case. So she tried, first by cajolery and then by threats, to keep America from selling to her enemies — which would have left them at her mercy, taken by surprise and unprepared as they were.

The *legal* right of a neutral to sell munitions she could not question seriously. She demanded of us not that we *comply with* international law, but that we *change* it in such a way as to insure her victory — in such a way as would really have made us her ally. For the American government to have forbidden trade in munitions during the war, would have been not neutrality, but a direct and deadly act of war against the Allies. Worse still, it would have fastened militarism upon the world directly. For neutrals to renounce trade in munitions (until all such trade is controlled by a world federation) would

be at once to hand the world over to the nation with the largest armaments and munition factories. Very properly the American government refused firmly to notice these arrogant demands.

833. Moreover, one phase of German Frightfulness came home especially to America. This was **a new and barbarous submarine warfare**, with invasion of *neutral* rights and murder of neutral lives. The U-craft were not very dangerous to warships when such vessels were on their guard. Unarmed merchantmen they could destroy almost at will. But if a U-boat summoned a merchantman to surrender, the merchantman might possibly sink the submarine by one shot from a concealed gun, and in any case the U-boat had little room for prisoners. Submarine warfare upon merchant ships is necessarily barbarous and in conflict with all the principles of international law. If it is to be efficient, the U-boat must sink without warning. In the American Civil War when the Confederate *Alabama* destroyed hundreds of Northern merchant ships, it scrupulously cared for the safety of the crews and passengers. But from the first the German submarines torpedoed English and French peaceful merchant ships without notice, so that little chance was given even for women and children to get into the lifeboats. Then the second year of the war saw a sudden expansion of this horrible form of murder.

In February of 1915 Germany proclaimed a "submarine blockade" of the British Isles. She drew a broad zone in the high seas about Britain, declaring that any merchant ship, even of a neutral nation, within those waters was liable to be sunk without warning. The world could not believe that Germany would really practice the crime she threatened. **But May 7, 1915, the great English liner *The Lusitania*, bound from New York to Liverpool, was torpedoed** without any attempt to save life. Nearly twelve hundred non-combatants were drowned, many of them women and children!

834. *One hundred and fourteen of the murdered passengers were American citizens;* and there at once went up from much of

America a fierce cry for war; but large parts of the country, remote from the seaboard, were still indifferent to a "European struggle," and there were not lacking some shameless apologists for even this dastardly massacre. President Wilson, zealous to preserve peace, used every resource of diplomacy to induce Germany to give up its horrible submarine policy, — pointing out distinctly, at the same time, in a series of "**Lusitania Notes**" that persistence in that policy would force America to fight. The German government answered with quibbles, cynical falsehoods, and contemptuous neglect. Other merchant vessels were sunk, and finally (March, 1916) the sinking of the *Sussex*, an English passenger ship, again involved the murder of American citizens. President Wilson's note to Germany took a still sterner tone and specifically declared that *one* more such act would cause him to break off diplomatic relations. **Germany now *seemed* to give way.** She promised, grudgingly and with loopholes for future use, to sink no more passenger or merchant ships — unless they should attempt to escape capture — without providing for the safety of passengers and crews (May 4).

This episode, running over into the *third* year, closed the first stage of this controversy. President Wilson seemed to have won a victory for civilization. As he afterward complained, the precautions taken by the Germans to save neutrals and non-combatants proved "distressingly meager," but for some time "a certain degree of restraint was observed."

THE THIRD YEAR, 1916

835. The year 1916 brought the struggle for a time back to the Western front. England had awakened from her complacency and was at last putting forth her full strength. The splendid volunteer army was now supplemented by conscription, wholly new to England, and the "work or fight" rule was applied to every able-bodied man between 18 and 45. The first commander-in-chief, General French, a veteran of the Boer War,

had shown no marked ability, and in some circles was suspected of sloth. He had now been succeeded by a younger man, *Sir Douglas Haig*. Haig would be ready to strike by midsummer.

Accordingly *Germany planned to put France out before Britain was ready*. February 21, weeks before campaigns would usually open in that region, she made a gigantic effort to deal a mortal blow by an attack on Verdun. The capture of that famous fortress, it was felt, would open the road to Paris. Certainly it would have been a terrific shock to the French morale.

Douglas Haig.

For four days the Germans gained ground swiftly. A vast concentration of artillery prepared the way for each assault, and then huge masses of trained soldiery carried their objectives each day, — though with almost incredible losses. But France rushed in her reserves by thousands in motor busses, and after February 25 her defense steadily tightened, meeting the haughty German boasts with the tight-lipped defiance — "They shall not pass." For months more the Germans kept up the attack, at a staggering cost of life, after all real chance of success was gone.

836. Germany now put Hindenburg, the victor in the East, in supreme command of all her armies — with Ludendorff, Chief of Staff, as the real power behind him; and these officers established their headquarters on the West front.

July 1 the new British armies began their carefully prepared drive along the Somme. Lloyd George himself had taken over the ministry of munitions some months before;[1] and this time — for the first time during the war — the English had a superiority in guns and high explosives, while their tanks, now used first, wrought terrible havoc in the German lines. But the intended French drive, further south, did not come to a head — partly because of exhaustion from the Verdun campaign, partly, it was whispered, because at this moment the French legislative chamber, having already driven Joffre into retirement, saw fit again to interfere disastrously with the plans of the military staff. The English struggled on magnificently for four months, winning back a considerable extent of French soil, with many villages, and driving a deep dent into the German line. But that line was still *unbroken* when the unusually severe weather of November brought the campaign to a close. Two hundred thousand young Englishmen had given their lives, and six hundred thousand more lay mangled in hospitals, — to prove that democratic England in two years had created and trained an army more than a match, unit for unit, for the veteran army of militaristic Germany.

837. The war on the East front during this season furnished two surprises on the side of the Allies, but neither was of lasting value. (1) Russia showed a remarkable recovery. Early in June her armies took the offensive against the Austrians. For a month they won swift success — in great part because their opponents were largely subject Czechoslavs, who welcomed chances to surrender to a possible deliverer of their provinces from Austrian oppression. By July, however, the new supplies of Russian ammunition had again given out, and Germany had rushed to Austria's rescue a number of veteran divisions from the West front. Russia was crumbling. The traitorous court

[1] In 1915 the Liberal ministry of Asquith was superseded by a war *coalition* ministry, with several leading Conservatives in important positions, but with Lloyd George as premier.

Above. — French Infantry in Action near Lorette. The photo shows a German shell bursting near the trench.

Below. — A French Dugout. The photo (taken by flashlight) shows exhausted soldiers sleeping, while one, on watch, is writing home.

RHEIMS CATHEDRAL, wantonly shelled by the Germans. Cf. cut on p. 263.

party, with its pro-German sympathies, was working for a separate peace — which would have insured complete victory for Germany on the East. Only the stubborn resistance of the Duma and of a few great generals prevented this result. Even so, Russia would probably have been put out of the war by conquest in the field, if the Teutonic powers had not been diverted (as in the preceding year) to a more tempting prize.

(2) For now Roumania had entered the war to recover from Austria the great Roumanian province of Transylvania. The Russian government had induced her to go in too soon by promises of support that were never given. Bulgarians and Teutons entered doomed Roumania from south and west. December 16 the capital fell, and only the rigors of winter enabled the Roumanian army to keep a hold upon a narrow strip of its country. The Allied army at Saloniki did not stir, because, if it left its base, it was in peril of being stabbed in the back by Constantine of Greece; and the Tsar vetoed all proposals of effective measures against that despot — from tenderness for a fellow monarch.

838. Thus the year 1916, too, ended in gloom. Germany had lost nothing in the West, and had tremendously strengthened her hold in the East, with the gain, too, of Roumanian oil fields to counteract fully one of the most pressing features of the blockade. On the other hand, England and France were vastly better prepared for the struggle than ever before, and were about ready for their maximum effort. If they could make that effort before Russia collapsed, they still hoped for success.

And there were not wanting signs that the Allies were soon to receive long-delayed help from another quarter.

CHAPTER L

THE WAR AFTER AMERICA JOINED

If we divide the war into two great periods, the demarcation is found, in the spring of 1917, in the falling away of Russia and in the entrance of America.

AMERICA ENTERS AND THE WAR SPREADS

839. In America, Woodrow Wilson had been reëlected President in November, 1916, after a peculiar campaign, in which neither party made the war a real issue. Many of Wilson's followers, especially in the West and among the workingmen, shouted the slogan, "He kept us out of war." On the other hand, his firmness in defending American rights, and his plain drift toward the Allies, drew upon him the hatred of large organized pro-German elements.

840. But no sooner had the dust of this political campaign cleared away than **the American people began to find indisputable proofs of new treacheries and new attacks by Germany,** *even within American borders.* The official representatives of Germany in the United States, protected by their diplomatic position (and bound by every sort of international law and common decency not to interfere in any manner with domestic affairs), had placed their hirelings as spies and plotters throughout the land. They had used German money, with the approval of the German government, to bribe American officials and even to try to "influence" Congress. They had paid public speakers to foment distrust and hatred toward the Allies. They had hired agitators to stir up strikes and riots in order to paralyze industries. Each week brought fresh proof of such outrage — more and more frequently, formal proof in the courts — and

finally President Wilson dismissed the Austrian ambassador (who had been directly implicated) and various guilty officers connected with the German embassy.

841. All this turned American attention to the hostility plainly avowed for years by German leaders. Said the Kaiser himself to the American ambassador (October 22, 1915), "*America had better look out. . . . I shall stand no nonsense from America after this war.*" Other representative Germans threatened more specifically that when England had been conquered, Germany, unable to indemnify herself in exhausted Europe for her terrible expenses, would take that indemnity from the rich and unwarlike United States. It came home to that country that her fancied security — unprepared for war as she was — was due only to the protecting shield of England's fleet. If Germany came out victor from the European struggle, America must give up forever her unmilitaristic life, and turn herself *permanently* into a huge camp, on a European model, as the only chance for safety from invasion and rapine — and there was much doubt whether time would be given to form such a camp. *German despotism and peace for free peoples could not exist in the same world.* President Wilson strove still to avoid war. At the same time he had begun to speak solemn warnings that America could not keep out of the struggle, or out of some like struggle, unless peace could be secured soon and upon a just basis.

842. Germany now had ready a new fleet of enlarged submarines and she **was about to resume her barbarous warfare upon neutrals.** She thought this *might* join the United States to her foes; but she held that country impotent in war, and believed she could keep it busied at home. To this last end, through her ambassador at Washington — while he was still enjoying American hospitality — she had been preparing secretly, as we learned a little later, to get Mexico and Japan to join in an attack upon the United States, *promising them huge portions of our western territory.* January 31, the German gov-

ernment gave a two-weeks' notice that it was to renew its "unrestricted" submarine policy, offering to America an insulting privilege of sending one ship a week to England provided it were painted in stripes of certain colors and width, and provided it followed a certain narrow ocean lane marked out by Germany. President Wilson at once dismissed the German ambassador, according to his promise of the preceding March, and recalled Ambassador Gerard from Berlin, — expressing still to his countrymen a hope that Germany might refrain from compelling them, "by some overt act" to repel force by force. March 12, after more American citizens had been murdered at sea,[1] he placed guards on our merchant vessels. *Germany announced that such guards, if captured, would be treated as pirates.*

843. The temper of America was changing swiftly. Apathy vanished. Direct and open opposition to war there still was from extreme pacifists and from pro-Germans, including the organization of the Socialist party: but the great majority of the nation roused itself to defend the rights of mankind against a dangerous government running amuck, and turned its eyes confidently to the President for a signal. **And April 2 President Wilson appeared before the new Congress, met in special session, to ask it to declare that we were now at war with Germany.** April 6, by overwhelming votes, that declaration was adopted.

America went to war not to avenge slights to its "honor," or merely to protect the property of its citizens, or even merely to protect their lives at sea. America went to war not *merely* in self-defense. We did war for this, but more in defense of

[1] Besides the eight American vessels sunk before March, 1916, eight had been sunk in the one month from February 3 to March 2, 1917. During the two months, February and March, 105 Norwegian vessels were sunk, with the loss of 328 lives. By April 3, 1917, according to figures compiled by the United States government, 686 neutral vessels had been sunk by Germany *without* counting American ships. When we turn to the still more important question of lives, we count up 226 American citizens slain by the action of German submarines before April, 1917. Before the close of the war, 5000 Norwegian citizens were murdered in like manner.

free government, in defense of civilization, in defense of humanity, and in hope of establishing a lasting world peace. Said President Wilson's war message:

> Neutrality is no longer feasible, or desirable, when the peace of the world is involved, and the freedom of its peoples, and when the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not the will of their people. . . . *We have no quarrel with the German people.* . . . A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of *democratic* nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it. Only free peoples . . . can prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interests of their own. . . .
>
> We are glad . . . to fight for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, *the German people included.* . . . *The world must be made safe for democracy.* . . . We have no selfish ends. We desire no conquests, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensations for the sacrifices we shall freely make. . . . The right is more precious than peace; and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations. . . .

844. And now the war spread more widely still. Cuba at once followed the example of the United States in declaring war against Germany, and most of the countries of South and Central America either took the same action within a few months or at least broke off diplomatic relations with the Central European Powers. Portugal had entered the war in 1916, because of her close alliance with England; and China and Siam now joined the Allies.

This lining up of the world had mighty moral value, and no small bearing upon the matter of supplies. In particular, the German ships which, since the beginning of the war had been seeking refuge in the harbors of these new belligerents, were now seized for the Allies, and helped to make good the losses

due to submarines. None of these Powers except America, however, had much direct effect upon military operations.

CAMPAIGNS IN 1917: RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

845. And in spite of the entry of America, Germany continued to win in 1917. **Russia dropped out.** In December of 1916, the Duma, frantically restless at the control of the Tsar by pro-German courtiers, adopted a daring resolution declaring that "dark forces" were betraying the nation. The Tsar then dismissed all Liberals from his councils and openly threw himself into the hands of the most reactionary ministers. These ministers maddened the Petrograd populace by permitting or preparing breakdown in the distribution of food. March 11, the populace rose. The troops joined the rioters. The Duma, ordered to adjourn, defied the royal power; **and Liberal leaders** (Constitutional Democrats led by Miliukof) **proclaimed a provisional government**, which was promptly and peacefully accepted by the army and by the nation. Deserted by all classes, Nicholas abdicated, March 15.

Optimists among the Allies believed that Russia had merely passed from an inefficient autocracy to a sane and efficient republic. Keener-eyed thinkers warned (1) that, in the complete collapse of her industrial system, Russia would almost inevitably be forced into the hands of extremists; and (2) that the huge empire would probably break up into separate and possibly warring states — which in the past had had no real bond of union except the perished autocracy.

846. These gloomy surmises proved correct. **The provisional government of Miliukof** could not stand the strain of foreign war and of internal dissolution, and in a few weeks (June, 1917) it **was replaced by a Socialist-democratic government led by Kerensky**. This interesting man was an emotional, well-meaning enthusiast, — a talker rather than a doer, altogether unfit to grapple with the tremendous difficulties before Russia. Finland, the Ukrainian districts, and Siberia were breaking

away from central Russia. Everywhere the starving and desperate peasants had begun to appropriate the lands of the great estates, sometimes quietly, sometimes with violence and outrage. Transportation was broken down, and the crude industrial system was gone. The army was completely demoralized. The peasant soldiers, so often betrayed by their officers, were eager for peace. Whole regiments mutinied, murdered their aristocratic officers, broke up, and went home, to get their share of the land. The remaining army was intoxicated with the new political "liberty," and fraternized with the few German regiments left to watch it. **Russia was really "out of the war."**

847. During this chaos, real power over nearly all Russia fell to new councils of workmen's delegates (with representatives also from the army and the peasantry). **The Extreme Socialists, or Bolshevists,** had seen that these "soviets," rather than the old agencies, had become the real government, and by shrewd political campaigning they **captured these bodies.** After a six-months' rule, Kerensky fled; and (November 7, 1917) the Bolshevists, led by Nikolai Lenin and Leon Trotsky, seized control and announced their determination to make peace upon the basis of "no indemnities and no annexations." Naturally the Allies were deeply indignant that the new Russia should so "betray" the cause of freedom; but it is understood now that *no* Russian government could have continued the war. The Russian people had borne greater sacrifice than any other; they were absolutely without resources; they were unspeakably weary of war; and they failed to see that German victory would mean the return of the Tsar.

848. **In the West** the Allies had begun the spring campaigns in high hopes. The French had borne the heaviest burden so far, but they were ready for one more supreme blow. Their new commander, **Nivelle,** was a brilliant general, but his plans became known to the enemy, probably by treachery, and his **great offensive on the Aisne** was heavily repulsed. He was

superseded by Pétain, the hero of Verdun; but the army was so demoralized and discouraged that it could undertake no further important operations during the season. This of itself made British success almost impossible.

849. Very early in the season, before the French failure, the Germans had executed an extended withdrawal in front of the British lines, in Picardy and Flanders, from their trenches of two years' warfare to a new "Hindenburg Line," which, they boasted, had been prepared so as to be absolutely impregnable to any assault. This maneuver delayed **Haig's attack** for some weeks. His heavy guns had to be brought up to the new positions over territory rendered almost impassable by the Germans in their retreat, and new lines of communication had to be established. These things were accomplished, however, with a rapidity and efficiency wholly surprising to the German High Command; and in the subsequent British attack (April to November) — even though French coöperation practically failed — the Germans were saved only by the fact that now they were able to transfer all their best divisions from the Russian front.

850. The Russian collapse had been caused in part by an exceedingly skillful German propaganda. Russian soldiers had been taught persistently by German emissaries that the war was the Tsar's war, or at least a capitalist war; and that their German brothers were quite ready to give the new Russia a fair peace. **A little later the same tactics were repeated successfully against the Italians,** until their military machine, too, almost went to pieces.[1]

Then, the Austrians, reinforced by German troops, suddenly took the offensive. They tore a huge gap in the Italian lines, took 200,000 prisoners and a great part of Italy's heavy artillery, and advanced into Venetia, driving the remnants of the

[1] One thing that made the Italian army susceptible to this propaganda was the terrible fact that the wives and children of the common soldiers were famishing for bread, information of which condition was just creeping through into the ranks in an even exaggerated form.

Italian army before them in rout. French and British reinforcements were hurried in; and the Italians rallied when they saw how they had been tricked. The Teutons proved unable to force the line of the Piave River; and Venice and the rich Lombard plain were saved. Italy had not been put out of the war as Russia had been; but for the next six months, until well into the next year, the most that she could do, even with the help of Allied forces sadly needed elsewhere, was to hold her new line.

851. The brightest phase of the year's struggle was at the point where there had seemed the greatest peril. **Germany's new submarine warfare had indeed destroyed an enormous shipping tonnage**, and for a few months had really promised to make good the threat of starving England into surrender. But an admirable English convoy system was organized to protect important merchant fleets; shipbuilding was speeded up, to supply the place of tonnage sunk; submarine chasers and patrol boats waged relentless, daring, and successful war against the barbarous craft of the enemy. America sent five battleships to reinforce the British Grand Fleet, and — more to the purpose — a much more considerable addition to the anti-submarine fleet; and newly created American shipyards had begun to launch new cargo ships in every increasing numbers, upon a scale never before known to the world. The Allies were kept supplied with food and other necessaries enough to avert any supreme calamity. **Before September, 1917, the menace** — in its darkest form — **had passed.** Submarines remained a source of loss and serious annoyance; but it had become plain that they were not to be the decisive factor in the war.

852. **Moreover, America was slowly getting into the struggle** — slowly, and yet more swiftly than either friend or foe had dreamed possible. The general expectation had been, that, totally unprepared as the United States was, her chief contribution would be in money, ships, and supplies. These she gave

in generous measure.[1] But, also, from the first the government wisely planned for military participation on a huge scale. Congress was induced to pass a "selective conscription" act; and as early as June a small contingent of excellent fighters was sent to France — mainly from the old regular army — under the command of General John J. Pershing. In the early fall, new regiments were transported (some 300,000 before Christmas), and perhaps half a million more were in training. By 1920, it was then thought by the hopeful, America could place three million men in the field in Europe, or even five million, and so decide the war. But events were to make a supreme exertion necessary even sooner; and America was to meet the need.

THE LAST YEAR, 1918

853. France could stand one year more of war, but she was very nearly "bled white," as Germany had boasted. Her working classes were war-weary and discouraged, and the Germans had infected large classes in that country more or less successfully with a poisonous propaganda to the effect that England was using France to fight her battles and that she herself was bearing far less than her proper share of the burden. **French morale was in danger of giving way,** as Russian and Italian had given way. **It was saved by two things:** by the tremendous energy of the aged Clemenceau — "The Tiger" — whom the crisis had called from retirement to the premiership; and by the encouraging appearance in France, none too soon, of American soldiers in large numbers.

[1] With all our wealth, this was accomplished only by *organized* self-sacrifice, under government advice. In 1917 an unusually poor crop left America, by the *usual* computation, only 20 million bushels of wheat for export; but the Food Commission induced the American people cheerfully to limit consumption, to "save the waste," and to use substitute foods, so that we did export 141 million bushels to the Allies, or about as much for each man, woman, and child in England, France, and Italy, as we kept for each one at home. To save coal, people learned to heat offices and homes only to 65° instead of to 72°, and, for many weeks, closed places of business on certain days. A little later, to save the petrol needed for auto-trucks and airplanes in France, "gasless" Sunday took its place in America alongside the earlier "wheatless," "meatless," and "heatless" days of each week.

854. In England, too, peace talk began to be heard, not merely among the workers but here and there in all ranks of society. And among the laborers this dangerous leaning was fearfully augmented when the Russian Bolshevists published copies of "Secret Treaties" between England, France, Italy, and the Tsar's government, revealing the Allied governments as purchasing one another's aid by promises of territorial and commercial spoils.

855. Even in Germany the masses of the people were war-weary. The entire generation of young men was threatened with extinction, and children were being pitifully stunted from lack of food. The "Independent Socialists," as Ludendorff tells us, had spread among the people a peace propaganda which crippled seriously the efficiency of the army. The Reichstag actually adopted resolutions in favor of peace without annexations or indemnities — which from the German viewpoint was extremely conciliatory. **But the junkers and great capitalists were still bent upon complete military victory,** and seemed to see it within their grasp; and the German war lords at once made it plain that they recognized no binding force in the Reichstag resolutions. They had knocked out Russia, put out Italy temporarily at least, and might now turn all their strength as never before upon France and England. They were confident that they could win the war before American armies could become an important factor. The Allies, they insisted, had not shipping enough to bring the Americans in any numbers; still less to bring the supplies needful for them; and then the Americans "couldn't fight" anyway without years of training.

Thus in 1918 the war became a race between Germany and America. Could America put decisive numbers in action on the West front before Germany could deliver a knock-out blow? While winter held the German armies inactive, the British and American navies carried each week thousands of American soldiers toward the front.

856. During these same months America and England won a victory in the moral field. Austria, now under a new emperor, suggested peace negotiations in a conciliatory note, but without indicating any specific terms. In reply, in two great speeches, Premier Lloyd George and President Wilson stated the war aims of the Allies with a studious moderation and a keen logic which conciliated wavering elements in their own countries, and at the same time drove deeper the wedge between the German government and the German people. Lloyd George (January 6, 1918) demanded complete reparation for Belgium, *but disclaimed intention to exact indemnities other than payment for injuries done by Germany in defiance of international law.* President Wilson had already declared that there could be no safe peace with the faithless Hohenzollern government; and now his address contained his famous **Fourteen Points**, which were soon accepted apparently throughout the Allied world as a charter of a coming world peace. The more important of these were as follows:

1. "Open covenants of peace, *openly arrived at;* after which, diplomacy shall proceed always . . . in the public view." . . . 3. Removal, so far as possible, of economic barriers. 4. Disarmament by international action. 5. An "absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims . . . the interests of peoples concerned to have equal weight with the equitable claim of the government whose title is to be determined." 6. Evacuation of all Russian territory, and . . . "a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing, [with] assistance also of every kind that she may herself desire." 7. Evacuation and restoration of Belgium. 8. Reparation for devastation in France, and return of Alsace-Lorraine. 9. "Readjustment of the frontiers of Italy . . . *along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.*" . . . 11. Serbia to be given a free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the Balkan states to be "determined by friendly council *along clearly recognizable lines of allegiance and nationality.*" 13. A free Poland (with access to the sea), "to include the territories inhabited by *indisputably Polish populations.*" 14. A "general association of nations" under specific covenants.

The significance of the Fourteen Points lay even more in their spirit than in these detailed provisions. "We have no jealousy of German greatness," concluded this great utterance, "*and there is nothing in this program that impairs it.*" We do not wish to fight her either with arms *or with hostile arrangements of trade* if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing."

857. And now (March 3, 1918), **the German militarists**, with the grossest of bad faith, shamelessly broke their

THE MITTEL-EUROPA EMPIRE at its greatest extent in March, 1918. In Asia, only a few months before, it had reached to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Cf. § 861.

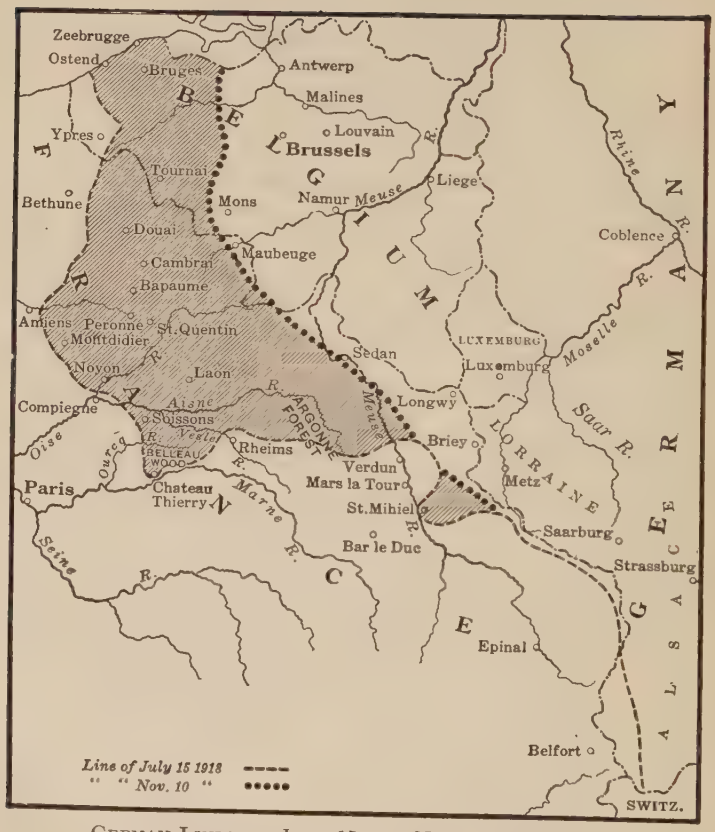
many pledges to the helpless Bolshevists and **forced upon Russia the "Peace of Brest-Litovsk."** By that dictated treaty, Germany virtually became overlord to a broad belt of vassal states

taken from Russia, — Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Lithuania, Poland, Ukrania, — and even the remaining "Great Russia" had to agree to German control of her industrial reorganization. When the German perfidy had revealed itself suddenly, after long and deceitful negotiations, the angered and betrayed Bolshevists wished to renew the war. They were absolutely helpless, however, without prompt Allied aid upon a large scale. This aid they asked for, but urgent cablegrams brought no answer. The Allies apparently had been so repelled by the Bolshevist industrial and political policy that they were unwilling to deal with that government, and preferred to leave Russia to its fate — and to the Germans. At the moment this policy was disastrous. Murmurs in Germany against the war were stilled for a time by the prospect of a new empire and of large stores of Russian wheat.

858. Naturally the Germans opened the campaigns in the West at the earliest moment possible. They had now a vast superiority both in men and in heavy guns there. March 21 they attacked the British lines in Picardy with overwhelming forces. After five days of terrific fighting the British were hurled out of their trench lines and driven back with frightful losses nearly to Amiens, leaving a broad and dangerous gap between them and the French. But the Germans had exhausted themselves in their mass attack; and, while they paused, a French force threw itself into the gap, and British reserves reinforced the shattered front lines.

For the first time since the First Battle of the Marne, the Germans had forced the fighting on the West front into the open. In April they struck again farther north, in Flanders, and again they seemed almost to have overwhelmed the British; but, fighting desperately, "with our backs to the wall" as Haig phrased it in his solemn order to his dying army, and reinforced by some French divisions, the British kept their front unbroken, bent and thinned though it was. After another month of preparation, the Germans struck fiercely in a general attack on

SWEDEN
FINLAND
St. Michel
Bjonneborg
Abo
Helsingfors
Lake Ladoga
Viborg
Storkholm
Petrograd
Gulf of Finland
Reval
ESTHONIA
BALTIC SEA
LIVONIA
LATVIA
Pskov
Yaroslavl
Libau
COURLAND
Riga
Vladimir
Moscow
Kovno
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Danzig
Konigsberg
Vilna
RUSSIA
GERMANY
Minsk
Grodno
Lomza
Warsaw
POLAND
LITHUANIA
Brest Litovsk
Kursko
Radom
Cracow
Zhitomir
Kiev
Kharkov
Lemberg
Poltava
UKRAINE
AUSTRIA-
HUNGARY
Jassy
Kishinev
Odessa
Kherson
Rostov
RUMANIA
Bucharest
BLACK SEA
BULGARIA
TERRITORY SURRENDERED BY RUSSIA
AT BREST-LITOVSK
0 10 20 30 40
Scale of Miles



German Lines on July 15 and November 10, 1918.

the French lines north of the Aisne, and, breaking through for the moment on an eighteen-mile front, once more reached the Marne. Here, however, they were halted, largely by American troops, at *Château-Thierry*. Then, while the Americans made splendid counter-attacks, as at *Belleau Wood* (renamed, for them, "Wood of the Marines"), the French lines were reformed so that the Allies still presented a continuous front, irregular though it was with dangerous salients and wedges. At almost the same time, Austria, forced into action again in Italy by German insistence, was repulsed in a general attack on the Piave.

859. Time was fighting for the Allies. Disasters had at last induced them to appoint a generalissimo. This position was given to Ferdinand Foch, the hero of the First Marne. For the rest of the struggle, the Allied forces were directed with a unity and skill that had been impossible under divided commands, even with the heartiest desire for coöperation.

And now, too, America really had an army in France. Before the end of June, her effective soldiers there numbered 1,250,000. Each month afterward brought at least 300,000 more. By September the number exceeded two million, with a million more already training in America. **The Germans could not again take up the offensive for five weeks** (June 11–July 15), **and in this interval the balance of available man-power turned against them.** July 15 they attacked again in great force along the Marne, but this onset broke against a stone-wall resistance of French and American troops. For the first time in the war, a carefully prepared German offensive failed to gain ground.

860. The failure was plain by the 17th. **On the 18th,** before the Germans could withdraw or reorganize, **Foch began his great offensive** by counter-attacking upon the exposed western flank of the invaders. This move took the Germans completely by surprise. Their front all but collapsed along a critical line of twenty-eight miles. Foch allowed them no hour of

rest. Unlike his opponents, he did not attempt gigantic attacks, to break through at some one point. Instead, he kept up a continuous offensive, threatening every part of the enemy's front, but striking now here, now there, on one exposed flank and then on another, always ready at a moment to take advantage of a new opening, and giving the enemy no chance to withdraw their forces without imperiling key positions. Before the end of August the Allies had won back all the ground lost in the spring. The Germans had made their last throw — and lost. Foch's pressure never relaxed. In September, American divisions on the south end of the front won back St. Mihiel in bloody fighting.[1] At the same time the British toward the north were wrenching great sections of the boasted "Hindenburg Line" from the foe. In the opening days of October *the German commanders reported to Berlin that the war was lost.*

861. This result was determined largely by events in the East. Now that there was no Tsar to interfere, the English and French had deposed and banished King Constantine of Greece; and Venizelos, the new head of the Greek state, was warmly committed to the Allied cause. In September, the Allied force, so long held inactive at Saloniki, suddenly took the offensive, *crushing the Bulgarians in a great battle on the Vardar;* and Bulgaria's unconditional surrender opened the way for an attack upon Austria from the south.

The preceding year *a small British expedition* from India had worked its way up the Tigris to Bagdad; and another from Egypt had taken Jerusalem. Now this last army had finally been reinforced, and in September, in a brilliant campaign, it *occupied Syria and forced Turkey to make abject submission.*

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[1] Brief, relatively, as was America's part in the fighting, the American casualties were in all almost a third of a million, or one for every five men actually engaged on the front. Of these, eighty thousand youth found graves in French soil, besides twice as many more irreparably crippled. Ludendorff, the German chief of staff, speaks in the highest terms of the gallantry of the American troops, but asserts that their enormous losses were due to the fact that they were handled in too close formation.

Photo by Clinedinst

JOHN J. PERSHING. — After the war.

Above. — German Prisoners under French guard at Camp Joffre.

Below. — American Soldiers in action in the Argonne campaign — with machine gun.

Austria, too, had dissolved. Bohemia on one side, and Slovenes, Croats, and Bosnians on the other, were organizing independent governments — with encouragement from America and the Allies. Then, October 24, Italy struck on the Piave. The Austrian army broke in rout. Austria called frantically for an armistice, and even before one was granted (November 4) the ancient Hapsburg Empire had dissolved into turbulent and mutually hostile "republics."

862. Germany had begun to treat for surrender a month earlier, but held out a week longer. **October 5, the German Chancellor** (now the liberal Prince Max of Baden who had been a severe critic of Germany's war policy) **had asked President Wilson to arrange an armistice**, offering to accept the Fourteen Points as a basis for peace. The reply made it plain once more that America and the Allies would not treat with the old despotic government, and that no armistice would be granted at that late moment which did not secure to the Allies fully the fruits of their military advantages in the field and make a renewal of the struggle by Germany impossible.

Meantime the fighting went on, with terrific losses on both sides. The French and Americans, pushing north in the Argonne and across the Meuse, were threatening the trunk railway at Sedan, the only road open for German retreat except the one through Belgium. The British and Belgians pushed the discouraged invaders out of northern France and out of a large part of Belgium. The pursuit at every point was so hot that retreat had to be foot by foot, or in complete rout. As a last desperate throw, the German war lords ordered the Kiel fleet to sea, to engage the English navy,[1] but the common sailors, long on the verge of mutiny, broke into open revolt. Even in the army many regiments were muttering mutiny against further

[1] May 31, 1916, the German fleet had ventured out of the Baltic and engaged a division of the English navy. Losses were tremendous on both sides, but the result was indecisive, except that the German fleet retired to its former shelter, to remain there until the close of the war.

war. And in Germany itself in many large cities the Extreme Socialists were openly preparing revolution.[1]

Late in October the War Council of the Allies made known to Germany the terms upon which she could have an armistice preliminary to the drafting of a peace treaty. Germany could save her army from destruction, and her territory would not suffer hostile conquest. But she was to surrender at once Alsace-Lorraine, and withdraw her troops everywhere across the Rhine, leaving the Allies in possession of a broad belt of German territory. She was to surrender practically all her fleet, most of her heavy artillery, her aircraft, and her railway engines. Likewise she was at once to release all prisoners, though her own were to remain in the hands of the Allies. **November 11, Germany made this surrender** to whatever further conditions the Allies might impose in the final settlement — though they did pledge themselves to base their terms, with certain reservations, upon Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points.

Germany had already collapsed internally. November 7, Bavaria deposed her king and proclaimed herself a republic. In Berlin the Moderate Socialists seized the government. State after state followed. November 9, the Kaiser fled to Holland, whence he soon sent his formal abdication. **German autocracy had fallen.**

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[1] German militarists insist, with some basis, that Germany was really defeated not by the armies of the Allies but by the propaganda against militarism. Ludendorff mentions as especially effective the circulation in the army of Wilson's *Fourteen Points* and of Lichnowsky's *Memoirs*.

CHAPTER LI

SINCE THE WAR

863. January 18, 1919, the Peace Congress met at Versailles to reconstruct Europe. There was supreme need. *In Germany* a National Assembly (elected by true universal suffrage, male and female) had set up a federal republic.[1] The new government was in the control of "Moderate Socialists"; but it was maintaining itself precariously (as still in 1923) against revolts of "Extreme Socialists" of the Bolshevist type, while from the opposite side it was threatened by monarchic army-officer plots.

Hungary for a time had tried a liberal republican government. But the continued allied blockade made work and food scarce, so that the starving populace had set up a Bolshevist rule. Roumania soon took advantage of these woes to declare war, and ravaged the helpless country pitilessly even after Hungary had assented to the cession of Transylvania. (A little later two more revolutions, backed secretly by the Allied Council at Paris (cut facing p. 703), placed Hungary under a reactionary army-officer government, republican only in name.)

Bohemia, enlarged by the addition of Moravia, had become *Czechoslovakia;* and even this promising republic was at that time distracted by conflicts with Germany, with Austria, and with Poland, over boundaries. The new *Republic of Poland*, too, had other contests with Russian Bolshevists and with Germany, besides being torn with internal faction; and civil war threatened in every other of the chain of border states that

[1] For the movement toward true democracy in the machinery of this and other new governments, see McBain and Rogers, *New Constitutions of Europe.*

had split off from Russia, — *Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Courland, Lithuania, Ukrainia.*

Further to the south, *Serbia* had become *Jugoslavia,* by the long-sought union with Bosnia, Slavonia, and Croatia; but that still inharmonious state was in daily peril of war with Italy over the Adriatic coast, with some actual armed clashes. And Italy was at daggers drawn with Greece over southern Albania, the islands of the Aegean, and the coasts of Asia Minor. Each country felt, with too much reason, that the more it could lay hands on before the settlement, the more it would finally keep, and so sought to grab as much as possible in the interval.

Still more serious than this political chaos was the demoralization of industry. Millions of disbanded soldiers were returning to their homes, after years of trench life, to find neither work nor food. Lack of shipping made it a slow process to bring into Central Europe the raw materials needed to start the factory wheels again and to replace the machinery worn out during the long Allied blockade.

864. The Peace Congress was made up of delegations from the twenty-three Allied governments, with five more from England's colonies — Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India. Each country's delegation had one vote. Countries that had been neutral were invited to send representatives to be called in upon special matters that might concern them. Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Russia were allowed no representation.

President Wilson headed the American delegation; Lloyd George and Orlando, the English and Italian premiers, represented their countries; and Clemenceau, head of the French delegation, was naturally chosen president of the assembly. These leaders were the "Big Four."

865. From the first there were critical differences within the "Big Four." Mr. Wilson had promised the world, *Germany included,* "a permanent peace based on unselfish, unbiased justice," and "a new international order based on broad, uni-

EUROPE IN 1920
Showing New Boundary Lines
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
(nternationalized Territory
30
20
10
0
10
60
50
40
ICELAND
Reykjavik
Akureyri
FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
ISLES
Haugesund
Bergen
Christiania
Kristiansand
Aalesund
Trondhjem
Stavanger
Arendal
Fredrikstad
Udevalla
Gothenburg
Carlscrona
Halmstad
Copenhagen
Flensburg
Kiel
DENMARK
SCOTLAND
Murray Firth
Inverness
Firth of Forth
Edinburgh
Newcastle
North Sea
BRITISH ISLES
IRELAND
Dublin
Galway
Liverpool
Waterford
Cork
Queenstown
WALES
Birmingham
Manchester
Leeds
Hull
Norwich
Groningen
ENGLAND
London
Southampton
Plymouth
Land's End
HOLLAND
The Hague
Amsterdam
Hamburg
Bremen
Cologne
GERMANY
Berlin
Dresden
Brussels
Liège
Aachen
Coblenz
Erfurt
Frankfort
Chemnitz
Cherbourg
Le Havre
Caen
Rouen
Lille
Amiens
Reims
Metz
Versailles
Paris
Nancy
Strasburg
Stuttgart
Pilsen
Brest
Rennes
Le Mans
Orleans
Troyes
Nancy
Munich
Innsbruck
Bay of Biscay
Nantes
Tours
Poitiers
Bordeaux
FRANCE
Limoges
Dijon
Lyons
SWITZERLAND
Berne
Zurich
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Trieste
Udine
Verona
Milan
Venice
Padua
Bologna
Rimini
Ancona
C. Finisterre
Santander
Bilbao
Gijon
Oviedo
Vigo
Leon
Orense
Oporto
Braga
Coimbra
Salamanca
Burgos
Pamplona
Saragossa
Huesca
Lerida
Montauban
Lourdes
Toulouse
Narbonne
Nimes
Valence
Grenoble
Avignon
Marseilles
Nice
Genoa
Spezia
Pisa
Florence
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Evora
Elvas
Madrid
Toledo
Cuenca
Barcelona
Tortosa
Toulon
CORSICA
Ajaccio
ITALY
Rome
Naples
Caserta
Potenza
C. St. Vincent
Cordova
Huelva
Seville
Granada
Murcia
Alicante
Cartagena
Malaga
Gibraltar (Br.)
Str. of Gibraltar
Cadiz
Tangier
MINORCA
MAJORCA
BALEARIC IS.
Sassari
SARDINIA
Oristano
Cagliari
Palermo
Messina
Marsala
SICILY
Syracuse
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Algiers
Fez
Ras-el Ma
Tunis
Tebessa
Gerba

30
40
50
60
70
80
LAPLAND
FINLAND
ESTHONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
RUSSIA
POLAND
Murmansk
Archangel
Onega
Petersburg
Moscow
Riga
Pskof
Minsk
Warsaw
Kiev
Lemberg
UKRAINE
Kharkof
Kursk
Orel
Tula
Smolensk
Vitebsk
Nikolaief
Odessa
Sebastopol
Jalta
RUMANIA
Bucharest
Constantza
Braila
BULGARIA
Varna
Burgas
Sofia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Scutari
BLACK SEA
Samsun
Sinub
Trebizond
Erzerum
Kars
ARMENIA
Batoum
GEORGIA
Tiflis
Kutais
Baku
AZERBAIJAN
Caspian Sea
Astrakhan
Saratof
Samara
Simbirsk
Kazan
Nizhni Novgorod
Vladimir
Yaroslaf
Kostroma
Vologda
Archangelskoi
Onega
Petrozavodsk
Kem
Uleaborg
Tornea
Kajana
Brahestad
Wasa
Abo
Helsingfors
Reval
Pernau
Dorpat
Wesenberg
Petersburg
Novgorod
Tver
Rzhef
Smolensk
Orel
Kursk
Kharkof
Poltava
Ekaterinoslaf
Kief
Lemberg
Przemysl
Lublin
Kovel
Brest
Grodno
Vilna
Kovno
Memel
Tilsit
Insterburg
Allenstein
Graudenz
Danzig
Stettin
Berlin
Posen
Breslau
Cracow
Lemberg
Stanislau
Czernowitz
Botoshani
Jassy
Galatz
Ismail
Reni
Kherson
Nikolaief
Odessa
Sebastopol
Jalta
Kertch
Yenikale
Taganrog
Rostof
Mariupol
Berdiansk
Melitopol
Perekop
Simferopol
Sevastopol
Crimea
Caucasus Mts.
Elbruz
Kazbek
Vladikavkaz
Grozny
Petrovsk
Derbent
Baku
Elizabetpol
Tiflis
Kutais
Batoum
Erivan
Kars
Erzerum
Trebizond
Sinub
Samsun
Kastamuni
Angora
Eski-Shehr
Brusa
Smyrna
Aidin
Denizli
Konieh
Adana
Mersina
Alexandretta
Aleppo
Antioch
Tripoli
SYRIA
(Fr. Man.)
Damascus
Baalbec
Beyrout
Tripoli
Latakia
Mesopotamia
(Ott. Man.)
Bagdad
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
PERSIA
TURKEY IN ASIA
TURKESTAN
Orenburg
Orsk
Troitsk
Zlatoust
Ufa
Sterlitamak
Buzuluk
Samara
Saratof
Penza
Tambof
Ryazan
Kolomna
Vladimir
Alatyr
Nizhni Novgorod
Kazan
Volga R.
Ural R.
Uralsk
Gurief
Tsaritsyn
Astrakhan

versal principles of right." Lloyd George, too, inclined at times to "a peace of reconciliation"; but he was hampered by the fact that in the parliamentary elections, a few weeks before, he had won by appealing to the worst war passions of the English people.[1] The other leaders thought President Wilson merely "a benevolent dreamer of Utopias," and preferred to

"The Big Four" — Lloyd George, Orlando, Clemenceau, Wilson.

rest rearrangements upon the old balance-of-power plan, to be maintained by rival alliances and armed camps — a plan which bloody centuries had proved a seedbed of war.

By the war-weary *peoples* of Europe, however, the Wilson program was at first hailed with joy. While the diplomats were skillfully delaying the meeting of the assembly, Mr. Wilson journeyed through England, France, and Italy, received every-

[1] In this English election of 1918 the Labor party secured a fourth of the popular vote, but increased its membership only to about 70. (Cf. § 665.) Party lines were badly broken; but a coalition of Lloyd George Liberals and Conservatives remained in power.

where by the masses with striking demonstrations as " the president of all of us," the apostle of world peace and human brotherhood. For a time it looked as though he might at a pinch override the hostile attitude of the governments by appealing over their heads to the peoples themselves; and in a great speech at Milan, just after slurring attacks upon him by French statesmen, he hinted forcefully at such a possibility.

But as months passed in wearisome negotiations, old animosities began to show in each nation toward neighboring peoples, until this chance for generous unanimity was lost. Moreover, Mr. Wilson had been seriously weakened by events at home. Late in the campaign for Congressional elections in the preceding November, he had made an appeal for indorsement of his policies by a Democratic victory. Instead, the elections gave both Houses to the Republicans; and the jubilant victors at once entered upon a course of bitter criticism and obstruction — of which Mr. Wilson's European opponents took advantage to weaken his influence at Paris.

In spite of Mr. Wilson's declaration for *open* negotiations (§ 856) the European diplomats, with their traditions of backstair intrigue, carried the point for only occasional full and public meetings. Meantime **all important matters were settled by the inner circle in secret conclave**, so that the six public meetings of the Congress (up to July) were called merely for formal ratification of conclusions already arrived at by the " Big Four."

866. To offset this disappointment, Mr. Wilson seemed for a while to have won a splendid victory for a " **League of Nations.**" Three months before America entered the war (January 22, 1917), as his last peace effort, he had read to the American Congress a notable address proposing *a League of Nations to enforce peace,* — a peace made by free peoples (among whom the *small* nations should have their full voice), secured " by the organized major force of mankind." This address itself was one of the mighty events in history. Individuals had dreamed sometimes

of a world organization for peace and progress; but then for the first time did an authorized spokesman of a great nation bring that idea into the realm of practical statesmanship. Mr. Wilson now felt that the building of such a world league was the most important work for the Versailles Congress — and indeed a necessary prelude to any peace other than one of vengeance and booty.

In March, after some weeks of consideration, a committee headed by Mr. Wilson made public a League covenant it had prepared. After sharp criticism in the United States Senate, this constitution was slightly modified, and then adopted by the Peace Congress. The union is very loose, and its managing bodies are not really a government. Charter membership was offered to forty-five nations, — all the then organized governments in the world except Russia, the four "enemy countries," and Costa Rica, San Domingo, and Mexico. Admission of new members, and other amendments, require the unanimous consent of England, France, Italy, and Japan (and America, if she joins the League), together with a majority vote of all states; and for any other action of consequence the consent of all nations is demanded, except that no party to a dispute has a voice in its settlement. Wise provisions prohibit secret treaties in future, and seek to pave the way for disarmament (though only by unanimous consent), for regulation of manufacture of munitions, for compulsory arbitration, and for *delay* in recourse to war even if an arbitration is unsatisfactory.

867. Meantime the French delegation, frankly skeptical as to the value of a League, had devoted itself to securing **treaties of peace** that should render Germany powerless to attack France again. **Germany protested in vain against the rigor of the terms, but** June 28 her helpless delegates (summoned to Versailles for the purpose) **signed the treaty dictated** to them.

Germany's military power was destroyed. Her navy was limited for the future to six battleships and six light cruisers, with *no* submarines; and her army is not to exceed 100,000

men — with a careful restriction, too, upon her manufacture of munitions.

Germany's old colonial empire was turned over to England, Belgium, and Japan, in accordance with a secret treaty under which Japan had entered the war. This division of plunder was faintly cloaked under a pretence that England and Japan were to be merely " mandatories " for the League of Nations, holding these backward districts as " a sacred trust for civilization." (At the first session of the League Assembly, in November of 1920, some of the small nations desired to establish rules for that " trusteeship " ; but the English representative declared flatly that no action there taken could " limit the freedom of action of his government.") Moreover, Shantung with its forty million people remained in Japan's hands, without even the pretext of a " mandate," in spite of the vigorous protest of China.

Germany lost a fifth of her territory and population in Europe, with her most valuable coal deposits. She not only returned Danish Sleswig [1] to Denmark and Alsace-Lorraine to France, but also ceded three small areas to Belgium, and to Poland not merely her old Polish districts but also large strips of German territory in Upper Silesia and east of the Vistula. Moreover, to give Poland easy access to the sea, German Danzig became a " free " city (against its will), with provisions that leave it really subject to Poland. Likewise, by veiled annexation, France has probably acquired the rich Saar valley, east of Alsace, with a solid German population.[2]

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[1] Sleswig decided its own fate (as the treaty had provided) by plebiscites. Denmark showed an honorable and wise desire to annex only such a part as really wished it, and acquiesced in the retention of two thirds the duchy by Germany.

Parts of Upper Silesia were also to have settled their own fate. But, in spite of this treaty provision, and of an overwhelming German vote there, France managed later to have the League of Nations turn these rich mining districts over to Poland.

[2] The treaty very properly gave France the Saar coal mines for fifteen years (under the control of an international commission dominated by France), in return for Germany's wanton ruin of French mines; *but unhappily, it also provided* that at the end of that time France should annex

868. During the next few months, **similar treaties were signed with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey.** *The dismembered Austrian Empire*, besides the territorial secessions already noted (§ 863), very properly ceded Galicia to Poland, Transylvania to Roumania, and Trieste and the Trentino to Italy; but, in connection with this last cession, in order to provide a needless "strategic frontier" against enfeebled Austria, Italy was given also a strip of strictly German territory (the Brenner Pass in the Alps) with a quarter of a million of German people. In these ways, *Hungary was reduced to about one third its former size* — becoming only a flat plain without fuel or water power or mines; and *German Austria was left a petty state of 6,000,000 people* grouped about Vienna ("a capital without a country") shut off from the sea, with its old markets and mines all gone and with little agricultural land. (This Austria has dragged out the years since the treaty in cruel starvation meagerly relieved by Allied charity. The land can raise at best only a sixth of its necessary food, and it has practically no other industrial resources. The people desire incorporation in Germany; but, at French insistence, the Peace Congress forbade this very natural application of the promised principle of "self-determination" because it might strengthen Germany.)

In the complex Balkan readjustments, it was found difficult to follow the promised "lines of nationality"; but Greece and Serbia were given new territory on the north Aegean coast at the expense of Bulgaria — which was now shut off from the sea except by the route of the Danube. These rearrangements increased the population of Roumania (through addition from Russia and Hungary) to 16 millions; that of Jugoslavia to 13.6 millions; that of Greece to 7.5 millions. On the other hand

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the district absolutely (even though the inhabitants should vote against that action) unless Germany should then pay at once the full value of the mines. Other provisions of the treaty (below) made it very probable that Germany would be unable to do that, and more recent developments strengthen that probability. In this district lay 40 per cent of all Germany's blast furnaces and 30 per cent of her steel mills.

Bulgaria was decreased to 5 millions, and is left to play a disturbing part like that formerly played by Serbia.

"*Turkey*" *was reduced to Asia Minor*, although the Sultan (or Caliph) and government officials were permitted to keep their seat in Constantinople. That city, however, along with "the zone of the straits" (a narrow strip on both sides the Dardanelles) was made subject to the control of an international commission and open to ships of all nations. Armenia and

CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE GOLDEN HORN — a view from an airplane.

Arabia (the Kingdom of Hejaz and various small "Sultanates") were declared independent states. Smyrna went to Greece; most of the Aegean islands to Italy; Syria (much against its will) to France; and Mesopotamia (with its oil), equally unwillingly, to England.[1] (As a by-product of these arrangements, too, and of the collapse of Russia, England has secured control of all Persia. All this arrangement in the East was a frank

[1] It should be added that, to the chagrin of the Arabian inhabitants, Palestine was set aside, under English protection, for a home for a restored Jewish state — if Jews return there in sufficient numbers.

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CLEMENCEAU DELIVERING TO THE GERMAN DELEGATES THE TERMS OF PEACE, May 7, 1919. — Clemenceau is standing on the right. The Germans are seated directly opposite him. In curt sentences the French premier announced their fate to the conquered. Germany did not sign until June 28, the last day of grace.

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Lloyd George and Aristide Briand (the French premier) in conference at Cannes in August, 1921. After the close of the Peace Congress in the fall of 1919, the real government of Europe lay in an "Allied Council" holding frequent sessions and made up of representatives of the leading European "Allies." The premiers of France and England were "the Big Two" of this Council through 1920–1921. Lloyd George, responding to liberal English feeling, soon showed a desire to adopt a gentler policy toward Germany. Toward the close, Briand was beginning to incline slightly in the same direction; but this so offended the anti-German feeling in the French Assembly that he was obliged to resign soon after the meeting here portrayed.

surrender to arrogant imperialism, French and English; and these " protectors " of Mesopotamia and Syria were compelled to establish their " mandate " authority by bloody campaigns against the native populations.

869. It may be added here that this Turkish rearrangement was one of the first parts of the work at Paris to fall to pieces. The young Turks, or Turkish Nationalists, soon established a separate government in Angora, deposing the Sultan and the " capitulators " at Constantinople. Then, in 1921, Greece attacked Turkey in war, to get more plunder in Asia Minor. In this, Greece was secretly backed by the English government, while France for a time secretly encouraged the Turks, so securing Turkish acquiescence in her occupation of Syria. In the fall of 1922 the Turkish Nationalists, under Kemal Pasha, drove the Greek army out of Asia, and forced the Allies to permit them to reoccupy not only Armenia but also Constantinople and even European Thrace (including Adrianople and important Aegean seaports). Some months later the European " Allies " ratified this rearrangement by treaty, and toward the close of 1923, Turkey became a constitutional republic with Kemal for its president.

870. Most troublesome of all problems at the Peace Congress was the question of the " reparations," or indemnity, to be paid by Germany. That country turned over at once five billions of dollars in gold and goods. She was compelled also to promise (1) to supply many millions of tons of coal yearly for ten years to Belgium, Italy, and France (aside from the Saar arrangement); (2) to make other fixed payments amounting in all to about thirty billions of dollars during 1920–1934; and (3) to make such further payments as should be fixed later by an Allied Commission when it should be better known what the war damages amounted to and how much it would be possible to take. Until payments were completed, an allied army was to occupy German territory west of the Rhine.

In the years that followed, France showed strong inclination to leave the final total indefinite as long as possible, taking meanwhile from time to time all that could be found. But English opinion gradually swung to the conviction that German in-

dustry could not revive with its neck in a noose; and in February, 1921, the Allied Commission fixed the total indemnity at 56 billions of dollars to be paid over a period of forty years.

This was definite; but Germany protested that the sum was an impossible one, and many financial experts in the Allied countries agreed with her. (At the Peace Congress the American experts had suggested 15 billions as the proper total.) Under threat of further military occupation, Germany did pay two installments, securing the gold mainly by selling *paper* marks to foreign speculators. But her currency depreciated so that that method was not again feasible; and, feeling that she could not pay in full anyway, she showed no real willingness to raise by taxation such part as she might have paid.

Thus the German indemnity has demoralized world industry. Formerly, England and the United States sold vast quantities of goods to Germany; but Germany now has nothing with which to buy, and so the English factories which used to supply her remain idle and the American farm products which she formerly bought have little value, while Italy, Denmark, and Sweden have suffered almost in the same degree for like causes.[1]

871. Many of the objectionable features in the treaties were due to the secret bargains for division of spoils by which the Allies had bought the aid of one another. When America entered the war, she renounced the idea of material gains for *herself*. But even then it was known — somewhat indefinitely — that the Allies had made various secret agreements for plunder, and it is plain now that America should have demanded the cancellation of all such secret treaties as the price of her aid. When the Peace Congress met, those bargains were still not generally understood, but it soon became clear that they would prevent a peace in accord with the Fourteen Points. For a time Mr. Wilson stood out against the Congress becoming "a

[1] A full and clear account of the indemnity matter through 1921 is given in Gibbons' *World Politics*, 548–560.

Congress for booty," and once (when Orlando insisted that Italy should have Croatian Fiume, the natural Adriatic door for Jugoslavia) he even cabled to America for his ship. This extreme threat prevented that particular act of plunder — though Orlando was so incensed that he left the Congress for some weeks; and in the end Mr. Wilson was induced to reconcile himself to the treaty for the sake of securing the League of Nations.

As soon as the treaty with Germany was made public, however, it was denounced vehemently by many earnest thinkers in all lands. Indeed, some of the experts attached to the American delegation had already resigned in protest; and Jan Smuts, South Africa's hero-statesman, declared in a formal statement that he signed for his country only because peace *must* be made at once and because he hoped that the worst features of the treaty might be modified later by the League of Nations. Said he: "The fulfillment of aspirations toward a new world order and a fairer, better world is not written in the treaty. . . . There are territorial settlements *which will need revision.* . . . There are indemnities stipulated which cannot be exacted without grave danger to the industrial revival of Europe, and *which it will be to the interest of all to render more tolerable.*"

Little of this criticism had to do with sympathy for Germany. It was based rather upon the conviction that the treaty was dishonorable to the victors, inasmuch as it broke faith with a submissive foe after surrender, and that it would breed future wars — and so broke faith even more fatally with hundreds of thousands of splendid youth who had given their lives, in long torment and suffering, to "win a war that should end war." (At the same time the severest critic must confess that the new world map made at Versailles is at least an advance over the old map of 1914, with political divisions drawn far more according to reasonable lines of race and language and popular desires. It is true, too, that the many new nations, almost without exception, have started upon their careers with universal suffrage, male

and female, and with other brave attempts at true democratic government.)

872. America failed to join the League of Nations. President Wilson's influence finally rallied the Democratic Senators in favor of ratification of the covenant without modification. With equal unanimity, the Republicans opposed it — but upon two widely different grounds. A small section declared that for America to join *any* such "super-government" would sacrifice her sovereign independence; that we were able to take care of ourselves, and should let the rest of the world look after itself. A much larger group objected to particular features of this covenant, but agreed that it was no longer possible for America to hold aloof from Europe. Said Ex-President Taft:

"The argument that to enter this covenant is a departure from the time-honored policy of avoiding 'entangling alliances' is an argument that is blind to changing conditions. . . . The war ended that policy. . . . It was impossible for us to maintain the *theory* of an isolation which did not exist *in fact*. It will be equally impossible for us to keep out of another general European war. We are just as much interested in preventing such a war as if we were in Europe."

Republican Senators, agreeing with this view, added to the covenant certain amendments, with which they were willing to ratify. President Wilson claimed that such amendments would make ratification invalid; and against his influence the Republicans could not muster the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate. The Democrats failed likewise to secure the necessary votes for ratification in the original form. While touring the country to arouse support for the covenant, President Wilson suffered a distressing physical breakdown, and the whole question hung fire for many months. In 1920, the President hoped to make the election of his successor a "solemn referendum" upon the matter. As usual in American politics, too many other questions entered into the campaign to leave any one issue absolutely clear cut; but the Republican "landslide" victory shelved any probability of the United States entering the League

for the present. To be sure, with cautious reservations against any other commitment to the League, the new President did urge that the United States join the International Court which the League had set up; but even this idea soon ceased to attract interest.

The League has accomplished much useful work in settling minor differences. It has also admitted several new members — Austria, Bulgaria, Finland, Luxemburg, Costa Rica, Albania, Ethiopia (Abyssinia), and Ireland[1] — and in 1926 it was greatly strengthened by the admission of Germany; but, in the absence of the United States and of Russia, it falls far short of a world organization.

873. Another disturbing factor in the slow return of world progress, which the Peace Congress did little to help, **was Bolshevist Russia**. After the fall of the tsar, society in Russia collapsed. Criminals, singly or in bands, worked their will, unchecked by any government, in robbery, outrage, and murder, not only in country districts but even in the public streets of great cities. The cities were starving; and speculators were increasing the agony by hoarding supplies to sell secretly to the rich at huge profits. Kerensky had proved utterly unable to grapple with the situation; but when the Bolshevists came to power, they shot the bandits in batches, and meted out like swift punishment to "forestallers" of food. In such summary proceedings, many innocent persons suffered along with the guilty; but at least Russia was saved from reverting to savagery. In a few weeks, order and quiet were restored; and the available food was "rationed" rigidly (somewhat as in England during the war) with particular care for children of all classes.

The Bolshevists claimed to give political citizenship to all useful workers — including teachers, actors, physicians, engineers, and industrial managers, but excluding the idle (rich

[1] The motion for the admission of the Irish Free State was made by the English delegation, who also led the cheers that welcomed the Irish members to their seats in the League's Assembly.

or poor) along with bankers and lawyers, for which classes their society has no place. Their governing bodies represent, not individual citizens (as our Western governments do), but the different kinds of industries. In each "district," there is a shoemakers' union, a teachers' union, and so on. Each such union chooses delegates to the soviet (§ 847) of the district. These district soviets are local governments. All of them within a given province send delegates to a higher "provincial soviet," and delegates from the provincial soviets make up the central and supreme soviet at Petrograd. (All delegates are subject to recall *at any time* by the bodies that elected them.)

874. For the first time in history on a large scale, this government put into actual operation an extreme kind of socialism, along with the confiscation of most private property. This alarmed the propertied classes everywhere.[1] **The Allies at Paris** did not think it safe to let the Bolshevist system work out its own failure, but, fearing its spread to their own lands, **attempted to overthrow it by force.** For such action there were two main excuses: (1) Members of the Bolshevist government unwisely and blatantly preached a coming revolution for the world outside their own borders; and (2) the Bolshevist plan had been put into operation not by the deliberate will of the Russian nation, but rather by a skillful *coup d'état* on the part of the small but perfectly organized class of town workers.

875. Indeed, the Bolshevist leaders frankly proclaim that (until they can train up a new generation) their government is not to be a democracy but a "**dictatorship of the proletariat,**" representing a very small part of the nation. Apportionment of delegates to the soviets was arranged, openly, so that ten peasants have no more weight than one factory worker. But the

[1] These classes, too, especially in France, held the millions of dollars' worth of old Russian bonds, which the Bolshevists now unwisely repudiated, on the ground that the tsars had secured the money to hold the Russian people in bondage. In recent months (1922), however, the Bolshevists have repeatedly offered to give up this policy of repudiation, if their government is given "recognition" by the Allies.

ignorant peasants (still making more than ninety per cent of the nation), were so poorly organized, and so content with the lands they had been permitted to appropriate, that they acquiesced passively; and the small capitalist and professional classes were quickly suppressed. The Bolshevists seized control of the army and the press, and put down despotically all public agitation against their socialist system. At first, to be sure, they treated the old capitalist class with consideration so far as concerned their personal safety. But a little later, when the world was attacking Russia in open war, and when the dispossessed Russian classes were carrying on a campaign of assassination of Bolshevist leaders and had even struck down Lenin with a dangerous wound, **the Bolshevists adopted a deliberate policy of "Terror,"** arresting and executing some thousands of "aristocrats," until internal opposition was crushed. (This parallels the story of the French Revolution except that the Russian "Terror," bloody as it was, was shorter and less atrocious than the French. Certainly the misery it caused was, at its worst, less than the misery caused in the old Russia by the age-long tyranny of the tsars — on which the world had looked with complacency.)

876. Even before the Terror, **the various non-socialist forces might have rallied** to overthrow or at least to modify Bolshevism **if a blunder of the Allies had not identified Bolshevist rule with Russian patriotism.** Like the French "emigrant" nobles of 1792, the Russian courtiers and nobles in 1917, fleeing from the Revolution, levied war against the new government of their country from without — with foreign aid. Supplied lavishly by the Allies and America with arms and money, they at first won some success. All these Russian emigrant leaders claimed flimsily to desire constitutional government, but soon their deeds proved that they plotted for the restoration of despotism; and the needless and unspeakable atrocities of the various "White" terrors that followed their early successes equaled the excesses of the Bolshevists.

Meantime Roumania, Poland, and the new Baltic countries made the cordon about Russia complete, except for Archangel on the north — and that one opening to the world was long held by an army of 12,000 Allies and Americans. These troops had been sent to Archangel during the last of the war against Germany, to protect military stores there from German seizure, but soon they were used, at the behest of French and English rulers, as an invading army against the new government of Russia. It had been claimed that the masses of the Russian people would rally to overthrow Bolshevist tyranny. *Instead, they rallied to the Bolshevists,* to drive out foreign invaders. Especially did the leading "intellectuals" of Russia, like the famous author Maxim Gorky, now offer their services to that government, although many of them had just been suffering bitterly from it. The Russian organization showed amazing ability, and before 1920 the newly created "Red army" swept all invaders from Russian soil, except for the Japanese in far-eastern Siberia.[1] True, there followed twelve months more of war with Poland (which was aided with French money and officers and American munitions),[2] but in 1922, by wise diplomacy, Russia secured peace in that quarter also.

877. The Allied "blockade" of Russia, however, lasted on in fact into 1921. The small Baltic states, from which she had won peace, had no resources for trade; and though England and America had technically lifted the blockade some months earlier, both continued to refuse passports and even mail and wire communication. This of course absolutely prevented trade. Meantime the lack of food and of medical supplies — which the Bolshevist government was eager to pay for in gold —

[1] An American force at first coöperated with the Japanese in Siberia, but was soon withdrawn. It is supposed that the American government sent troops mainly in order that it might be in position later to insist that Japan should not permanently hold Siberia. Cf. § 883 and note.

[2] For a time the English government, it was believed, planned to send an English army; but such a project was effectively barred by the unanimous slogan from English organized labor, — "not a man, not a gun, not a penny!"

killed more people (mainly mothers, young babies, and other hospital cases) than a great war. The blockade, too, kept Russia from getting cotton or rubber for her factories, or locomotives for her railroads, or machinery for her agriculture; *and so gave the Bolshevists a plausible excuse for the slowness of their industrial revival.*

Then, in 1921–1922, descended upon Russia the most horrible famine ever known even in that land of famines. Despite all the disorders, the peasants had sown only a trifle less than the usual acreage; but a long drought of unheard-of severity resulted in a crop of only one fortieth the average, so that millions were stolidly dying of hunger. This unparalleled suffering touched the heart of the world, and for months governments and charitable organizations hurried food and clothing to the stricken land.

878. "Russia" still numbers 110 millions of people. Of these, Russia proper contains some 66 millions. The rest are distributed in eight bordering soviet republics on the south and east, — Ukrainia (with 16 millions); Siberia, the Far Eastern Republic, and five smaller countries; but all these states are so closely allied to the central power as practically to form a soviet federation.

Since 1923 the Soviet government has modified its original socialistic program so far as to encourage private capital to embark in certain industries.[1] It has, however, continued its propaganda abroad, with the result that it has not yet been recognized by America, while England, after a short diplomatic intercourse, again broke off relations in 1927.

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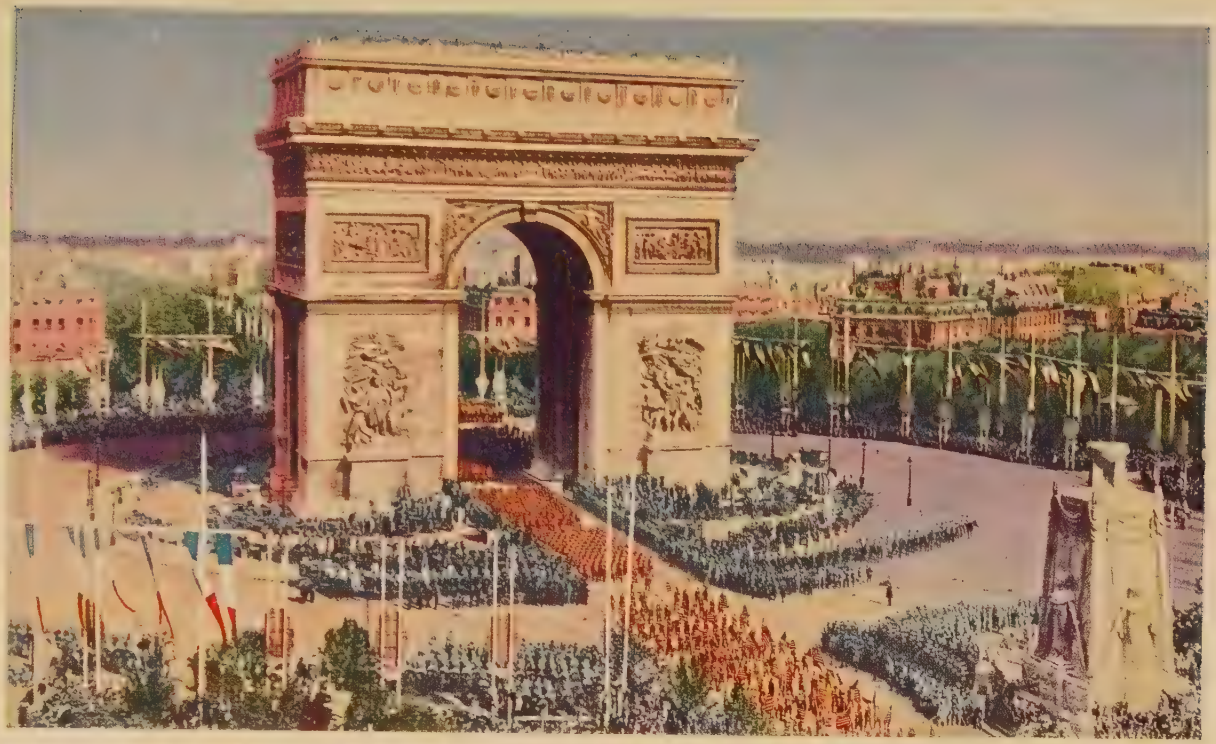
[1] Arthur Ransome's *Russia in 1919* is a statement of personal observations by a fair-minded Englishman and a trained observer. Raymond Robins' *Colonel Robins' Story* (edited by William Hard) is readable and impressive. (Mr. Robins was the head of the American Red Cross in Russia during the Revolution and for some time afterward. He was an intimate friend of Theodore Roosevelt, and, like Mr. Ransome, was totally free from any sympathy with socialistic theories.) Trustworthy reports of personal observations in Russia in 1920–1921 by Bertrand Russell, H. G. Wells, and H. N. Brailsford, have also appeared in book form.

879. Human imagination cannot adequately picture the cost of the World War. Fifty-nine million men served under arms — nearly all the physically fit of the leading peoples on the globe. These suffered thirty-three million casualties, of which fourteen million were deaths or irremediable mutilation and ruin, besides an incalculable number of vitiated constitutions. Almost as many more *non-combatants* were victims of famine or pestilence. And the evil runs over into future generations. In all the warring countries in Europe the birth rate has declined alarmingly and the human quality has deteriorated. As to material wealth, a huge portion of all that the world had been slowly storing up for generations was gone, and in many districts all machinery for producing wealth was left in ruins.

Indeed the world used up its prospects for long to come. Future generations are mortgaged to pay the war debts. America entered the struggle late, and made comparatively little sacrifice; but even this country, aside from the immense sums raised by war taxes, came out of the struggle with a debt larger than the total receipts of its treasury in all its century and a half of previous history. England suffered less than the continent; but in England, merely to keep up the interest on the debt, along with her old annual expenditure, the nation must raise five billions of dollars a year — which means a taxation per family of about twenty times that which an average American family paid before the war, and perhaps seven times our present taxation per family.

880. This distress is aggravated by the disorder in the currency of European lands. During the war, or very soon after, nearly all the gold of the world passed into America. At the cost of terrific taxation, England, in 1923, did restore the gold standard; but most continental countries have no money except a terribly depreciated paper currency. This demoralizes industry, causes bitter suffering for the poor and for people living on fixed incomes, and seriously hinders the revival of foreign trade.



American Troops Marching Through the Arch of Triumph, Paris.

881. Then there is the vexing matter of foreign war debts. During the war, the American government loaned nine billion dollars to the Allies — nearly half of it to England, which country had itself loaned to France and Italy more than it borrowed from America. Until the fall of 1922 no European country had paid any *interest* even on any of these debts, and so the total amount due America had risen to eleven billions. England then began to make payments on her interest account, and soon afterward completed honorable arrangements to pay principal and interest in equal annual installments over a period of sixty-two years. By 1926, Poland, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia had made like arrangements, the United States having agreed to accept a small fraction as a total payment.

French leaders, however, were still asserting loudly that France could not pay and that America ought to cancel the debts as part of her contribution toward the war. But America showed little sympathy for that idea, especially as France was spending huge amounts on her military establishment and in subsidizing Poland and Roumania with immense "loans" in order that those countries, too, might keep ready for war.

Then before the close of 1926 the French and Italian governments were in desperate need of American gold in order to keep their paper money from utter repudiation. The United States government, however, made it known that it disapproved any such loans by American bankers until the borrowing nations had arranged to pay their war debts to our national treasury. In the settlement with England, the United States had consented generously to a rate of interest lower than it had paid to its own people for the money it had loaned — so that England was asked really to pay only 82 per cent of the *cost* of the loan. Finally in 1926, much less satisfactory arrangements were negotiated with Italy and France. Italy is to pay only some 25 per cent of her debt, and France only 50 per cent of hers; and, still worse, the payments, instead of being made like England's in *equal* installments, are to be very small for several years — less,

indeed, than the interest would be. Many experts doubt seriously whether the larger later payments will ever be made. Italy, however, after making one small payment, did at once float a large loan in America, which went far to strengthen the position of the Mussolini government.

882. The World War struck civilization a staggering blow; and **the heaviest cost was the intangible moral cost.** The world was exhausted, and everywhere there was a moral slump. For a time, in all large countries, the war orgy of profiteering was even augmented, with a reckless exploitation of helpless multitudes. Everywhere what is called "society" was marked by careless self-indulgence and temporary indifference to great issues. In the large countries, too, there was a perilous access of militarism. The overthrow of German militarism — and even the disappearance of Germany and Austria from world politics — had not brought peace. National hatreds were more general and intense than ever before in world history, and (as in 1914) trade rivalries were heaping materials for world conflagration. Accordingly, in each powerful nation, chemists, engineers, military men, in laboratories and in councils, were planning more deadly instruments of destruction, while some scientists prophesied that the next war would be chiefly a contest in scattering loathsome disease germs from aërial navies over whole continents.

883. One mighty event, however, soon gave reason to hope that the terrible warning of the World War had not been in vain. Two of the great powers suffered little directly from that war, — the United States and Japan. Between these two there were old causes of irritation, and the war left with them new disputes — as to Japan's relations to China (and to American trade there); as to her control of Pacific cables wrested from Germany; and so on. At once the two countries had entered upon an open and ominous rivalry in enlarging their navies, on a scale never before dreamed of, and in fortifying their

Pacific possessions. To any one who held in mind the lessons of the past, all this indicated at least a serious danger that America and Japan might soon drift into another annihilating war — which of course would quickly involve all the world.

Wise statesmanship has removed this peril. Diplomatic negotiation of the usual sort was failing to lessen the danger; but in the summer of 1921, Mr. Harding, President of the United States, called **an international conference at Washington to consider the limitation of naval armaments and the matters of dispute in the Pacific.** This *Washington Conference* was attended of course by representatives of England, France, Italy, and Japan, and also of four smaller powers with interests in the Pacific — China, Portugal, Belgium, and Holland. Charles Evans Hughes, the American Secretary of State, presided. (China, not unnaturally when one considers her chaotic condition, was present in the part of a petitioner rather than in that of an equal partner in conclusions.)

884. The Conference opened November 12, 1921, and continued twelve weeks. On the opening day Mr. Hughes took away the breath of the world *by making public* a detailed proposal for naval reduction. All building of new ships of war was to stop at once — including the huge fleets actually under construction — and considerable portions of the navies already in commission were to be scrapped; England and the United States were to keep an equality of naval power; Japan was to keep three fifths that strength (about her existing proportion); France and Italy were to have smaller fleets, equal to each other; and *none of these powers was to lay down any new "capital ship,"* even to replace outgrown vessels, for at least ten years.

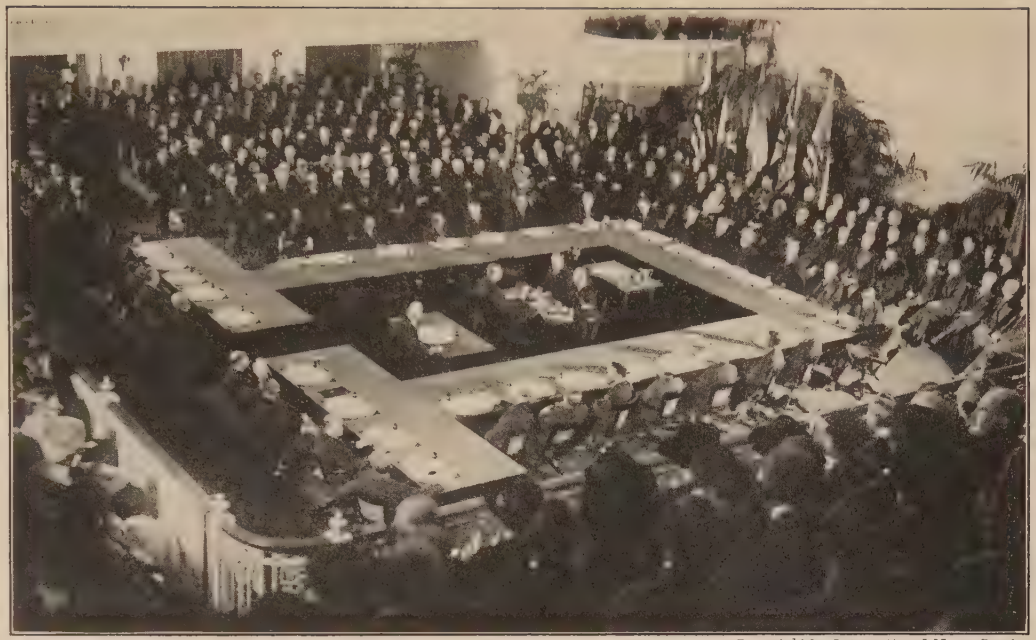
Then followed magnificent proof of the value of "open diplomacy." As soon as the amazed world could catch its breath, it sent up a joyous and universal acclaim of approval; and eventually the proposal was adopted by the Conference without essential modification. This arrangement made it practically

impossible for any nation to attack another *in the Pacific* for at least ten years, even if it wished to do so — which meant a breathing spell in which wise statesmanship might make future war still more unlikely.

And the Conference proceeded to remove many of the occasions which might have led to a wish for war. The new fortifications in the Pacific, it was agreed, should be dismantled, and garrisons withdrawn. Equality in the use of the disputed cables was arranged. *Particularly important were Japan's concessions to China.* During the World War Japan had forced upon that distracted country a series of " treaties " by which the aggressive island empire had secured great control over internal affairs of its unwieldy neighbor — even requiring China to admit Japanese officials into her home administration. Japan now surrendered the most offensive of these " agreements"; and she even promised definitely to withdraw absolutely from Shantung (§ 867) at the end of five years, upon condition that China then pay a reasonable and specified price for Japan's railway improvements there. All the powers agreed to an " open-door" policy in China, and defined what that term should mean; and all promised to make public at once any future treaties with that country. Best of all, a permanent international conference was provided, before which every new Chinese complication may be brought promptly for investigation and report.

One other notable move for world amity was made. England and Japan agreed that it was now unnecessary to renew their alliance (§ 777), which was about to expire, and which many Americans had begun to regard as a menace. Then the United States, England, France, and Japan entered into an agreement (" The Four-Power Treaty ") mutually to respect one another's possessions in the Pacific — except that Japan was told plainly that this agreement did not apply to her recent military occupation of Eastern Siberia.[1]

[1] At the time Japan made no promises in this matter, but apparently the attitude of America and England at the Conference has had its effect —



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THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE OF 1921–1922. — The meetings were held in the Memorial Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution. This was the first official photograph.

885. True, some questions failed of adequate solution at Washington. In particular, *the attitude of France made it impossible to reduce land armaments,* or to adopt England's suggestion for restricting the war use of submarines to harbor *defense.* **But the actual accomplishment of the Conference is full of promise for the world.** It is a splendid demonstration of the force of "sweet reasonableness" in world problems. History has seen several great conferences of victors in war, assembled to dictate haughty terms to the vanquished, or even conferences of great powers assembled to agree upon division of plunder without war. But here was a meeting of a new kind. And it proved that when *all* governments concerned in a given set of questions can be brought *together,* in friendly and personal fashion, with plenty of time before a crisis, to hear one another's side of the case courteously presented, it is hard for any of them to avoid considerable concession to reason and fair play. If such a conference could have been assembled in Europe in 1914, even with passions inflamed as they were, it is very unlikely that there would have been a World War.

Americans may justly take pride in their country's part in the Washington Conference. The war had lost to England her old lead in naval power. The United States had gained that lead; and she was now so much richer than any other country that she could at least stand the waste and expense of the race in naval preparedness better than any other nation could. With peculiar grace, then, the proposal for "a naval holiday" came from this country. For America to suggest surrendering these "advantages," was a shining proof of willingness to trust in good-will and in a sense of justice, rather than in violence, for the settlement of disputes between nations.

886. Such conferences were now to be tried in distracted Europe, to restore a true peace. But to appreciate their significance, we need to comprehend more fully **the perilous rivalries between European nations just after the World War.**

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along perhaps with increasing pressure from the Russian armies. In November, 1922, Japan withdrew her last soldier from Siberia. Soon afterward, and long before the expiration of the treaty time limit, she withdrew her troops from Shantung.

France with her 39.5 millions, was bordered by a Germany which, though crushed, was 50 per cent more populous than she herself was; and she dreaded a future "war of revenge," just as Germany had had to expect such a war for forty years after robbing France of Alsace and Lorraine in 1871. This explains why France was so inhospitable toward disarmament proposals (§ 885) and why in spite of crushing taxes and mounting deficits, she maintained her own military establishment at a point never before seen in any country in the world.

And, whether by secret treaty (forbidden by the League of Nations), or merely by "informal understandings," Poland was by the nature of the case, a dependent ally of France, maintaining an enormous army (for her small size and wealth) by means of French subsidies. France had been the leading champion of every extension of Polish territory, just or unjust (§ 867, note). Poland was useful to France — in a world still in a state of war — as a possible outpost against Russia, and, more especially, because, between them, France and Poland held disarmed Germany as in a vise. On her part, Poland felt the need of French protection against future attempts by a recuperated Russia and Germany to recover lost provinces. *Such leagues were inevitable results of certain features of the peace treaties of 1919.* Czechoslovakia and Roumania stood to France much as Poland did; while Lithuania, Hungary, and Bulgaria inclined to Germany and Russia.

887. But, after all, those small countries could not of themselves play decisive parts. For some years after the war, the whole order of things in Europe rested really upon the friendly coöperation of England and France in maintaining the treaties of peace. Toward the close of 1921, however, in conformity with the drift in English opinion, **Lloyd George came to the conviction that the German indemnity must be revised and reduced.** (Said he, with amazing confession of previous failure, "We must make peace *sometime*") While the Washington Conference was still

in session, he succeeded, by strong pressure, in inducing his French colleague in the Allied Council (cut facing page 703) to agree to an all-European conference to try to reconstruct Europe. But the meeting (at Genoa) in the spring of 1922, and two successors later in the year, failed of positive achievement because, after all, the French government refused to meet Russia on terms of equality or even to discuss the revision of the indemnity.

In England Lloyd George had made glowing promises of success, and now, in the late summer his loss of prestige drove him from power. In a new parliament the Conservatives (led by Bonar Law and then by Stanley Baldwin) won a large majority, while the Laborites doubled their former strength, displacing the Liberals as the leading "opposition." The new Conservative ministry, however, though less aggressive than its predecessor, showed promptly that it also desired a revision of the indemnity, while the Labor party was plainly ready to go still further in that direction. But just at this time England had come to need French backing desperately in the Balkans and Asia Minor, if she were to escape humiliation or costly war with Turkey (§ 868); and so France was insured for a time against any open break in the English-French *Entente* on the German question.

888. Then opened a new act of the European tragedy. On January 15 the Allied Council (*the English delegate not voting*) declared Germany in willful default in her payment. **The French government at once advanced its army into the Ruhr Valley**, the heart of whatever coal and steel industry remained to Germany. Poincaré (the French premier) claimed that such action was sanctioned by the treaty of 1919, and, during the following months, he declared repeatedly that France would hold the Ruhr until reparation payments were completed. Disarmed Germany could make no resistance by force; but for nine months the inhabitants of the occupied district (encouraged thereto by Berlin, and at the cost of terrible suffering to them-

selves) made a remarkable "passive" resistance, refusing to "coöperate" with the invaders. Hotel managers and café waiters refused to serve French officers; telephone operators refused (until replaced by French substitutes) to answer their calls; light and power plants shut down; bakeries closed; railways, mines, and factories went on strike. Meanwhile the French punished this "passive" movement sternly through military courts; and in October a new ministry at Berlin ordered that the policy be given up. But it was soon clear to all (as it had been to thinking men from the first) that under these conditions Germany neither would nor could make any reparation payments at all. France could not reap financial gain from this seizure; and it became more and more certain that Poincaré aimed not so much at reparations as at the lasting ruin of Germany, industrial and political.

The terrible sufferings of France in the war, the heroism of her people under that crushing trial, their generous efforts in its midst to aid their allies at critical moments, their splendid efforts since the war to rebuild their country, have won a wide sympathy among the nations of the world. This feeling, along with some remaining vindictiveness against the old Germany, for some months prevented any general and public condemnation of the seizure of the Ruhr, although to many of France's warmest admirers that action seemed from the first fraught with disaster to the world. But in May of 1923 the Swedish parliament adopted almost unanimously a resolution of protest against the French occupation, and soon afterward the Pope voiced a strong protest. For many weeks longer, the uneasy English ministry contented itself with negotiating with France to secure joint action in the matter of the indemnity; but deciding finally that further delay was hazardous, it declared publicly that the French policy was not sanctioned by the treaty of 1919 and that it imperiled the safety of Europe.

889. Soon afterward (October, 1923), **England formally invited the Allies and the United States to join in creating an**

international commission of experts in finance for the investigation of the whole matter of treaty reparations. This was in accord with an informal suggestion made some months earlier by Secretary Hughes of the United States. In the first days of November, Italy and Belgium expressed formal approval of the plan; but Poincaré insisted upon restrictions that would prevent such a commission from considering the need of any *reduction* of the indemnity — or even the evacuation of the Ruhr. The United States government, accordingly, refused to take part in an inquiry so limited.

At this moment France received further warning from new elections in England. The Conservatives sought to strengthen themselves against the general dissatisfaction with the mildness of their foreign policy by dissolving parliament and appealing to the country for a majority to establish a protective tariff — to start up the closed factories, they said, and relieve the terrible unemployment. But English labor refused to believe in the proposed remedy, or to be diverted from the question of foreign policy. The election (early in December) left the Conservatives still the largest of the three parties, to be sure; but their former majority over the other two combined was wiped out. Both Liberals and Laborites made large gains. These two parties were not agreed upon any important home policy; but they were at one in opposing protection and in demanding some effective protest against Poincaré's policy toward Germany.

890. Accordingly, Poincaré grew more conciliatory. The French restrictions on the proposed commission of inquiry were slightly modified; and in January of 1924 that commission (with an "unofficial" American delegation) began its work. The American commissioner, General Charles G. Dawes, became chairman, and the final report is known by his name.

This "Dawes Report" was finally considered (August, 1924) **by an international conference at London,** *where Germany appeared, for the first time since the war, on a footing with the other powers.* But this was only because a new election in

France had decisively overthrown the Poincaré government.

Herriot, the new French premier, was supported by various Socialist and progressive groups. To carry measures relating to foreign affairs, however, he found that he must win some support also from the Nationalists, as Poincaré's former majority was called. Accordingly, the former policy toward Germany, though greatly modified, was by no means revolutionized.

The Dawes Plan, therefore, did not try to fix the total that Germany must finally pay — because no proposal to reduce the indemnity could at that time win the necessary French approval. It was agreed, however, that for a few years the payments should be upon a smaller scale; and it was further arranged that Germany should receive a loan of $200,000,000 from American and English bankers (1) to reëstablish her currency, (2) to care for deficits in the current expense of her government, and (3) to enable her to begin again her reparation payments on the agreed scale. On her part, France agreed to begin evacuation of the Ruhr at once (and to complete it within a year), and to free all imprisoned and deported Ruhr citizens.

The entire plan was then accepted promptly (September, 1924) by all the governments concerned. It did not supply a final solution of the reparations problem; but it was a hopeful step. It aided the recovery of both French and German industry; it helped somewhat toward better feeling between the two nations; and it promised Europe at least a few more years of peace — and so a further chance to work out some plan of final reconstruction.

891. Just a year after the London Conference, came **another European conference at *Locarno*** (October, 1925), which promised even better for world peace. Aristide Briand (cut facing page 703) had now again won control of French foreign policy and was the French representative at this meeting. The German representative was Gustav Stresemann. These two statesmen held the friendliest kind of relations with each other throughout the

meeting. Seven great treaties were arranged, looking toward peace. One was an arbitration treaty between France and Germany, to cover all future disputes. Others made public the obligations of France to defend Poland and her other allies in eastern Europe — but only *against attack* from Germany. Briand declared that France would no longer oppose Germany's admission to the League of Nations, and arranged to have the French army of occupation withdrawn from still more of German territory.

892. And a year later (September, 1926), **Germany did become a member of the League**, with provisions that make her there the full equal of France, England, and Italy, so that her consent is necessary in future for any action of consequence. This step and the Locarno Conference, it may be hoped, have "ended the war." Germany now is in position to secure fair consideration for any proposal she may see fit to make regarding revision of unjust articles in the treaties of 1919.

Meantime, the recent years have seen a series of proposals from leading statesman in various countries for new world conferences to arrange for further international disarmament — some of them even suggesting the *compulsory* arbitration of *all* disputes between nations. More and more it is seen that no lasting security for any nation can be found by reliance upon the old method of violence. To save civilization, there must be built a new world system, based not on international rivalries and fears and hatreds, but upon a feeling of human brotherhood and a will to work for the common good. The intelligent student of history — who has seen that "the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns" — will not think even such a change beyond hope.

> "Our little systems have their day;
> They have their day and cease to be.
> They are but broken lights of Thee,
> And Thou, O God, art more than they."

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